

भारतीयाधिशासनसंरक्षकतायां प्रकाशितम्

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THE
SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ
OF
BHATTOJI DĪKSITA

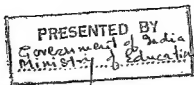
EDITED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LATE ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU

VOL. I

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ग्रन्थोऽयं भारतीयाविद्यासनविनियोजितावश्यकालभ्यसंस्कृतग्रन्थ-
पुनर्मुद्रणयोजनायां प्रकाशितः ।

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FOREWORD

The Siddhānta Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, with English translation by Shri S. C. Vasu, has long been out-of-print. It is true that other English translations of the book are still available in the market but there is no doubt that this translation commands a unique position in the world of scholarship. As it is not readily available now, scholars of Sanskrit both in India and abroad have been experiencing considerable hardship and the Ministry of Education have, therefore, sponsored the re-printing of this book under their scheme of "Re-printing of Important Out-of-Print Sanskrit Works."

Pāṇini is universally acknowledged as the first and foremost descriptive grammarian of the world. And Siddhānta Kaumudī provides an admirable prelude to a study of the great grammarian's work and is rightly held in high esteem amongst scholars. I am confident that this re-print of its translation would be widely welcomed.

I would also like to take this opportunity of commending the efforts of Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass in bringing out the book under our scheme.

R. P. NAIK

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
NEW DELHI.

INSCRIBED

TO THE

MEMORY OF MY FATHER

BABU ŚYĀMĀ CHARANA VASU

ONE OF

THE FIRST ORGANISERS OF

EDUCATION IN THE

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THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाष्य च ।

वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरचयते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me*.

Note:—The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sūtras, the Vārtikas, and the Bhāṣya. The word "Kaumudī" means Light, or the Revealer; and "Siddhanta" (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion. The word "Siddhanta Kaumudī" therefore, means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

^१ अक्षरम् । ^२ कृतम् । ^३ एभ्योऽङ् । ^४ ऐभ्योच् । ^५ ह्यवरद् । ^६ एण् ।
^७ अमङ्गलनमः । ^८ कमञ् । ^९ षट्शप् । ^{१०} जवगडदश् । ^{११} अफळडयचदतच् ।
^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शमस्त्र् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्थाणि ॥ एषामन्ता इतः ॥ सप्तसूत्रेकार्थः ॥ इकाएविककार
स्वपारणार्थः ॥

^१ a i ū (ṅ); ^२ r l (k); ^३ e o (ṅ); ^४ ai au (ch); ^५ ha ya va ra (t);
^६ la (ṅ) or l (aṅ); ^७ ṣa ma ṣa na na (m); ^८ jha bha (ṅ); ^९ ḡha ḡha dha
(sh); ^{१०} ja ba ḡa ḡa da (ṣ); ^{११} kha pha chha ṭha ṭha cha ṭa ṭa (v); ^{१२} ka
pa (y); ^{१३} śa śha sa (r); ^{१४} ha (l).

S. 2325. The second ह् in the last sūtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyāhāras, इह्, र्ह्, झ्ह् and ञ्ह् ॥ As स्वर्णिह्, रुक्मिह्, here इह् is added before ह् by VII. 2. 35. S. 2184. स्निह्यिस्वा or स्नेह्यिस्वा, here the इ is optionally changed into ए by I. 2. 26. S. 2617. अदाग्याय here स is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281. अलिप्तम् here the acrist is formed with the affix क्त after the root ending in ह्, by III. 1. 45. S. 2336.

Note:—The अ in झ्ह् is made इह्, for the sake of forming the Pratyāhāra र्ह्, so that र्ह् may denote not only the single letter र्, but the two letters र् and ह् ॥ This is useful in sūtra I. 1. 51. S. 70, by which the Guṇa and Vriḍhi of ह् becomes अह् and आह् ॥

१ । हलन्त्यम् । १ । ३ । ३ ॥

इति नृपेभ्यमित्त्वात् ॥

1. In the (or of the) sūtra इह् (14th sūtra in the above) let the final letter (i. e. ञ्) be इह् ॥

Note:—The sūtra has been explained in two different ways by the author. First: "In the (or of the) sūtra इह् (14 sūtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (i. e. ञ्) is इह् ॥" The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, i. e. "In upadeśa or technical formulae and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient."

२ । आदिरन्त्येन सहेता । १ । १ । ७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्यात् । इति हलसंज्ञायाश्च ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इह् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sūtra to the technical term इह्; (i. e. to the word इह् taken as a संज्ञा or technical term denoting all the consonants beginning with इ of sūtra 5, and ending with ह् of the last sūtra, and not as the sūtra 14th, of the above alphabets; we come to the second interpretation of the sūtra इह् अन्त्यम् ॥

२ । हलन्त्यम् । १ । ३ । ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्त्य इह् इह् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् । ततो अण् अण् इत्यादि संज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 a. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इह् ॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of instruction only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñās or terms like अण्, and अण् &c.

All the final consonants of roots affixes &c. are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ञ्; here ञ् is इह् ॥ क् ल ञ्; here ञ् is इह् ॥ ए

नोह् ; here ह् is इत् ॥ ऐ जीच् ; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निपितृ or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

Note.—This sūtra आदिग्लेन सहैता explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāras अक् means those letters, whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the 'final indicatory letter?' Because a pratyāhāra, like छद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ऐ of ओद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३ । उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १ । ३ । २ ॥

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिकोऽभिस्त्वः स्यात् ॥ प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः प्राणिनीयाः ॥ लणसूत्रस्यावधेन-
सहोच्चार्यमाणो रेफो रमयीः वेज्ञाः । प्रत्याहारविधित्वा न प्रहणम् । अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । तदर्थं ककारि-
परेऽप्युक्तार्थे दृश्यते । आदिग्लेन सहैतत्सूत्रेण कृताः वेज्ञाः प्रत्याहारसंज्ञेन व्यवहियन्ते ॥

3. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

(The followers (or knowers of) Pāṇini's Grammar say that the Anunāsika words in the sūtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pāṇini.) Thus the अ of the sūtra लङ् (6th alphabet sūtra), is considered as anunāsika, and therefore, it is इत्; the result of which is that we can form a Pratyāhāra र with the इ of the sūtra इयस् and the अ of the sūtra लङ्; and thus this Pratyāhāra र Ra denotes the two letters र् and ळ् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लङ् was said to be इत् in the 1st page.)

(In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyāhāra the इत् letters should not be counted.) Thus अक् denotes all the vowels only; the इत् letters अ, इ, ए, and ऋ, are not included. For letters क्, ख्, ग् are not vowels, by Pāṇini himself treating them as consonants; as the word अजनुनासिक in this very sūtra shows. For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunāsika would have been changed to ए before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pāṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel.

Note:—From this sūtra up to sūtra 9 of the third Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya of Pāṇini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत् “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (aganta), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root वृद्ध ‘to increase,’ the final व् is indicatory, the real root is वृध् ॥ So also the final व् of स्पर्श is वृत् ॥

Note:—If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अन्नं अन् अयः ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मन्त्रिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74 S. 3418 (आतो मन्त्रिन् कर्त्तव्यं वन्निपद्य) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras VII. 2. 16. S. 3036 (अन्विष्य इत्. &c.).

४ । ऊकालोऽम्बुस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । १ । २ । २७ ॥

इत् कथं उच्यते ? वा काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽयं कालात् इत्यदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञा । त्यात् । त मन्त्रिकद्वयसादिभेदेन विधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *ū*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+उर्ध्व=वः ; that is, the वः is the plural of व, (as वाक्च वः is the plural of वाक्) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of व ॥ The genitive plural will be वान् meaning “of u’s”). (Let the vowels whose time is like the three व s, get respectively the name of *hrasva*, *dirgha* and *pluta*.) Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is *udatta*, *anudatta* *svarita*.

The व *u* having one *mātrā* or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is *pluta*. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. (The letter क *u* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase *इत्यदीर्घप्लुतः* is a *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S. 821.)

(The word *Kāla* means measure of time required for-pronouncing a vowel.)

As अदि ‘curd’ अद्य ‘honey’ here इ and उ are short. ऊपारी, गीरी, here ई is long. देवदत्तः अन्विष्य Devadatta ! Here अ *u* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47 S. 318. VII. 4. 25. S. 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S. 93.

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २६ ॥

सास्त्राविद्यु सभागेषु स्थानेपूर्वभागे निष्पन्नोऽङ्गुलसंज्ञः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udātta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as औ; दे ॥ Here अ being an indeclinable is udātta by the rule that declares all Nipātas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ ये is the nom. Plural of यत् 'who' येत् is acute on the final, being a substantive; for all (प्रतिपदिकास) are antodātta by the rule किञ्चोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit Sūtra I. 1.). यत् + जत् Here जत् being a धृत् termination is anudātta by III. 1. 4 S. 3709. Then त् of यत् is replaced by य; the affix जत् is replaced by छी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214.), and we have दे + छी = दे, the ए the single substitute for दे + छी is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udātta or acute accent. The udātta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small ॐ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

सप्तमः । शर्वाह ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As शर्वाह ॥ This is a compound of the noun शर्वत् with the verb आह (आह्वययति) ॥ The word शर्वत् is formed from the root श् 'to go' with the affix वति, there is guṇa of श् and we have शर्वत् ॥ The affix वति is anudātta, being a विद् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709); and श् being a dhātu is udātta (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word *अर्धन्* is also *ādyudatta*. The *अ* of *अर्ध* is also *udatta*, because it is = *dhātu* (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671). Then by II. 2. 19. S. 782 (*उपपत्तिश्च*) we compound the *upapada* *अर्धन्* with *अर्धन्*, and add the affix *क्विप्* by III. 2. 59. S. 373 (*क्विति* &c.). Then by *samāsa* accent (VI. 1. 223. and 3734.) or by *krit* accent (VI. 2. 139 S. 3873) the word *अर्धन्* retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the *न्* of *अर्धन्* is elided, and we have *अर्धे + अर्धन् = अर्धोऽर्ध*. The loss of accent takes place by VI. 1. 158 S. 3650. The vowel accent known as *grave* or *anudatta* is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the *anudatta* is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the *grave* accent.]

In pronouncing an *anudatta* vowel, there is *slackening* of the organs, and *mildness*, as well as *softness* and *sweetness* of tone: while there is *expansion* and *widening* of the *larynx*.

७। समाहारः स्वरितः । १ । २ । ३१ ॥

वशात्प्राप्तत्वे वर्णधर्मो समाश्रितो यस्मिन्तोऽश्च स्वरितवत्तः स्वात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udatta* and *Anudatta* tones is said to be *svarita* or *circumflexly* accented.

The word "vowel" of I. 2. 28 S. 35 is understood here also. The *svarita* or *circumflexed* accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.]

The word is used in *sūtra* VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. ("The affixes having an *indicatory* *ह* have *svarita* accent." As कृत्या *kanyā* शिष्यश्च *ṣikhyā*, कृद् *kṛd*.)

This *sūtra* is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an *udatta* vowel with an *anudatta* vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.]

८। तत्प्रादित उदात्तमर्धस्वम् । १ । २ । ३२ ॥

इत्थमहणमतन्मः। स्वरितस्यास्तिोऽर्धप्रादितं बोध्यम्। उदात्तार्थे तु परिधेयादुदात्तम्। तस्य षोडशस्वरितपरत्वे अर्धणं स्वम्। अन्यच्च नूनात्तत्प्रादितः प्रातिपदिके प्रसिद्धः। अथ बोध्यम्। यथाहं न वेः। राः। शतचक्रं। होः। हः ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः। अग्निमर्ति इत्यादनुदात्तचक्रुतिः। स नवावेधोऽपि प्रत्येकमनुदात्तिकादनुदात्तिकात्प्रादित्यां द्विधा ॥

8. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udatta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *ārasa* in the *Sūtra* is redundant. In a *Svarita* accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the *udatta* accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be *anudatta*. If an *udatta* or another *svarita* follows it then this *anudatta* portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to *Prātisākhya*s, the *udatta* portion is only heard. In the following, the *anudatta* is heard: *अवसोऽस्तः*; *स्यान् न ये ई ङाः*; *सुतर्धकु छे ई ङाः* ॥ While in the following the *udatta* is heard: *अग्निर्मेले पुणेहिषम्* ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is *hrasva*, *dīgha* or *pluta*, as it is *udatta*, *anudatta* or *svarita*. Every one of these nine, has two more forms: nasal and not nasal: as is taught in the next *sūtra*.

Note.—According to *Siddhānta*, the word *इत्य* is useless. According to *Kāśikā*, it is important, as given below.

It has been defined that *svarita* accent is a combination of *udatta* and *anudatta*. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present *sūtra* clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in *svarita*, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its *mātrā* being one, half will be *udatta* and the other half *anudatta*. If a long vowel, whose *mātrās* are two, be *svarita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udatta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudatta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udatta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudatta*. In short, the *udatta* portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in *शिक्यम् śikyam* the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in *कन्यā kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in *मानवाकā mānavākā*, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

In the above examples, *अव* $\frac{1}{2}$ *दीङ्मा* &c., the accents are thus formed. The word *अव* is the Locative form of *अङ्*, formed by adding the affix *अङ्* (V. 3. 12. S. 1950) and substituting *अव* (VII. 2. 105. S. 1860). The word *अव* is therefore *svarita*-accented, because formed by the *अङ्* affix *अङ्* (VI. 1. 185. S. 3720). The word *अ* becomes *anudatta* by VIII. 1. 18. S. 403. *अद्युतः* is *Adyudatta*, because it is derived from the root *अङ्* with the affix *अद्युतः*; the affix being *अङ्* makes the word *Adyudatta* (VI. 2. 197. S. 3686). Now *अ* + *अद्युतः* = *अद्युतः*, the *anudatta* combining with *udatta* becomes *udatta* (VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658): therefore *अद्युतः* of *अद्युतः* becomes *udatta*. The *svarita* *अद्युतः* being followed by the *udatta* *अद्युतः*, causes the latter half of the *anudatta* half of the *svarita* to be heard. This is indicated by $\frac{1}{2}$ namely *svarita* above and *anudatta* below. This is a short *svarita*.

In the example *स्यान् न ये ई ङाः*, the *svarita* is a long vowel. The word *स्यान्* is *udatta* by *Plūt* accent, as shown above (S. 5). *स्यान्* is also finally *udatta* by *Plūt* accent. The *udatta* $\frac{1}{2}$ of *ये* combining with the *anudatta* *ये* of *स्यान्*,

becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659), वे'; this svarita followed by udātta वी' of वी', is heard in its anudātta portion वे ॥

In the third example वसवर्कं वे ॥ वसः, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudātta portion of the svarita is heard. The word वे is antodātta by Phī accent (See S. 5); the visarga is changed to व, and वे+व=वव by guṇa, and this वव becomes udātta, the resultant of udātta plus anudātta is udātta. In वसः the final व is svarita, the first व is therefore anudātta. The anudātta व of वसः combining with the udātta वे of वे, becomes all svarita (VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659) i.e. वी's; this-svarita वी is followed by the svarita वी of वी, and hence the anudātta portion of svarita वी is heard here also. The word वसः is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the तिङ् affix ण्ङ् to the root वस् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The व of वस् does not take Vṛiddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhāṣā II.—संज्ञापूर्वकविशेषनिबन्धान् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term.

In the last example अग्निमीमे पुरोहितं, the ई of ईमे is svarita, the मे has eka-ṣruti accent by the rule प्रथमपर्याया एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudātta, the udātta half of the svarita is heard.

९. मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

इत्यनुनासिकव्योचनार्थमाजो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । अ इ उ ऋ एवां वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ ऋर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य शीर्षाभावात् ॥ एवावपि द्वादश । तेषां द्वयभावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or *nasal*.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called *anunāsika*.

(The result of the six sūtras given above, is this: The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel ए has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, औ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.)

१०. तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

सत्त्वादिस्वानामभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्यवश्यं यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णं चेत् स्यात् ॥ नकुनदितर्जनी यानां कण्ठः । इन्दुयशानां तालुः । क्षुद्रपाशां मूर्धा । तलुक्तानां सन्ताः । उष्णपुष्पादीयानामोष्ठेः । जगद्वानां नासिका । एतैः कण्ठहातुः । ओष्ठैः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वकारस्य श्रोत्रोष्ठम् । शिङ्गाश्लीयस्य शिङ्गाश्लीम् ।

नासिकादु स्वारस्य ॥ इति स्थानानि ॥ यन्त्रो विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आद्याधतुर्धा । स्पृष्टेपस्पृष्टविबृ-
तसंवृतभेदात् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयतनं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विबृतमूष्मणो स्वराणां च । इषत्स्योष-
णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियावशायां तु विबृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarṇa or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called savarṇa, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c., as well as a common ābhyantara prayatna. That is, when the place and prayatna are the same, then the letters are savarṇa.

1. The letters क, ख, ए, ग, घ, ङ, ण, ॠ, ॡ, have throat as their place and are gutturals or Kanṭha.
2. The letters च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, have the palate and are palatals or Tālavya.
3. The letters त्, थ, द, ध, न, ण, र, ॠ, ॡ, have the ^{मूर्धन्या} murdhā, and are cerebrals or Murdhanya.
4. The letters त्, थ, द, ध, न, ण, र, ॠ, ॡ, have the teeth and are dentals or Dantya.
5. The letters व, व, फ, ब, भ, म, य, ॠ, ॡ, have the lips and are labials or Oshṭhya.
- a. The letters ङ, ञ, न, ण, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
6. The letters क, ख, have the throat and palate, and are Kanṭha-tālavya i. e. gutturo—palatals.
- c. The letters क, ख, have the throat and the lips, and are Kanṭha-oshṭhya i. e. gutturo-labials.
- d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is dant-oshṭhya i. e. dento-labial.
- e. The letter य is Jihvā-mūliya or root of the tongue.
- f. The letter ॠ is anuvāra ॥ pure nasal.

The above are the sthāna or places of utterance of the letters.

The Prayatna ॥ of two sorts, the inner called ābhyantara, and the external called bāhya. The first or ābhyantara is of four kinds, namely, sprishṭa, īśat sprishṭa, vivṛita and samvṛita.

1. The Sparsa letters have sprishṭa prayatna.
2. The antastha letters have īśat-sprishṭa prayatna.
3. The ushma letters and the vowels have vivṛita prayatna.

4. <The short अ is samvrita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivrita.> (This fact is indicated by Pāṇini himself in the last sūtra of his Grammar, i. e. in the sūtra अअ (VIII.4.68 S. 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivrita, is now made samvrita.) (See the following sūtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ८८ ॥

विद्वत्तद्वय संवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अल्प आद्यध्यायी संपूर्णोऽयमसिद्धत्वात्पञ्चदश्या विद्वत्तद्वय संवृत । तथा अ सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विद्वत्) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विद्वत् or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted; but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S. 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred.) In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashtādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne).

The present sūtra occurs in the second division of Ashtādhyāyī, i. e. the last three Padas. The whole Ashtādhyāyī has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set (7½ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. (Therefore though the अ is made samvrita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivrita throughout the rest of the Grammar.) The sūtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripādī), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas (7½ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सप्तदशधाध्यायी प्रति विपाद्यसिद्धा विपाद्यमपि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ आद्यमयमसिद्धकारणम् ॥ विचारः संसारः आसौ नाहो योषोऽयोपोऽन्यमाणा महाभाज उशतोऽनु-
सप्तः स्मरितमेति ॥ एतान् यथाः सप्तः सप्तः विद्वत्तः चर एव अ । एते आसन्तुशान्ता अपोषाम विद्वत्तः ॥

कण्ठमध्ये ॥ योपाः स्युः सेनुता नक्तभायिनः । अयुष्मा वर्ययमगा यणयाम्पासवः सृताः ॥ वगेज्याद्यानां
 यतुर्थे पञ्चमे परे मध्ये यथो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिकर्त्रीः । चक्षुस्तनुः ।
 अग्निः । घृण्णन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कस्यसर्वेभ्यः परे तस्सदृशा एव यमाः । तत्र यथार्णो प्रयमद्वितीयाः खयस्तया
 तेषामेव यमाः जिह्वामूलीयोपध्माणीयो विसर्गः शपसाभेलेतेषां विवारः श्वाखोऽर्धोपश्च । अन्येषां तु संवारे
 नास्ते योपश्च । यथार्णो प्रयमद्वितीयपञ्चमः प्रयमद्वितीययमां यल्लताभान्त्वधाणाः । अन्ते महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः ।
 बाह्यप्रयत्नाश्च यद्यपि सर्ववर्णसंज्ञायां नुपयुक्तास्तथाप्यान्तरतन्म्यपरीक्षायापुनर्योग्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ काश्यो
 मायसानाः स्पर्शाः । यत्नवा अन्तस्थाः । शपसल ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वराः । ऋः प्रापति कवाभ्यां प्रागर्ध-
 विसर्गसदृशो जिह्वामूलीयोपध्माणीयो । षं षा इत्यर्थः पराननुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रवक्ष्यविवेकः ॥
 * कृतवर्णयोर्मध्यः सायण्ये वाच्यम्* ॥ अक्षोरद्वयोर्योरिकारश्चकारोर्धकारश्चकारोर्लकारस्तकारादीश्च निय-
 तावुर्थे प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. Therefore the Tripādi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyāyi rules. Even in the Tripādi, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent.

Thus the letter य is samvṛita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bāhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivāra, 2 samvāra, 3 śvāsa, 4 nāda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prāṇa, 8 mahāprāṇa, 9 udātta, 10 anudātta, 11 svarita.

Verse:—The double of khay (ख, क, छ, ङ, घ, ञ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ) letters, the khay letters themselves, the ऋ and ॠ, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are śvāsa, aghosha, and expand the throat, i. e. are of vivāra prayatna. The other letters (i. e. the हङ्, letters, the yamas of हङ् letters and the anusvāra) are ghosha, samvāra, and nāda prayanta. The odd letters of the Vargas, the doubles of first and third, and ङ् letters are alpa-prāṇa.

Explanation:—The word यय is a Prātisākhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth i. e. by a nasal. Thus पयिष् षोः, ययस्तनुः, ययग्निः, ययन्ति, here the doubled letters य्, ण्, ष् and य् are yama i. e. only those letters which have the same form i. e. the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The लृ letters are the first and second letters of the varga: the ten letters क प, य, छ &c. The yamas of these लृ letters, so also the Jihvāmūliya, Upadhmanīya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivāra, śvāsa, and aghosha.

The other letters are samvāra nāda, and ghosha. The first, third and the fifth letters of a varga, the yamas of first and third, and य, र, ष and य are alpa-prāṇa. The others i. e. the second and fourth letters of the varga, and श, ष, स, ह are mahā-prāṇa.

Though the Bāhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarna-hood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to ञ are sparsa. The four letters य, र, ल, व, are antastha. The four letters ष, ष, स, ह are Ushma. The vowels are Svara. The × क and × व are called Jivamūliya and Upadhmanīya. (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and व varga).

अं र्धः अः ॥ these are anusvāra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthāna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort).

1. *vart* :—The letters क् and ण् should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sūtras (10 and 12), the letter.

क becomes homogeneous with ह

ह " " वा

क " " ण

ह " " ण

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sūtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant.

Note:—The following lines summarise the above, the vowels are vivāra, svāra, and aghosha. The ह् letters are samāra, nāda, and ghosha. The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and अण् letters are alpa-prāna. The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and ण् letters are mahā-prāna.

१३ नाऽऽकृतौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारलङ्घितोऽयं आच् स च ह्रस्व चेति लौ गित्या खर्षी न स्तः । तेन हर्षीत्य इति शीतलं षट् सामान्येति षट् षट् अनादिकं न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव ह्रस्वदीर्घावपि महणकशास्त्रवन्मात्रत्वं स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sūtra are न, आच्, इति ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the अच् letters and the consonants. Therefore in इधि + इति the इ of इधि is not changed to ह्र before इ, nor in अधि + शीतलं the इ is lengthened before ण; nor in इधि + षट्, and इधि + सामान्येति any change takes place. But for this sūtra, the letters क् &c. would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४ । अणुवित्सवणस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयेते विधीयते इति प्रत्ययः । अविधीयमानाऽणु उचितं सवर्णस्य संज्ञा स्यात् । अत्राणु परेण जकारेण ॥ कृ च उ ड टु पु एत उचितः ॥ नदेवम् अ इत्यष्टावसानां संज्ञा । उयेकारोकारे । अकारसंज्ञकतः । एवं लकारोऽपि । एषो ह्यवसानम् ॥ एतेनारोहोत्तमं न मियः सारण्येव । ऐर्भाजिति सूत्रात्प्रसङ्गात् । तैचधनुषैकानेः संज्ञाः स्तुतिरिति नावावनीयम् ॥ चाऽणुत्वमिति निषेधा यद्यप्याक्षरसमाप्ताधिकानामपि तदापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न संशयः । तदाऽऽकारस्यापि श्रुतिरप्यत्र । तेन विधवाभित्यत्र होव इति दत्तं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा । तन्मननुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अणु i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyāhāra अणु in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अणु pratyāhāra refers to the second ए of एणु. The letters included in अणु, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कृ refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ड, ट, and तु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. S. 195. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra वादयुग (VI. 1. 87 S. 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guṇa is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only अ + ईस = अरसः ; but अ + ईस = अरसः । So also in sūtra एष्य चक्षे (VII. 4. 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S. 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृण + करोति = कृणीकरोति and खट्ट + करोति = खट्टीकरोति. So also in sūtra वस्तेति ॥ (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168. S. 3148, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsana and bhikṣa, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिगुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, S. 1379, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

The word अणुवित्सवणस्य in the sūtra means "that which is not ordained (pratyāte = vidhiyate)." That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sūtra means "The अणु letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so pronounced by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अणु here is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ए of एणु. The words कृ, चु, ड, ट, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are उचितः ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters ; so also ऋ and ॠ . The ए denotes 30 letters, and so also ऐ . The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ औ denote 12 letters.

2. *Vari.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and औ in ओ, then where was the necessity of the sūtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately. Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sūtra नाह्नलौ (I. 1. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sūtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and अ ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sūtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् हलौ, but as न आ-अच्, हलौ, and we translate it as "There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters." Therefore in विश्वामिः the letter आ is not changed to व by VIII. 2. 31 S. 3579. (व is substituted for ह before a final letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samāmnāya means the sūtras teaching the alphabets i. e. the 14 Maheshvara sūtras.

The letters अ, इ, उ are of two kinds according ॥ they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therefore, a non nasalised अ, इ, उ will denote also the nasalised letter : i. e. the simple letter अ, इ, उ include the nasalised अँ, इँ, उँ ॥

(The sense of this sūtra अणुद्वि &c therefore is that the अच् letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also. But ए and ऐ though included in अच् pratyāhāra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them.)

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

तः परी यस्मान्न अ सात्परस्योद्यम्यत्तत्कालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् । केन नत् ॥ इत् इत्यादयः वर्णा वर्णा संज्ञा । अदिति प्रादसानात् ॥

15, The letter which has ए after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time,

By the last sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. (This is done by placing a ए either after or before the

letter. Thus अन् means the very letter अं and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly इन् means short इ only and not long or protracted इ.

The sūtra consists of two words त्वरन् and सक्कालस्य. (Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time). According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अन् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अं and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms./

This sūtra declares an injunction. (The anuvṛtti of अन् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अन् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अन् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.)

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 S. 203. अतोभिस एत्. 'After words ending in अन् (i. e. short अ), एत् takes the place of अत्' Thus वृक्षः ॥ But in खट्वा which ends in long अ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः ॥

Therefore अन्, इन्, उन् denote six letters each, namely अ, अं, अः, ई, ईः, ईं ॥ अन् denotes twelve letters.

१६। वृद्धिरादेश् १। १। १। १ ॥

आन् ऐश् वृद्धिराशः स्यान् ॥

16. आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛddhi.

This defines the word vṛddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛddhi, āt and aich. आन् means the long आ, the final न् being indicative only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra aich, and the pratyāhāra ऐश् means the letters ऐ and औ.)

The indicative न् in आन् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This न् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of त्वरन् (I. 1. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds न्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as

महा + जायतः = महाजायतः ॥ Here हा has two matras and not four. So also in खद्देदः the vowel ऐ the resultant of जा + ए has only two, not four, mât-râs.

१७ । अदेङ् गुणः । १ । १ । २ ॥

अन् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called guṇa.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अस्ति, "he moves"; एति "he comes", ओसति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots अस्, ए, and ओस् have been respectively gunated into अस्, एस् and ओस् before the third person singular termination ति ॥

The term Guṇa occurs in sūtras like निहर्षणः (VII. 3. 82 S. 2346). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root निह् 'to melt';

१८ । भूवाद्यो धातवः । १ । ३ । १ ॥

क्रियापादिभ्यो भवत्यो धातुसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + भवति is भवति and not भूवति; while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root. According to it the sūtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवी, भूवी आदी येषां भूभवेत्यत्र वा सङ्ख्याः "word Bhû &c., and like वा denoting action are called Dhātu." वा "to blow."

१९ । प्राग्विश्वराशिपाताः । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirî-śvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word च्छ of I. 4. 55 S. 2575; namely, it makes the words Gatî, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, i. e., their own name as well as the name Nipāta.

The letter *ṛ* in प्राचीश्वराद् is to remove doubt, i. e., aphorism I. 4. 97 S. 644 should be taken as the limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 S. 344a. which has the word *isvare* also.)

२० । च्वाद्यो ऽसन्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अत्रन्वायाभादयो विपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. (The word *cha* 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.)

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अत्रन्वायाभादयो विपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

21. (The words *pra* &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' अ, परा, अप, सम्, भद्र, अव, निर, हुस्, वि, आह्, नि, अथि, अथि, सु, उह्, अभि, मति, परि, उप ॥

(The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the *pra* &c., words two names, nameiy, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i. e., when they are in composition with verbs.) Not so, however, the *chā* &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipātas. As परा अयति सेना "the excellent army conquers". Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.)

२२ । उपसर्गः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. (The words *pra* &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As अ+अयति=अययति. - Here the dental अ is changed into cerebral य because of the अ getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VII. 4. 14 S. 2287). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणयकः, परिणयकः ॥)

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ । ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ अ परा अप सम् भद्र अव निर निर हुस्, हुस्, वि आह्, नि अथि अथि अथि सु उह् अभि मति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. (The words *pra* &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.)

२४ । न वेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ४४ ॥

विपरिणयकयोर्विभाषा संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. “May or may not” is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ :—prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two. This sūtra specially applies to the last class.

(Thus the root श्वि ‘to swell,’ by virtue of the rule विभाषा द्वे (V. 1. 80 S. 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either श्विष्य or श्विष्यत्.)

२४ । एवं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं संज्ञि शब्दराशि वा संज्ञा वा विना ॥

{ 25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition. }

(This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means ‘one’s own’ denotes ‘the meaning,’ and the word रूपं denotes ‘the individual form of a word.’ The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूपं, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, वायव्यः कवलः &c.)

२५ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषणं तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वं स्वं रूपं ॥ सम्यक्प्रत्ययविधौ प्रविशेत् ॥ उगिहर्णं प्रहणवर्जम् ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन ‘by what (attribute),’ विधिः ‘rule,’ तदन्तस्य ‘having that (attribute) at its end.’

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842.) declaring “let there be the affix इत् after the vowels.” Here the phrase “after the vowels” means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus वि + अच् = वेदच्. (Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words *ending* in those forms.)

Thus the sūtra इच्छ (III. 3. 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अच्, वि + अच् = वच् ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, S. 686. declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + भित् = कष्टभित् 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्ट + परलभित् ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99, S. 1101, declares "that the words नञ् &c., take the affix कच्." Thus नञ् + कच् = नाञाकच्. But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूचनञ्, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूचनञ् will be called सूचनादि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicator इच् (इ, क्, एच्), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26, S. 3012) has an indicator इ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत् इच् says "after अत् there is the affix इच्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इच् = दक्षि the son of Dakṣha.

२७ । विरामोऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभावेऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15 S. 26 &c

२८ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

पर्यायानामनिराधितः संनिधिः संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, (there being the intervention of half a mātrā or prosodial length between them) is called contact or sanhitā.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As वृद्धाव = वधि + अव.

२९ सुप्तिङन्त-पदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुप्तिङन्तं विटन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अक्षिभस्मवहिता हलः संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगेशुक् । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं लघुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घश्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHĀSHĀS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिवाच्यं यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयते तत्रैव इति पठ्यन्तं पदवृत्तिष्वे ॥

34. In the absence of any special *sthāni*, whenever *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is enjoined about any expression by using the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, it is to be understood to come in the room of the *ik* vowels only (*i*, *u*, *ri*, and *ā* long and short,) of that expression.

(Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is ordained by employing the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, there the word "*ikaḥ*" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of *ik*," is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of any other particular *sthāni* or the letter to be replaced.

Thus *sūtra* VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares:—"when a *sārvadhātuka* or an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows there is *guṇa* of the base." Here the *sthāni* or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "*ikaḥ*" must be read into the *sūtra*. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is *guṇa* of the *ik* vowels of the base." The *guṇa* of *इ* or *ई* is *ए*; of *उ* or *ऊ*, is *ओ*; of *ऋ* or *ॠ* is *अर्*; of *ऌ* is *अल्*; and their *Vṛiddhi* is *ऐ*, *औ*, *आर्* and *आल्* respectively. Thus नी + भक्ति = ने + गति = नयति "he leads."

३५ । अचक्ष । १ । २ । २८ ॥

अस्यार्थस्तुतत्राद्यैर्वाङ्मिवधीयते तत्राऽप्य इति पठ्यन्तं पदवृत्तिष्वे ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book, 'short' 'long' or 'prolated' is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dlgha* or *pluta*, there the word *achakḥ*, in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of the vowel" is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. S. 318 "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is :— the *hrasva* is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form. As *रे* is shortened to *रि* in forming the compound with *अति* in *अतिरि*, नो to *अतिदु*, ना to *अपदु* ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ टाकितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

दिक्कितौ यत्थोक्त्तौ तस्य क्त्वाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory *ट्* or *क्*, they precede or follow it accordingly.

(This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters *ट्* and *क्*. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is *ट्* that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a *क्* augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except *य*, have *इट्*". The question may arise where is this *इट्* to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhadhātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory *ट्* shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhadhātuka affix. Thus the future termination *स्वहे*, is an ārdhadhātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment *इट्*. Thus *भू + इट् + स्वहि = भविष्यति*, 'he will be.' Similarly *लुप्ति* 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. S. 2595 the root *भी* takes the augment *पुक्* in forming the causative. This having an indicatory *क्* is to be added after the word *भी*, as, *भी + पुक् + पिङ् + ते = भीषयते* 'he frightens'.)

३७ । मिद्वचोऽस्त्यापदः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अथ इति निर्पणणे पद्यी । अर्वां नप्ये योऽस्त्यस्त्यापदस्तत्त्वेषाम्भावयवो निस्त्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory *ट्* comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory *ट्*. The augments having an indicatory *ट्*, technically called *मिद्व* augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called *दुप्*, in which *व* and *ट्* are *इट्*, and the actual augment is *ट्*. When, therefore, it is said "let *दुप्* be added to the word," the letter *ट्* is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of *पयस्* 'milk' is formed in the following way :—पयस्

+ नुम् + ई (VII. 1. 72 S. 314) = पयान्वि (VI. 4. 8 S. 250). Here न् is added between य and इ i. e. after the य of य, which is the final vowel of the word : and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly वृह् + य + ति (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) = वृह्य + युम् + न् + ति (VI. 1. 59 S. 2402) = वृह्यन्ति । Similarly विह्वन्ति ।

(The word अयः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 S. 38 and III. 1. 1, S. 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८ । वयस्य स्थानेयोगा । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा वयस्य स्थानेयोगा बोध्या । स्थाने च प्रसङ्गः ॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

(This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini.) The genitive case or śāśthī denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 34. the word इक् is in the genitive case ; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and viddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.'

The word स्थाने here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence इर्मर्णा स्थाने घोरः प्रस्तस्तिन्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras वस्तेर्भूः (II. 4. 52 S. 2470), or वृक्षे वयिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and 'brū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus वयिता, वयितुम्, वयितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of वच् ; so also, वक्तुः, वक्तुम्, and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वच्.

(The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word *shash*(hi). The compound means *स्यादि योगोऽस्ये*, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word *sthāna*.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound ; on the analogy of compounds like *कण्वकालः* &c. Or *स्यान्व योगोऽस्ये* अस्ति, the ए in *sthāne* is anomalous.

३६ । स्थानेऽन्तरत्तमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

मन्त्रे सति सदृशत्वेन आवेष्टाः स्यात् ॥ यद्यनेकविधमान्तये तत्र स्थानम् आन्तर्ये बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to 'c' used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or द्रव्यम् (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *vide*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows *ak*, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—*एङ् + अच् = एङ्गाच्* ; here the substitution of the long *आ*, for the two short *अ*'s, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both *अ* and *आ* are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the *guṇa* substitutes of *अ* and *इ* out of the three *guṇa* letters *अ*, *ए* and *ओ*, we find that *अ* is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* *अ* and *इ* and *उ* have all one *mātrā* ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get *ए* and *ओ* ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, *चेदां स्तोत्रा*.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77. S. 47) the word यचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (यचि) are changed into ए, ओ, (अण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण in यचि.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus वधि + उक्कव = वधुक्कव; ३० माधिरव, पचसोऽनव ॥

४१ । तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । १ । १ । ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणान्यवहितस्य परस्य होयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61, S. 118 declares that ‘after इद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus इद् + स्थापनम्. Here the word इद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter द् must be substituted in the place of sthā, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have इद् + स्थापनम् = इत्थपानम्.

४२ । अलोन्त्यस्य । १ । १ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टाऽन्यस्यादिशः स्वाद् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared स्थापनम् “in the place of इद् &c., there is अ.” It does not mean that the whole word इद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of इद्, namely इ is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । छिद्य । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अद्यन्यन्त्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्यैवस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory **ङ** (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra I. 1. 55, S. 45. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25, S. 921) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in **क्** there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute आनङ् is a **ङिङ्** substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz.* the **क्** of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also द्वैतापोतापौ.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य अङ्गिहिते अक्षरस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्यस्यैवस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

(When any operation is to be made in a word following another, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42. (अलोऽन्यस्य) To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97, S. 941) by which it is declared: "In the place of अच् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as:—'In the place of अच् there is ई when अच् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अच् but only one. By sūtra 43 that letter would have been the last letter of अच्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, (simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word.) Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अच् and we have द्वि + अच् = द्वीच् (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) 'an island,' अन्तरीपे 'promontory.'

४५ । अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

सदस्य । अलोऽन्यस्यैवस्यापवादः । अद्याभ्य श्रीशिवशास्त्रादिः परस्वेत्येतदपि परस्वादिनेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

Note:—By I. 4. 2, S. 175. we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व). This Paribhāṣa further expands the same.

An *anītya* rule is stronger than a *Para* (पर) rule. As तुदादिभ्यः ण (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदादिः स्थावित्र्यः णम् (III. 1. 78, S. 2543) as स्थादि, Here the *nītya* affixes ण and णम् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86. S. 2189. Similarly चिन्दाय and चिन्दायम् Here the augment आद् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nītya* rule supersedes even the subsequent (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the इ of चिन्द् before the affixes ण and णम्

Thus तुद् + चिद् VII. 1. 77 S. 3576. Vikaranaद् before Sarvadhātuka; (*nītya*).

VII. 3. 86 S. 2189. Guna for इ (para but *anītya*). III. 1. 77 S. 2534 applies before the substitution of guṇa for इ and it would apply also if guṇa were substituted for इ, and if तुद् were changed to सोद्. On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before इ is added to तुद्, but after the addition of इ to तुद् guṇa could not by VII. 3. 86 be substituted for इ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly III. 1. 77 is *nītya* and VII. 3. 86 is *anītya*; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद् + चि, and subsequently VII. 3. 86 is no longer applicable. (A *nītya* is thus defined:—A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nītya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nītya*.)

(An *antaranga* rule possesses greater force than even a *nītya* rule. *Antaranga* is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule; in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that *antranga* rule is *bahiranga*.) In the formation of चामविन्त्री nom. dual of the neuter noun चामवी, we have two rules, first VII. 1. 73. S. 320. by which च, is added before the dual case affix वी; and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem चामवी to चामवि. (Though the च् augment is *nītya*, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the *antaranga* rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the च् is added. For had च been added first, then चामवीच् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.)

(An *apavāda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus दैत्यारिः श्रीशः ॥ दैत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश, here the *antaranga* rules अद्गुणः and इकोयणौच would supersede even the पर rule of savarna-dīrgha, and अ + अ would be अ ई + ई would be ई ॥ But =varṇa-dīrgha rule being an *apavāda* rule supersedes the *antaranga* guṇa and yaṇ-ādeṣā.

Paribhāṣā. (That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्थोच, from सिद् + च, ऊ is substituted for the इ of सिद् by VI. 4. 19 S. 2561, we obtain thus सिक् + च. Here two rules apply simultaneously, viz. VI. 1. 77 S. 47, which teaches the substitution of इ for इ before ऊ, and VII. 3. 86 by which guṇa should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix च, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of इ for इ is caused by ऊ, that of guṇa for इ by च; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of इ lies within or before the cause च of the substitution of guṇa, and, on the other hand, the cause च of the substitution of guṇa without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of इ,—the substitution of इ for इ and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of guṇa for इ and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhāṣā. The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, 'an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

अचसंधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS.

४७ । इको यक्षचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इयः स्थाने यश्च स्वासंधिं संहितार्थं विधत्ते । कुधी उपास्य इति सिध्यते । स्थानस्य आभ्यन्तरीका-
स्य दकारः । कुक्ष्य उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य, व, इ, ऊ, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ए (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus कुधी+उपास्यः Here the long ई of कुधी is replaced by य which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthāna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get कुक्ष्य+उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication :—

४८ । अनाधि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ७७ ॥

अधः परस्य को द्वे वा स्तो न त्वधि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of च (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter च is doubled, and we have:—

कु च्च कुक्ष्य+उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration:—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनलिवधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्त्वात् न तु स्थान्यन्ताप्रत्यययोः । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेनाध्वत्वनाभिलान-
विधेति द्वित्वनिषेधो न बाह्योऽनलिवधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (ādeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute व should be considered as ई which it has replaced; and as ई is a vowel, this व should be considered as a vowel. That being so, वृ is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so अनाधिच does not apply, and वृ should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sūtra itself, which says अनाधिवचो—"not when a rule of letter is to be applied." The वृ is like ई, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like अनाधिच ॥ The वृ therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this अनाधिवचो exception set aside by the following sūtra ?

५० । अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ । परस्मिन्तोऽच्चेष्टः स्यादिवस्त्वात् स्यादिवत्त्वाच्चः पूर्वत्वेन दृश्यते विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्यादिवचो विधौ ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyāhāra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Therefore वृ would be स्यादिवत् to ई because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely वृ of वृत्त्व and the rule of doubling is to be applied to वृ a letter which precedes वृ ॥

To this we answer "No", because of the following sūtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विर्धनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाञ्जुस्वारदीर्घेजञ्चर्चिधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पदान्तद्विर्धनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाञ्जुस्वारदीर्घेजञ्चर्चिधिषु । न पदान्तद्विर्धनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाञ्जुस्वारदीर्घेजञ्चर्चिधिषु । इति स्यादिवचो विधौ ॥

51. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvāra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an ādeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel ādeśa is not sthānivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.'
2. द्विषन्तविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of झृषी + उपास्य we have झृषृष् + उपास्य Here ई is changed into ऋ. If this ऋ were sthānivat to ई, then the rule by which षृ could be doubled before ऋ would be inapplicable. But ऋ is not equivalent to ई, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of षृ and get the form झृषृषास्य. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the ādeśa is not equivalent to the sthānī.
3. वृत्तिविधिः, 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.'
4. यत्नोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.'
5. स्वराविधिः 'a rule relating to accent.'
6. सवर्गविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.'
7. अनुस्वारविधिः 'a rule relating to anusvāra.'
8. दीर्घविधिः 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.'
9. ऋषिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra ऋ, in the place of hard consonants.'
10. ऋविधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of ऋ, pratyāhāra instead of other consonants.'

५२ । कलां जश्झशि ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

सप्तम । इति चकारस्य वकारः ॥

52, In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus
झृषृष् + उपास्य = झृषृष् + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sūtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥ ~

मसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदं सक्त्वस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति खेपे प्राप्ते ॥ यजः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यजो यजो हे यज्ये * ॥ नय इति यज्ययी यज इति यज्यीति पक्षे यकारस्यपि द्वित्वम् । तद्विधु धकारयकारयो-
र्द्वित्वविकल्पाद्यस्त्यारि रूपानि ॥ एकधमेकयम् । द्विधं द्वियम् । द्विधमेकयम् । एकधं द्वियम् । सुव्युपात्तम् ।
मत्तारिः । धारयः । सक्तृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुव्युत्पत्त्यस्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonant, namely the letter य् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter य् is prevented by the following *Vartika*, यजः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the य् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vartika* which requires the doubling of य् also, यजोमयोर्द्वित्वे "The letters of the यञ् class are reduplicated after letters of the यञ् class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of य् and य् optionally.

1. One य् and one य् as सुव्युत्पत्त्यः ।
2. Two य्स and two य्स as सुव्युत्पत्त्यस्यः ।
3. Two य्स and one य् as सुव्युत्पत्त्यस्यः ।
4. One य् and two य्स as सुव्युत्पत्त्यस्यः ।

So also मयु + मरिः = मयमरिः ; धारयः, सक्तृतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्यामोने पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रस्यस्य न के च्च नादिन्यामोने पत्रे नायोने मय्यमोने । पुत्रमिनी रूपमिति पत्रे । नायोने
द्वित्वम् । तस्य तस्य द्वित्वमने मय्यमेव । पुत्रमिनी सविनी ॥ तस्ये च्च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रमिनी रूपमिति पत्रे ॥ वा
द्वित्वमने * ॥ पुत्रमिनी । पुत्रमय्यी । पुत्रमय्यी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word *ādinī* follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This declares the reduplication required by sūtra 48. Thus पुत्रमिनी

एवमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुष्पादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुष्पादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vart.—So also when पुञ्च is followed by पुष्पादिनी ॥ As पुञ्चपुष्पादिनी एवमसि-पापि ॥ So also पुञ्चपौष्पादिनी ॥

Vart.—Optionally so when the words हत and शप्थ follow. As पुञ्चहती or पुञ्चहती, पुञ्चशप्थी or पुञ्चशप्थी ॥

५६ । त्रिमभूतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

पञ्चासिषु यज्ञेषु संसृजेषु वा वित्तम् । इन्द्रः । इन्द्रः । राक्षसम् । राक्षसम् ॥

56. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इन्द्रः, राक्षसम्, राक्षसम् ॥

५७ । सर्वेषु शाकटयस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्विषं न । शर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As शर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घाद्याचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्विषं न । शायम् । पापम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As शायम्, पापम्,

५९ । मन्त्रो रक्षाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मन्त्रः । पक्ष्याणां देवदेवताभ्यां पक्ष्ये मन्त्रे वा रक्षः । हृदयमन्त्रः ॥ न हृदयसिद्धिः ॥

59. There is reduplication of यद्, i. e. all the consonants except ह्, after the letters र् and ह् following a vowel.

The word यद् of VIII. 4. 45 S. 11 6. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus हृदयमन्त्रः, न हृदयसिद्धिः ॥

६० । ह्रलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोपः स्वाहा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैक्यं रूपं तुल्यम् ।
लोपारम्भकत्वे तु आदित्यो ऐवताऽप्येतादित्यं शक्तिरित्यादौ ॥ यमां यमीति यपासंख्यविज्ञानाद्रेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्ये ह्रविः To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (य्यत्) by IV. 1. 85, S. 10 77. and we have आदित्ये; now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules. Hence this lopa-rule. Thus āditya + ya (IV. 1. 85) = ādity + ya (the *a* is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 3 11.) = ādityya. Then by applying the present rule we have āditya with one *y* only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyāhāra, i. e. य, य, र, ल, झ, म, ङ, ञ and न; when यम् follows another यम्; here the substitute and sthāni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathā sankhya I. 3. 10, S. 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, य by य, र by र and so on : and not य followed by य, or र etc. Therefore there is no elision of य in नक्षत्रयम् though य a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽययायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एयः कयानय् वाय् आय् एते लुपन्ति ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, वाय्, आय् and एय् when a vowel follows.

62. Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final इ, and ए in अइ, अए, आइ and आए, because these letters are not इत् or indicatory. Why are they not indicatory? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it: otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only: in fact, the इ and ए do not get the designation इत् at all here.

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have: इरे + ए = इरये; विष्णो + ए = विष्णये; मे + वक्कः = मायकः; यो + वक्कः = पावकः ॥

इ३। चान्तो वि प्रत्यये ॥ ६। १। ७६ ॥

वकारोऽयं प्रत्यये वरे ओषोत्तोरत् आइ एसौ स्तः। गोर्विकारो बभूव। गोपयसौर्यविति यत्। नाभा साधं बाभूव। गोवधोधर्वेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोवृत्तौ छम्बस्तुपसंस्थानम् ० ॥ अधपरिभाषे य ० ॥ गच्छति। कतिपुत्रीत्यादिना यृत्तिसन्धौ निपातितः ॥ चान्त इत्यत्र वकारादुगोर्गुताविषयम् उकारपदा पूर्वभागे लोपोऽर्थवर्तीति लोपेन वकारः प्रमित्यस्य। तेन भूयमाणव्यापन्न आदेशः स्यात्। वकारो न लुप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अइ and आइ for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in इ viz अइ and आइ. Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in इ (viz. अइ and आइ) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ. Thus गो + य = गय + य = गये milk. By sūtra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and वयस् in the sense of modification. Similarly गो + य = गययस् (what can be crossed by a boat). Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S. 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c.

Vari:—The word गो is changed before वृत्ति in the Vedas. As गो + वृत्ति = गवृत्ति as आनो निषा वरुणा पूषेर्गवृत्तिवृक्षत् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोवृत्तिः ॥

Vari:—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गच्छति यात्रमच्छानं गतः ॥ गच्छति meaning क्रोशयुगम् ॥ The word वृत्ति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sūtra III. 3. 97. S. 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गच्छति; should not the इ be elided by VIII. 3. 22. S. 171 or by VIII. 3. 19. S. 67. No. For the sūtra चान्तो वि प्रत्यये has really a इ in latency before it; the real sūtra being वृत्तान्तो &c. This इ is invisible by the rule लोपोऽर्थवर्ति VI. 1. 66 S 873. So also in the vārtika गोवृत्तौ छम्बस्तुपसंस्थानम्, there is this invisible इ before ॥ ॥ Therefore the śīdeśa is गय with the इ, that is, the इ is not elided.

Why the **व** is not liable to elision in गन्त्ये and नाञ्जे by the application of VIII. 3. 19 or 22, and why should **व** be so liable in गन्त्यसि only? The rules VIII. 3. 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now सो before वृत्ति is a Pada; while सो or नो before वृत् is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I. 4. 18. S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तत्तिमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

धातोः प्रत्यये धरे धातोरेषमेधान्तादेवस्तर्हि तत्तिमित्तस्यैव साम्यस्य । तद्वत् । अथवाधारात्प्रत्यये तत्तिमित्तस्येति किम् ॥ ज्ञेयते । ज्ञेयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs औ and औ of a root, are substituted एच् and आच् respectively, before an affix beginning with वृ, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एच्, धातोरेषा प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word तत्तिमित्तस्य means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with वृ ॥ Thus वृ forms its Future Passive Participle by वृत् (III. 1. 97 S. 284 2.) this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: S. 2168. Thus वृ + वृ = लो + वृ, which according to the present sūtra becomes लव्यत् ॥ So also वृ—वो + वृ = वव्यत् ॥ वृ + एच् (III. 1. 125 S. 3304.) = लो + वृ = लव्यत् लव्यत् and अथवाधारात्प्रत्यये ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga वा is वा + वे + वृत् + ते ॥ Hereby Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15 S. 2409), वे becomes वृ, as वा + वृ + वृ + ते; now by sandhi वा + वृ = वौ VI. 1. 87 S. 69, we have वौ + वृते = वौवृते ॥ Since वौ is not caused by वृ, there is no वृ substitution. So also ज्ञेयत, लौक्यादि, लौक्यादिः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). The word एच् in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. (In the case of roots, औ and औ before वृ are changed, then only to एच् and आच् when वृ has caused the production of वौ; वौ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the वृ has caused the production of वौ and वौ or not.)

६५ । क्षुध्यज्ययौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

क्षुध्यज्ययौ शक्यार्थे ॥ शक्यं शक्यं शक्यम् । शक्यं शक्यं शक्यम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं ॥

65. In क्षुध्य and ज्यय there is substitution of श्य for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and ज्य before the affix वृत् (III. 1. 97 S. 2842) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As एच् + वृत् = श्य (क्षि + वृ = शे + वृ); so also श्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe शक्यं शक्यं, शक्यं शक्यं ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'possibility'.

६६। क्तव्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६। १। ८२ ॥

सस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थायैव तदर्थम् । केतारः क्रीणीयुरिति बुद्ध्या आपणे प्रसारितं द्रव्यम् । केपमन्याम् ।
क्तव्यणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In क्तव्य there is substitution of अय् for द् when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्तव्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यङ्; the गुण ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थम् means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As क्तव्यौ लोपः, क्तव्यः क्तव्यतः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेवं नो भाव्यं न पारित क्तव्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७। लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८। ३। १९ ॥

अपनीयुष्येता पदान्तोऽर्थेययोः लोपोऽपि चरे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति क्षेत्रभाक्तस्यासिद्धत्वात् एदर-
संधिः । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उवाच । श्रियायुवाच । सुरा वक्तुः । सुरावुक्तः ॥
कानि सन्ति कौ त्त इत्यन्वास्तेरक्षोपस्य स्यानिवत्त्वेन शब्दावेषौ प्राप्ते न पदान्तोत्पत्त्येव पदान्तविधौ
तन्निविधानं ततः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अक्ष letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels; because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S. 12. intervenes and makes this *lopa* as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + इहि = हर एहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रिये + उवाच = श्रिया उवाच; or श्रियायुवाच; सुरे + उक्तः = सुरा उक्तः; or सुरावुक्तः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and कौ + त्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S. 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really कान्सन्ति and त्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An *ādeśa* is equal to the स्यानि as we have been taught in Sūtra I. 1. 56 S. 49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्सन्ति and कास्तः. But this is prevented by Sūtra I. 1. 58 S. 51. for an *ādeśa* is not equal to a स्यानि when a Padānta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sūtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sūtra is a Padānta rule and hence the *ādeśa* is not equal to a Sthāni.

As क आस्ते or कवास्ते, काक् आस्ते or काक्वास्ते, अस्मा वक्तुः or अस्मावुक्तुः, शायन
or अश्रम, असावावित्तः or असा आदित्तः ॥

६८। एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६। १। ८३ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted"

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. In every *sūtra* upto VI. 1. 111 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādśa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६६ । अादूगुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णादिषु परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणविधः स्वास्वसंज्ञित्वाद्याम् । उपेन्द्रः । ऐक्यः । यङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ+a vowel = *guṇa*).

The word अदि is understood here. For the vowel which follows अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, *guṇa*. Thus अ + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्रः ; ए + ईश = ऐशः ; यङ्गा + उदकम् = यङ्गोदकम् ॥

७० । उरञ् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

ऊ इति श्रित्त संक्षेपमुक्तम् । तत्त्वमि योऽण् स रपर संक्षेप मयस्ते । अथाभ्यन्तरम्याकृन्तनं रिक्तपादम् । तत्त्वकार इत्येवाऽहम् । अथोदाहृतमिति वक्षे द्विषम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् *pratyāhāra* comes as a substitute for ऊ it is always followed by a र्.

This *sūtra* consists of three words *via.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऊ and means literally 'of ऊ' or 'in the place of ऊ'; the second word is अण्, a *pratyāhāra* denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This *sūtra* is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऊ त्. Thus, there are only three *guṇa* vowels अ, इ and उ. Of these what is the proper *guṇa* for ऊ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the *guṇa* of ऊ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the *guṇa* of ऊ, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a *pratyāhāra* formed by the letter र् and अ of अर्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ण. In that case the *sūtra* would mean that अण् substitutes of ऊ and त् are always followed by र् and ण respectively. Thus the *guṇa* of णि = अर्, of लि = अल.

It has already been taught that **क्व** is the name of 30 letters. *Viz.*—18 forms of **क्व** and 12 forms of **त्**. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an **क्व** and **इ** or **उ** is substituted, it must always be followed by a **इ**. Therefore **कुण्ड** + **क्वद्वि** = **कुण्डद्वि**: Here **क्व** is followed by **इ** as the nearest substitute of **क्व**. Similarly **व** + **त्कार** = **वत्कार**: Here **व** is followed by **इ** as the nearest substitute of **त्**. Similarly there is doubling when the rule **अचो रहस्याम्** (VIII. 4. 46 S. 59) is applied.

७१ । श्रोत्रोत्तरि सवर्णे । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

श्रः परस्य श्रोत्रोत्तरं वा स्यात्सवर्णे इति । द्वित्वाभावे श्रोत्रे सवर्णकथम् । अतस्ति तेषां द्वित्वस्यैव शेषा द्विधम् । सति द्वित्वे श्रोत्रे चासति त्रिधम् । कुण्डद्विः । कुण्डद्विः । कुण्डद्विः ॥ अण इति वङ्गपदी मय इति पठ्यति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम् । तस्य स्वर्णस्य चेति । तेन सवर्णकार इत्यत्र कवचमुच्यते ॥ Verse: द्विधं तद्वैव कर्तव्यं नौमयोदभयोरेव । सवर्णकाराणिषु सुवर्णोत्तरं कवचमुच्यते ॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (**क्व**) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one **क्व**. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two **क्व**s. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three **क्व**s. Thus **Kṛishṇardhiḥ**; or **Kṛishṇarddhiḥ** or **Kṛishṇardddhiḥ**.

By the *Vārtika* **वर्णो मयो द्वेवाच्ये** (See *Sūtra* 54), when **श्रः** is taken in the ablative case and **मयः** in the genitive case; namely, when the *Vārtika* is translated as "after a **वर्ण** letter, there is doubling of the **मय** letters," in that alternative the **क्व** is also doubled in **सवर्णकार**. The **इ** here also will be doubled by the rule of **अवचिच** (VII. 4. 47. S. 48). Therefore **सवर्णकार** will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As **Tavalkārah**; **Tavallikārah**; **Tavalkkārah**; **Tavallikkārah**.

७२ । वृद्धिरेचि । ६ । १ । ८८ ॥

अपेक्षि परं वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । शुभापवादः । कुल्लेकत्वम् । गङ्गापः । देवैश्वर्यम् । क्षत्रपौशक-
ण्डम् ॥

72. The *Vṛiddhi* is the single substitute of **अ** or **आ** of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (**अ** or **आ**-diphthong=*vṛiddhi*).

The word **आम्** is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an **अ** or **आ**, and for the **अ** or **आ** which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding **अ** or **आ** and diphthong, there is a single substitute *viz.* the *Vṛiddhi*. This debars *guṇa* taught in the *sūtra* 59. Thus **Kṛishṇa** + **Ekatvam** = **Kṛishṇai katvam**; **Gāṅgā** + **oghaḥ** = **Gāṅgaughaḥ**, **Deva** + **aiśvarya** = **devaiśvarya**. **Kṛishṇa** + **autkāṭhyam** = **Kṛishṇaut kāṭhyam**.

७३ । एतेष्वत्युद्भु । ६ । १ । ८६ ॥

अवर्णादेशाद्योरेत्येत्युक्तं च परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । पररूपतुणापवादः । उपेति । उपेते । प्रहोहः । एजायोः किम् । उपेतः । या भयान्नेदिधत् । पुस्तारपवादन्यायेनेयं वृद्धिरेकं पररूपमित्यस्यैव याधिका न शोभाहोभेत्यस्य । तेनावेदीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अभाहूहिन्माधुपसंख्यान् ॥ असौहिणी तमा ॥ स्वादिरेणिः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वैरेति शीलमस्येति स्वैरी । निवृविशोपतिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्राकृतेऽश्वेयप्येपु * ॥ प्रौढः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवद्वहणे नानर्थकस्य महत्तम् ॥ "अभेतिषूने राजेः पृथग् भ्रात्रिग्रहणा-वज्ञापकान्" । तेन कदमहणेन फान्तेभ्य गृह्यते न तु कस्यचन्यस्तस्यैकदेशः । मोहवान् । प्रौढः ॥ इम इच्छायां दुदादिः । इम गतो दिवादिः । इम आभिर्गन्धे कयादिः । एषां अभि गतिरिति च एषः एष्या इति छपि । तत्र पररूपं प्राप्तेनेन वृद्धिः । प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ वस्तु ईष उच्छे । यच्च ईष गतिर्हिसादर्शितम् । तयोर्धौपधत्तान् ईषः । ईष्यः । सपाहुणे प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः । कृते च कृतिवास्तवते * ॥ ह्रस्वेन कृतः स्रष्टा-र्तः । कृतिधेति किम् । परवर्तः ॥ प्रवस्तुत्कम्बलवसनाग्रेदधानामृणं * ॥ मार्गम् । वस्तुत्तारगमिरयादि ॥ कृणस्वापमयमाय यन्मरुत्तं क्रियते सहजार्णम् । एषार्णो देवः । नक्षी च एषार्णः । कृणस्वातो दुर्गभूयो ज्ञेयं च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-1-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-1-ऊ of ऊद् (the substitute of वा in वाद् by VI. 4. 132 S. 329).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एत् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एत् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एत् qualify ऊद् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप+एति=उपेति. उप-1-एधते=उपेधते मव-1-ऊह=मवोह ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S. 69, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, S. 78 this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is अस्तावपवादा अवन्तत्पु विधीन् वाचन्ते नीपरात् "Aparāḥas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules." Therefore the present rule does not apply here, i. e. उप+आ-1-इत=उप+एत=उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form उपेदि is wrong. So also उप-1-इत=उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एति qualifies the root इ ॥

Verf:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अत is followed by तदिनी, as आगोहिनी सेना ॥

Verf:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when एत् is followed by ई or ईणि, or ईरिणी thus ऐरेत्, ऐरी, ऐरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix एत् added to ईरणी (Ad. 8. नीपराभिजायेन ईरत=ऐरेत् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32, S. 69) Another form is ऐरी=ऐरेकानिदनेदेते वपुर्दति with the affix ऐरि (III. 2. 78 S. 258).

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when ऋ is followed by कृ, ख, छ, ए, एव; as प्रोक्षः, प्रोक्षः, प्रोक्षिः, प्रोक्षः, प्रोक्ष्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवृद्धेरे नानर्थक्ये ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sūtra VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 where the word साज् is taken separately from राज्, the rule applies only to ऊङ् and not to ऊङ्वान्. Therefore we have प्रोक्ष्वान् and not प्रोक्ष्वान्. The word एव is derived from the root इष् 'to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix चञ्, and the word एव्य is derived from the same roots by adding प्यञ् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परस्परः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to gican', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईष् and ईष््य with the above affixes, and with ऋ, their forms will be ईष्ः and ईष््यः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when ऋ word ending in ण is followed by कृञ् and forms an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound: as सुलेन कृञ् = सुलेनः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परस्परः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word कृञ् follows the following:—अ, वस्तुतः, कृञ्, वस्तु ॥ As प्राणम् 'principal debt', वस्तुप्राणम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vart:—So also when the words कृञ् and इष् are followed by कृञ्:—as, कृञ्प्राणम् and इष्प्राणम् ॥ The word कृञ्प्राणम् means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasarna is the name of a river and of a country. The word कृञ् means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt

७४ । उपसर्गादिति धातौ । इ । १ । ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकारस्य धातौ परे वृद्धिर्लक्षितः स्यात् । प्राच्छति । वृच्छति ॥

74. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short कृ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with कृ, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent कृ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. S. 69. Thus उप + कृच्छति = उपच्छति, प्राच्छति ॥

७५ । अन्तादिवच्च । इ । १ । ९२ ॥

योऽप्येकविंशः स पूर्वस्त्वन्तवत्परस्त्वन्तिवत्स्यत् । इति रेफस्य पदान्तस्ये ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S. 68 is considered in the

The short ऋ and short ॠ are only to be taken, because the letter ऋ in the sūtra has ऋ after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long ऋ. Therefore we have only one form in उप + ऋकारिण्यति = उपकारिण्यति.

७८ । यङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

आहुपसर्गादेहादौ धातोः परे पररूपमेकविशः स्वात् । प्रेजते । उपोषति । इह वा ह्यपीत्यनुवर्त्य वाच्य-
भेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एहादौ मुच्यते वा ॥ उपेङ्कीयति । उपैङ्कीयति । प्रोषीयति । प्रोषीयति ॥
एवे चानिर्देशो ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेष मोक्ष्यसे । अमश्वस्तप्तायेवशब्दाः । अग्निर्गोमे किम् । तवैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

(The words आहु, उपसर्गादेहादौ are understood here.) In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूपम्) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88 S. 72. Thus प्रेजते; उपोषति ॥ (Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, S. 77 according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेङ्कीयति or उपैङ्कीयति, प्रोषीयति or प्रोषीयति.)

Vari :—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when ए follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेषमोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place: as तवैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्यादि णि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अर्था नान्ये दोऽन्यः स आदिष्येद्य सङ्घिर्लक्ष्ये स्यात् ॥ शकम्भाविषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ० तद्य
हे । शकम्भुः ॥ कर्कम्भुः । कुम्भः । सीगन्तः केचयेषे । सीमान्तोऽन्यः । मनीषा । हनीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ।
पक्षजालिः ॥ सारङ्गः पशुपतिषोः । सागङ्गीष्यः ॥ आश्रुतिमणोऽन्यम् ॥ मर्त्येण्डः । मोक्षोद्देशः । समासे
वा ॥ स्फुरौतुः । स्फुरौतुः । विम्बोद्यः । विम्बोद्यः । समासे किम् । तवैव ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called णि .

This sūtra defines णि . It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निपितृ the portion हन् is णि ; so also in चोमयन् the portion यन् .

The word अणः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification ; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

This sūtra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vārtikas*.

Vārti:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of चकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the ३ portion of these words and not merely of the letter च, though the anuvritti of चान् is understood here. Had the Para-rūpa been only of च, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्वईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwādi words—1. चकन्धुः—the well of the Sakās (चक + चन्धु well). 2. कर्कन्धुः—the well of the Karkās. 3. कुन्दा—unchaste woman (कुल + मदा) 4. सीमन्त—सीम + मन्त : (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5. मनीषा—the lord of the mind. 6. हनीषा—हनि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7. मातृनीषा. 8. पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + मञ्जन्वी (one to whom handfuls of offering are made i.e. an honored man). So also 9. सारङ्गः when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is सारङ्गः—सार + मङ्गः (the chief member of a body).

The Sakandhwādi is an Ākritigāṇa, i.e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rūpa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus वृत् + पण्ड = वृत्पण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form वार्त्तपण्डः. We have the regular form वार्त्तपण्डः also.

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when ओत् and ओत्त are compounded with another word: as स्थूत ओत्तुः = स्थूतोत्तुः or स्थूतोत्तुः, so also दिव्वांछी or दिव्वोछी. When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory: as मरोत्तः.

८० । ओमाटोक्ष । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

ओति भाति आभेत् परस्परमेकाद्वयः स्यात् । दिवाभेत्तनः ॥ दिव एहि । तिरोहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओत्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आद्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The भात् is understood here. Thus दिवाभ + ओत्तुः = दिवाभोत्तुः. Similarly दिव + आ + इति = दिव + आदि = तिरोहि ॥

Question:—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as दिव + आ + इति = दिवा + इति = तिरोहि. Where is then the necessity of this rule?

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इति । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य योऽप्यलक्ष्यस्त्वसावितौ परे परस्परमेकविधः स्यात् । पदत् इति पठिति ॥ एकाचो म ॥ अविस्ति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त ; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदत् + इति = पठिति ॥

Vart:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = अविस्ति ॥

८२ । नाम्नेदितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

नाम्नेदितस्य प्रागुक्तं न स्यान्नन्तरं तु वकारोऽप्यन्त्यं वा स्यात् ॥ यथाचि बहुलं द्वे भवत इति पठत्पठमाद्विषयम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final व् + इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vartik:—There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix वाच् follows.

The doubling takes place by this *Vartika*. The word *āmreḍita* is defined in the next sūtra.

८३ । तस्य पराम्नेदितम् । ८ । १ । १०० ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमाम्नेदितसंज्ञं स्यात् । पदत्पठेति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *āmreḍita* (repeated).

Thus पदत् पदत् + इति = पदत्पद + इ + ति = पदत्पठेति. Now, this para-rūpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदत् + पदत् + इति = पदत् पठिति. The व् is changed to इ by the next sūtra.

८४ । झलं जश्चोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । १०१ ॥

पदान्ते झलं जश्चः स्युः । पदत्पठिति ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ग, घ, ङ or ञ is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाक् अच, अलिङ्ग अच, अग्निपिद् अच, जिह्व अच ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ । १०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽपि परे दीर्घे एकादेशः स्वात् । वैत्यादिः । श्रीशः । विष्णुद्वयः । अदि किम् । कुमारी श्वेते । नाञ्जलापि सावर्ण्यानिषेधस्तु न दीर्घप्रकारयोः । महणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्याविधिमिधेयार्थं प्रागनिषेधोः । अकः किम् । इत्येव ॥ “ अकोऽपि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥ ” इति सवर्णे क्वा ॥ होतृकारः । होतृकारः ॥ इति सवर्णे स्वा ॥ होतृकारः । एते क्कारः सावर्ण्यात् । होतृकारः । कति क्वा इति त् वेत्युभयवापि विधेये वर्णद्वयं द्विमाधम् । नाचस्व गये हो रेकौ तयोरेका नाचा । अभितोऽङ्गमन्तरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु गये हो सजायै । एवं मान्वत् । इत्येभ्यश्चापि क्त्वक इति पाक्षिका प्रकृतिभावां धत्ते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus ऐस् + अदि = वैत्यादिः ; श्री + ईशः = श्रीशः ; विष्णु + उदयः = विष्णुद्वयः । Why do we say “when a vowel follows”? Observe कुमारी श्वेते The word अदि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अदि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी श्वेते ॥ The ई and अ are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and अ, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अङ्गविस्तरणस्य नामधेयः (I. 1. 69 S. 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ्जला (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ्जला comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9 S. 10) and then comes the महणकशास्त्र (I. 1. 68 S. 25). Therefore in नाञ्जला those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short ई and अ are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the long ई and अ would be सवर्ण. The sūtra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोऽपि दीर्घः । Why do we say ‘an अच् or simple vowel?’ Observe इरे + ए = इरये. Why do we say ‘by a homogenous vowel?’ Observe अदि + अच = इध्यत् ॥

Vārt :—When अ short is followed by अ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with इ ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two अ or इ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (अकार &c).

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short ऋ or short ॠ (which comes in the place of ऋ+ऋ or ऋ+ॠ) is *really* long consisting of two mātrās, in this way :—हीत् + ऋकारः = हीत् ॠ + ऋकारः ॥ These two ॠ's are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mātrā, for each consonant has half = mātrā. Thus one mātrā of two ॠ's and one mātrā of ऋ make two mātrās really and though apparently short ऋ is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ॡ there are two ॡ's. In other words, the short ऋ (that comes in the place of two ऋ's) contains latent in it two ॠ's, of one mātrā and its own self of one mātrā. Similarly the single substitute ॡ contains merged in it two ॡ's (of one mātrā) and its own self of one mātrā.

Thus हीत् + ऋकारः = हीत्कारः or हीत्कारः, so also हीत् + ॠकारः ॥ हीत्कारः or हीत्कारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ॠ is ऋ ॥

Moreover, by the rule of ऋवृकाः VI. 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६ । एङः पदान्तादिति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादिहोऽति परे पूर्वकपमेकादिषाः स्यात् । हरेऽन । विष्णोऽन ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada; and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे + अण = हरेऽण, विष्णो + अण = विष्णोऽण ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अण and अण ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र चिमाणा गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

गोको षडेऽप्यङ्गन्तस्य गौरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्सकन्ते । गौरमण्ड । गोऽमण्ड । पङ्गन्तस्य किम् चिपण्वमण्ड । पशन्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After ओ (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गौमं or गो अमं ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चिपणु + अमण्ड = चिपण्वमण्ड. Here गो does not end in गो but has assumed the form णु and so the rule does not apply.

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गोः

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटोदायनस्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

मलीति निवृत्तम् । मलि परे पशन्ते गौरमण्ड वा स्यात् । गौरमण्ड । पशन्ते किम् । मलि । मयसिपतविभावया गवासाः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवह् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of गति ceases, that of आवि manifests itself. Thus गो + अय = गवायम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवोद्वम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽयम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवोदनम्, गवोद्वम् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in ॥ Pada? Observe गति. This is ॥ vyavasthita vibhāṣhā, hence in गवायः the अवह् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे अ । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

गौरवह् स्यादिन्द्रे । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥

Note:—The Pāṇini reads this sūtra as इन्द्रे च निव्वम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sūtra, instead of this.

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

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९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽत्र नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण इ मय मौचरति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता वित्तादाययमैव प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्वाहिकोऽसवर्ण इति मृत्वसमुच्चितो माहम् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहि कृष्ण इ मय मौचरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Harī and Har) are Lords," the present sūtra applies fully; for the long ई of हरी being Pragrihya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarṇa letter, i. e. ई. In चक्री + मय = चक्रि मय "The chakrin is here", the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular, and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sūtra and the subsequent sūtra find scope, and the subsequent sūtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word *nitya* prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

६१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

पशान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽत्रि परे प्रकृत्या स्यात्स्वश्च वा । अत्र ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्येन प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे सप्तमुकस्यार्थकारि न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि मय । चक्रमयः । पशान्ता इति किम् । गौर्यो न समासे * ॥ साम्यश्चः ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्थवम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of ञ, (when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.)

Thus चक्री + मय = चक्रि मय ॥ In the alternative we have चक्रमय ॥

(रि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (रि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

६४। प्रत्यभिवादे ऽच्छ्रे । < । २ । <३ ॥

अनुप्रविश्ये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्यं तस्य देः प्लुतः स्यात् स चोदात्तः । अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् । भो आयुष्मन्नेधि देवदत्तः ॥ स्त्रियो न ॥ अभिवादे आर्यर्षम् । भो आयुष्मन्ती भव गार्गी ॥ नाम गौर्ध वा दत्त प्रत्यभिवादाव्याप्तौ प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इष्यते । देह । आयुष्मानधि ॥ भोरुज्यविशां देति वाक्यम् ॥ आयुष्मन्नेधि भोऽः । आयुष्मन्ने धीन्द्रवर्म् ३म् । आयुष्मन्नेधीन्द्रवानि ३ ॥

९४. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवाद्य means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवाद्य means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udatta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् "I do salute you, I am devadatta". is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तः ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादे गार्गी is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मन्ती भवगार्गी ॥

Ikṣit:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुलत्वसि; देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart:—The prolation is optional, when भो follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादे इन्द्रवर्म्भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्भ ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्भ ॥ Vaishya: अभिवादे इन्द्रपालितोऽहम् भोः ॥ Guru: आयुष्मन्नेधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मन्नेधि इन्द्रपालित ॥

९५। दुरासूते च । < । २ । प४ ॥

दुरासूतेर्वाक्ये यद्वाक्यं तस्य देः प्लुतः स्यात् । अवसूत्रिव देवदत्तः ३ ॥

१८। अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्थ इति शब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्वपति । अप्लुतकार्ये यणविकं करोतीत्यर्थः ।
दुदलोक्त इति । दुदलोकेति । कस्मिन् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तोऽप्लुत एव विधीयत प्लुतश्च निश्चितः । तथा च
प्रगृह्याभये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्री ३ इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus दुदलोक्त इति = दुदलोकेति ॥ Why have we used the word वद् "like as"; instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluta is treated like apluta"? By not using वद्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrīhya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrīhya, nor is pragrīhya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrīhya at one and the same time, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्री, the इ is pragrīhya. It may be made pluta also as अग्री ३ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्री इति formed by अग्री ३ + इति ॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrīhya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्री ३ इति ॥

२६। ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

॥ प्लुतोऽपि योऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चितुहि ३ इति । चितुहीति । चितुहि ३ इव । चितुहीव ।
उभयत्र विधायिवद् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Chākravarman, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चितु हि ३ इति = चितुहीति ॥ चितु ही ३ इव or चितुहीव ॥ The name of Chākravarman is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. (This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥) In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains prakṛti bhāva optionally; when there would have been always prakṛti bhāva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयवर्तिभाव, prāpta and aprāpta both.

१०० । ईद्वयेद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईद्वयेद्वन्तं द्विवचने प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । इति एतौ । विष्णु इमौ । गङ्गे नमः । पथेते इमौ ।
मणीषोद्वयेति ॥ इवार्थे वचनो वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called *Pragrihya*, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But *pragrihyas* are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sūtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईद्व), ऊ (ऊद्व), or ए (एद्व) ॥ Thus:—इति एतौ, विष्णु इमौ; गङ्गे नमः. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of इति and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because इति is the nominative dual of इति ॥

Vārti:—The prohibition of मनीष &c., should be stated in treating of the *pragrihya* nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems)+११ = मनीष "like two gems." So also इवसीव "like a couple," अल्पसीव "like man and wife," ऐवसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this *vārtika* is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात्र । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परासीद्वी प्रगृह्यी स्तः । अनी ईधाः । एमहृणावम् आसाते । नातिकम् । नादिकम् ।
अवाति नादमर्त्त एकादोऽप्यनुवर्त्तते ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस are *Pragrihya*.

In the pronoun अदस, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be *pragrihya* by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म्, of whatever number they may be, will be *pragrihya*. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely एनी and एम्. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of इति and इम् nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस are *pragrihya*." As अनी ईधाः । एमहृणावम् आसाते. There is no example of the word *adās* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म्"? Because in the example अदस + एव = अदसे ए, the ए, preceded not by म् but by the क of अदस (V. 3 71. 5).

2026) is not *pragrihya*, which it would have been by the influence of the last sūtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२। से। १। १। १३॥

अये प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । नन्ते इन्द्रादृहस्यती ॥

102. The affix से, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a *pragrihya*.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called से (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्वेदन्नादृहस्यती.

Of this substitute से, the initial स is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a *pragrihya*.

१०३। निपात एकाजनाङ् । १। १। १४॥

एकोऽजिपात आङ्गवर्जः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विरयते । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्कः । उ उनेशः । अनाङ्गि-
त्युत्तरदिवाकारः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एवं तु मन्थते । आ एवं किल तत् । किन्तु न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णम्
बोध्यम् । ईषदर्थे किवाद्येन मर्कटादभिधिर्न यः । एतन्नातं किञ्च विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङ्गिन् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a *Pragrihya*.

All such particles technically called *nipāta* which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are *pragrihya* and therefore are not liable to the rules of *sāndhi*. As इ इह has the sense of wonder. उ उनेश, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a *pragrihya*, has four significations:—(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, अङ् + उपगन् = ओदगन् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गन् 'to go' आगन् 'to come,' अ + इदि = इदि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आङ्गवर्जः "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit-exclusive (मर्कसा), "till" "until" as आ + अर्धयवान् = अर्धयवान्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a *pragrihya*, as आ एवं किलसीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्थते. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४। ओत् । १। १। १५॥

ओदन्त्या निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अतो ईपाः न

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

As अहोईद्याः ॥

१०५ । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

संबुद्धिनिमित्तक ओकाये वा प्रगृह्योऽवैदिके इत्ये परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति ।
मनार्थ इति किय । ब्रह्मबन्धविषयवचीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

¹³In Aīsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता वा ब्रह्मबन्धविषयवचीत् ॥

१०६ । उञ्जः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उञ्ज इत्ये वा माहन्तश्च उ इति चिति ॥

106. The particle उञ्ज before *iti*, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उञ्ज meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or चिति ॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उञ्ज इत्ये शीर्षोऽनुनासिकः प्रगृह्य उञ्ज ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The particle ऊँ replaces उञ्ज in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उञ्ज is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *ī*. ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or चिति ॥

१०८ । मय उञ्जो यो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः पश्य उञ्जो वा वा स्यादपि । किमु उञ्जम् । किमु मयम् । अस्मादिदं स्यात्तदुत्तरः ॥

108. य् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय consonant (all consonants with the exception of semi-vowels, sibilants, द and न), and is followed by a vowel.

When this ङ is followed by इति, and preceded by a म् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ (When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to इ by यच्चादेश (VI. 1. 77 S 47), or to इ by the present sūtra. In the case of यच्चादेश इ, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3, 23, S 122 as किविति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to इ by the present sūtra as किविति or किवि इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the ई will be nasal : as किविँति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किवि ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०६ । इदूतो च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्नधीशून्ते प्रगृह्ये स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः । नामकी तद् इति । सुप्रां ह्युपगिति सप्तम्या ह्युक् । अर्थपरम् किम् । वृत्ताव्यान्तरोपसंक्रान्ते वा हून् । वाच्यमभ्यो वाच्यम् ॥

109. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

(This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally.) There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by इ or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or मा, or आ, or ऐ, or या, or वा, or उवा, or याच् or वाच् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is इ (इ). In forming the L. S. of तद्, "body," we have तद्+इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तद्+ऊ=तद् "in the body," as, अध्वर्या नामकीतद् (for नामक्यां तद्वा). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तद्वा. Similarly गौरी+इ=गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). (It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ई and ऊ are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.)

It is only long ई and ऊ which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ऌ (ऌ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि+इ=अग्नि+इ=अग्नि 'in the fire,' as, पितः सुर्वे विवो अग्ना भवति य इन्द्राय-सुतो नो वदाद्य (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना+इति=अग्नेति ॥

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore अग्नि+इ (3rd s.)=अग्नि+इ (letter homogeneous with the prior)=अग्नी 'with wisdom'. Here ई is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus अग्नी+इति=अग्नीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी+अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vāpi has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्याश्वः "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pūrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । इति । इति । अप्रगृह्यस्य किम् । अमी ॥

110. The *anunāsika* is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a *Pragrihya*.

अ, इ and ऊ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not *Pragrihya*. The अण् here is a *Pratyāhāra* with the first ण् ॥ Thus इति or इति,

Why do we say 'which is not a *pragrihya*'? Observe अमी,

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः इक्षुना इक्षुः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारान्तपदयोः सकारान्तपदार्थानां योने सकारान्तपदौ स्तः । स्तोः इक्षुने । यमश्चिनोति । सधित् ।

प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with शः as, इक्षु + सेने = इक्षुसेने,

2nd. ण in contact with क्षुः—as, रावस् + चिनेति = रावक्षिनीति,

3rd. तु with सः—अग्निधित् + सेने = अग्निधित्सेने, ३० सोमसुच्छेने ॥

4th. तु with क्षुः—सम् + चित् = सधित्.

5th. सकार followed by सकार; as, सम् + न (III. 3. 90 S 3268) = सन् + स = सन्तः, वाक् + न = वाक्सा ॥ (In fact the instrumental case इक्षुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and क्षु is enough to induce the change, whether स is followed by इक्षु, or इक्षु be followed by स ॥) Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th. (a) स followed by क्षु is changed into शः as, अस् + चि = अश्च + श + चि (III. 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1. 16 S 2412) = अश्च + चि = अश्च + चि = (VIII. 4. 53 S 32) = अश्चति ॥ Similarly मस्ज forms मश्जति, जस्ज forms जश्जति ॥

(The next aphorism सन्तु (VIII. 4. 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into क्षु when following the letter स, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 19 S 128) does not hold good here.)

Had the sūtra been स्तो योः इक्षुः १. ८. Instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शास् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शास्वरस्य सवर्गस्य ऋधुलं न स्वाच् । विशः । प्रथः ॥

112. In the room of ण there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and योः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule. Thus विष् + न (III. 3. 90. S. 3268) = विष् + न (VI. 4. 19. S. 2561) = विमः ॥ Similarly प्रकः :

११३ । प्लुना प्लुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्रोः प्लुना योमे प्लुः स्यात् । समप्यष्टः । समटीकते । पेटा । तृतीका । अकिण्डीकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with प and cerebrals, are changed into प and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्रोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with प as, समस् + पः = समप्यष्टः

(2) स with ट, as, समस् + टीकते = समटीकते ॥

(3) प with प as पेट् + ता = पेटा ॥

(4) त with ट, as तस् + टीका = तृतीका ॥ अकिण् + डीकसे = अकिण्डीकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्तादोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनाम्नि लुप्तपटीकं पम् । पदान्तादोरनाम्परस्यानाम् स्रोः दुर्न स्यात् । पद सप्तः । पद ते । पदान्तात्किम् । इहे । टोः किम् । सर्पिष्टम् ॥ * अनासप्तविंशतीनामिति याच्यम् ॥ पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चपत्तिः । पञ्चगव्यः ॥

114. After ट final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्) to a cerebral (ट), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पद + सप्तः = पद सप्तः ॥ पद + ते = पद ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद + ते = ईद + टे = ईदे ॥

Why do we say टोः 'after ट'? Observe सर्पिष् + तपन् = सर्पिष्टम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix नाम्'? Observe पट् + नाम् = पञ्चानाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Ṭṭīkā:—It should be stated rather that पञ्चति and पञ्चती as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, पञ्चानाम् 'of six', पञ्चपत्तिः ninety-six, पञ्चगव्यं six cities'.

११५ । तोः पि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

नदगंरस दपजे वरे न नृपत्तः । सम्यष्टः ॥

115. In the room of नु there is not a cerebral substitute, when प follows.

The word नु is to be read into the aphorism. असु तप = असु तप = असु तप ॥

Here the Sutra **ह्रस्वां ज्ञान्ते** (S. 34.) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus **वाक् + ईषा = वागीशः**; **चित् + रूपम् = चिद्रूपम्** ॥

११६। यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८। ४। ४५ ॥

यः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परोऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । एतन्मुदादिः । एतद्दुदादिः । स्थानप्रवृत्त्या-
द्यगन्तरात्तेन स्वर्णे परितापो विधित्वे तेन न प्रवर्तते । यत्तुर्मुखः । * प्रत्यय भाषायां नित्यम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् ।
चिन्मयम् । कथं तर्हि मशेष्याः ककुप्पन्त इति । यपादिगणे इकादिनिपातनात् ॥

116. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus एतत् + दुदादिः = एतद्दुदादिः or एतद्दुदादिः । This rule does not apply to र as यत्तुर् + मुखः = यत्तुर्मुखः ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada' ? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभान्ति ॥

Vartt.—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasansation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus तत् + मायम् = तन्मायम्, similary धिन्मयम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes न्य and माच that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form ककुप्पन्त in the sentence मशेष्याः ककुप्पन्तः ? Because the द् is used in दवादि class. (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Gaṇapāṭha VIII. 2. 9).

११७। तोर्लि । ८। ४। ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य तकारे परो परसवर्णः स्यात् । तत्त्वयः । विहीनित्यति । यकारस्याऽनुनासिको लघात् ॥

117. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus तद् + लियः = तत्त्वयः ; त्विहान् + लिखति = त्विहान्ति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal ण् ॥

११८। उद्ः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८। ४। ६१ ॥

उद्ः परवोः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात् । उर्लैः परस्य । उत्थानम् । उन्नम्भानम् । शवापोदस्य महापाणस्य सस्य तादृश एव यकारः । तस्य ह्रस्वद्वयीति वाचिको लोपः । लोपान्मन्वन्त ॥ यकारस्यैव श्रवणे न तु स्मरि चेति अर्त्तम् । परस्य प्रति यकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After उद्, in the room of the स् of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स्) ॥...

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थाता (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) = उत् + थाता (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121) = उत्थाता, उत्थातुम्, उत्थातव्यम् &c. So also with स्तम्भ. as, उन्नम्भना, उन्नम्भितुम्, &c. (See I. 1-67 S. 41 and 54 S. 44).

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Mahāprāṇa **म्** is changed to **प्** which is also Aghosha and Mahāprāṇa. This then is optionally elided by **श्लोशरि** (S. 71). But in the alternative when there is no **lopa**, the **प्** is heard in pronunciation.

By the rule **स्वरिच** (S. 121), the **प्** is not changed to **चर्** letter, because the rule of **चर्त्वे** is not applicable to **म्**; for this **प्** is considered as non-existent for the purposes of **चर्** rules.

११६। श्रयोहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

श्रयः परस्य इत्य दूर्ध्वतवर्णो ऽ वा स्यात् । पोषपक्षो नाक्षपक्षो महाप्राणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य इत्य तादृशो वर्णचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्धरिः । वाग्धरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter **ह्**, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The **pratyāhāra ह्रस्व** includes *añ* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of **ह्** will be **प्** by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because **ह्** is a ghosha (sonant); Mahāprāṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also **प्**. Thus **वाक्+हरि=वाग्धरिः** or **वाग्धरिः** ।

१२०। यदलोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

यवान्ताम् श्रयः परस्य यस्य टो वा स्यादटि । इत्य ऽनुस्वेय अकारि कृति ॥

120. In the room of **य** preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter **क्** when a vowel or **य**, **व** or **र** follows such **य** ॥

Though **ह्रस्व** means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes. The words **श्रय** and **अन्यतरस्यां** are to be read into the sūtra. Thus **सन्+धिय = सद्+धिय** (S. 34) = **सद्+ठिय = सप्+ठिय = सन्+ठिय**. At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

१२१। हरि च । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हरि चो ह्रस्वो ऽपरः स्याः । इति अकारस्य अकारः । सञ्चिन्तः । सञ्चिन्तः ॥ उपसर्गमपीति वाच्यम् ॥ सञ्चिन्तः । सञ्चिन्तः । अणि किम् । वाक् ऽप्योसति ॥

121. In the room of **श्रक्**, there is the substitute **चर्** when **चर्** follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words **ह्रस्व** and **अपरः** are supplied from the last sūtra. Therefore **श्** is changed to **च** and we have the form **सञ्चिन्त** or **सञ्चिन्तः** ।

Vārtika :—It should rather be stated when a letter of अच् pratyāhāra follows. The sūtra only gives ञच् letters, the Vārtika adds the letters छ, and the nāsals. Thus तच् + श्लोकैर्ग = तच्छ्लोकेन.

Why do we say when a letter of अच् pratyāhāra follows? Observe वाक् वृथोतादि.

१२२ । मोऽनुस्वारः । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तर्ये पश्चादनुस्वारः स्यान्निति । अलोऽन्यस्य । हर्ति वन्ते । पश्च्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122. The Anusvāra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हर्तिवन्ते ॥ The word हर्ति is understood in this sūtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sūtra अलोऽन्यस्य (S. 42); therefore not here; गम्यते.

१२३ । नञ्चापदान्तस्य झञि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

मस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झञ्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यथांसि । आर्कस्यते । झलि किम् । गम्यते ॥

123. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यथांसि, आर्कस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झञ् consonant'? See गम्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe एजम् पादि.

१२४ । अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

एजम् । अङ्गितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्डितः । शान्तः । शुम्भितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र गम्ये प्राप्ते वत्पादित्वाऽनुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते सत्यादिप्रत्ययान्तरस्य ॥

124. In the room of anusvāra, when यच् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्गितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्डितः, शान्तः, शुम्भितः : these are thus formed :—To the causal *churādi* root अङ्गु (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त. Thus अङ्गु + क्त. The causal sign इ is elided by the sūtra निष्ठायां षटि (VI. 4. 52. S. 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्गितः. The इ here is the इद् augment. Or it may be from the root अङ्गि (meaning lakshana) where the augment जुच् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes ङ्.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pōjā), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4. 30 S. 424.

कुण्डितः is formed from the root कुण्टि (meaning pratighāta). The augment लृप् is added to the root before the सेद् participial affix. This ण् is changed into ण्

शान्तः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasāma) with the affix क्त (See VII. 2. 27. S. 3068). The ष of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2656. The ष् is changed to श् by the present rule.

सुम्भितः is formed from the root सुम्भ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त. In कुर्वन्ति, the न् is not changed into ण्, though required by VIII. 4. 2. S. 197. Because the ण्य is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. the न् is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with न्. This change again being अवशिष्ट as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), the ण् is never substituted for न्.

१२५। वा पदान्तस्य । ८। ४। ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य यदि वीरे परतत्पर्णो वा स्वात् । स्वङ्गोपेति । त्वं करोति । संव्यस्ता । संव्यस्ता । संव्यस्तरः । संव्योक्तम् । संव्योक्तम् । अथाऽनुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुभासिका यवताः ॥

125. In the room of anusvāra final in ■ Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus स्वङ्गोपेति or त्वं करोति ; संव्यस्ता or संव्यस्ता ; संव्यस्तरः or संव्यस्तरः ; संव्योक्तम् or संव्योक्तम्.

Here the anusvāra has become nasal ए ऋ ॠ in the other alternative.

१२६। मो राज्ञि समः कौ । ८। ३। २५ ॥

विश्वेते राज्ञी वीरे सप्तो मस्य म एव स्वात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the न् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्तिप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of म् for न् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (VII. 1. 40. S. 3562.). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संवत् (VI. 4. 40. S. 2986. Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किं राट् (V. 4. 70 S. 955). Why do we say 'ending with विश्वे'? Observe संव्यस्तित्, संव्यस्तित्, संव्यस्तित् ॥

The विश्वे is added by III. 2. 61 S. 2975 the म् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ष् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ सम्राज्यम् is formed by व्यम् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

१२७। हे मयरे वा । ८। ३। २६ ॥

अपरे ह्यपरे वीरे मस्य म एव स्वात् । ह्यन् ह्यन् यत्ने । किम् ह्यन्वयति । किं ह्यन्वयति ॥ यत्नपरे मयरा वेति यत्नपरे ॥

127. **य** is optionally substituted for **म** before that **ह** which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **य** may be changed to anuvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह म**. Thus **कि** or **किं हृदयस्य**, 'what does the cause to shake'?

Foot:—Before **ह**, **हृ**, and **ह्र**, the preceding **य** may be changed to **म**, **व** or **न** respectively.

Now, by this *Vārtikā*, three letters **ह**, **व**, **न**, are ordained in the room of **य**, **व**, **न**. But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sūtra should be remembered :—

१२८ । यया संयममुदेनः ममानाम् । १ । ३ । १० ॥

समसंयमो विभिन्नयामने (यान्) । किं हृदयः कियः । किं हृदयस्य । किं हृदयसि । किं हृदयसि । किं हृदयसि ॥

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, **य** would be replaced by **म**; **व** by **व** and **ह** by **ह**. Thus we have **किं ह**: or **कि ह**: ; **किं हृदयसि** or **कि हृदयसि** ; **किं हृदयसि** or **कि हृदयसि**.

१२९ । नपरे मः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मय मः स्यात् । किं हृदये । कि हृदये ॥

129. **न** is optionally substituted for **म**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न** after it.

न becomes **न** before a word beginning with **ह**; as **किं हृदये** or **कि हृदये**.

१३० । ह्रयोः कुक् दुक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

उकारणकारयोः कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि । कुक् दुक् शरि ॥

130. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ह**, and the augment **त्** to a final **ह**, before a sibilant, optionally.

The **कुक्** and **दुक्** augments being considered as *asiddha*, there is no **क्** change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

The word **ह्रस्वः** is in the Ablative singular here ; and **ह्रस्वाद्** qualifies **ह्रस्वः** ; and **ह्रस्व** itself qualifies the word **पदस्य** understood, and thus there is *tadanta-viddhi*. Though the word **पदस्य** (VIII. 1. 16 S. 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with **ह्रस्वः** ॥ **जप्ति** is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. **ह्रस्व** is a *pratyāhāra* meaning **ह**, **ज** and **न** ; and so also **ह्रस्वः** is a *pratyāhāra* containing the three augments **हुद्**, **जुद्** and **हुद्** ॥

In other words **ह** is augment after **ह**, **ज** after **ज** and **न** after **न** ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus **हुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ह**, as **प्रत्यहन्ता** ॥ **जुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ज**, as **जगन्नीशः** ॥ **हुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **न**, as **सन्नद्युतः**

१३५ । समः सुटि । ८ । ३ । ५ ॥

समो हः स्यात् सुटि । जप्तेऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. **ह** is substituted for the **स** of **सम्** (and thereby **ञ** or **ज** is substituted for **ज**) when the augment **ह** follows, in a *samhitā*.

१३६ । अन्नानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । ८ । ३ । २ ॥

अज ह्रस्वकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sūtras upto VIII. 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which **ह** has been ordained."

(This is an *adhikāra* sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which **ह** has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where **ह** is the subject of discussion.)

Thus sūtra VIII. 3. 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of **सम्**, there is **ह** when **हुद्** augment follows." The vowel **अ** of **सम्** becomes nasal; as **सिक्कर्त्तुम्**, **सिक्कर्त्तव्यम्** ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रोः पूर्वस्यात्परोऽनुस्वारमगम स्यात् । अत्यन्तान्योर्विसर्जनीयः ॥

137. After what precedes **ह**, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then *anusvāra* shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2 S. 136. When nasal is not substituted we add an *anusvāra* to such vowel. The word **अगम** should be

read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकाद् अन्यो यो वर्णः " a letter other than a nasal ", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5. S. 135 teaches ह substitution of the य् of स्य् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Some say " the word यः in the sūtra means अन्या, and so we need not supply the word यन् from outside ". They say अनुनासिकान् यः = अनुनासिकान्यः ; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः the ह is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स् ॥

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य स्तः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य स्तः स्यात् । एतदपवादो वा कर्त्तव्ये प्राधिके विसर्गे प्राप्ति ॥ संयुक्तानां लो वक्तव्यः * ॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ सप्तो वा लेपनेके इति भाष्यम् * ॥ लेपस्यापि स्मरणस्थत्वाद् अनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेककारं कपद्वयम् । द्विकारं नृत्तमेव । तथानपि येन प्रकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे विसर्कारमपि कपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गनिष्ठादुक्तियोग्यपञ्चमीययनामकारोपरि सप्तु च पाठस्थोपसंख्यधामत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्यपवादः । अनुनासिकवर्ता वसर्गां हारः खय इति कवित्वे यद् । अनुस्वारवसानानुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे ह्यवयव । दयामष्टादशानां प्रकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तेन पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकस्य द्वित्वं चित्तविति चतुष्पञ्चाष्टम् । अनोऽष्टादशिकस्येऽवोत्तराष्टम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule पाठे VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. Then we have the following Vārtika which ordains स् always, and never visarga.

Vārti:—For the finals of सद्, पुद् and कान् there is always substituted स्. Thus applying the previous four rules we have सद् + कर्त्ता = सद् + छद् + कर्त्ता (VI. 1 137 S. 2550) = स् + ह + छद् + कर्त्ता (VIII. 3. 2. S. 136) = संस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता ॥

According to Mahābhāṣya, there is elision of स् after सद्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 S. 48 to this latter, and have three स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, or संस्कर्त्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (वच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता, we get three more by doubling the स् by the vārtika णः खयः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the व will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one व, two व and three व, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when वच् is nasalised.

१३६ । पुमः खय्यम्परे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुमश्चस्य रु स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽपत्यस्येति वस्त्वर्पुसात् × क = पयोः प्राप्ते ।
अप्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु पत्वप्राप्ते । संपुंकानामिति सः । पुंस्कोकिलः । पुंस्कोकिलः । पुंस्त्वः । पुंस्त्वः । अम्परे
किम् । पुंस्तीरम् । खयि किम् । पुंस्त्रासः । यस्यामादिषे न पुंस्त्वानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyāhāra).

The word पुम् is formed by the Unādi affix डृङ् added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unādi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or *वृत्ति* words. If the word पुम् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception "apratyaye" of the sūtra -VII. 3. 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to व् by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vārtika सं पुंकानामिति सः (see the preceding sūtra) always ordains र् and never व् ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिलः = पुर् + कोकिलः = पुर् or पु × क + कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 41. S. 155) = पुंस्कोकिलः or पुंस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S. 135 & 136). Similarly पुंस्त्वः or पुंस्त्वः.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंस्त्रासः, पुंस्त्रासः (V. 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंस्तीरः, पुंस्त्रासः ॥

Vārtika :—Not so when वङ् follows पुम्, in those cases where वङ् is substituted for वङ् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476). As पुंस्त्वानम् ॥ वङ्गान् is formed by adding वङ् to वङ् (III. 3. 115 S. 3290).

१४० । नद्वङ्गव्यमशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे छवि नद्वङ्गव्यमशान् पदस्य रु स्यात् न तु प्रशान्दव्यस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । अतुल्यम् ।
शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि । शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि । चर्मिच्छावत् । चर्मिच्छावत् । पदस्य किम् । इति । अम्परे किम् ।
सन्त्यक्तः छद्मचिः । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. व is substituted for the final व् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छ्व letter (छ, ष, य, च, व, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semi-vowel and nasal).

(The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word प्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.) शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 7. S. 140) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 15 S. 76) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 34 S. 138) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (III. 4. 40 S. 3361) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि or शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S. 136, S. 137). Similarly चर्मिच्छावत् or चर्मिच्छावत् ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe दक्षि ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to ह before ति, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रधात्' ? Observe प्रधात् चनोति. प्रधात् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when मन् follows छत्' ? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक् (कन् V. 2, 64 S. 1864).

१४१ । नृन्पे । ८ । ३ । १० ॥

नृनिस्त्वस्य रुः स्वाहा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before प ॥

Thus नृन् + पाहि = नृन् + पाहि = नृः + पाहि (VIII. 3, 15, 8, 76). At this stage applies the following sūtra.

१४२ । कुब्जोः × क × पी च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कपौ पर्वो च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्वास्त्रिह्रस्वमूलीयेपञ्चमीयौ स्तः । चाहितर्गः । येन नाप्राप्त इतिम्यादिन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् । न तु पर्वे विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । येन वासः शौनमित्यादौ विसर्ग एव । नृन् × पाहि । नृन् × पाहि । नृः पाहि । नृः पाहि । नृन्पाहि ॥

142. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or ■ hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sūtra debar the sūtra VIII. 3, 34 S. 138 which ordains स् for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3, 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः शौनम् &c.

Thus we get नृन् × पाहि or नृन् × पाहि or नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि or नृन्पाहि ॥

१४३ । कानामिदिते । ८ । ३ । १२ ॥

कानाकारस्य रुः स्वाहावेदिते परे संयुक्तानामिति सः यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an āmredita.

Here by the vārtika, under S. 138, the रु is changed to रु ॥ Or the next sūtra applies:—

१४४ । कस्कादियु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतेन कानात् विसर्गस्य रुः स्वाहाय च तु सः । × क × पवोरपवादः । इति सः । कान्कात् । कस्का । कीतस्तुवः । सर्विष्कुण्डका । धनुष्कपानम् । आकृतिवर्णोऽयम् ॥

144. रु or प is substituted for the visarga, before ■ hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37 S. 142. ए is substituted after इ or उ, and ह् everywhere else. Thus कस्का, 2. कौत्स्कुनः (with क्ण् of कृत भागतः). 3. भोतुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23 S. 981) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21 S. 979) 5. सद्यस्कातः; 6. सद्यस्त्री (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. सायस्काः (from सद्यस्त्री in the sense of त्वेवमवः क्तुः). 8. कस्कात् (the ह is by VIII. 3. 12 S. 143) 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. यदुष्कपालम् 12. वर्हिष्पूलम् 13. यदुष्पात्रम्. No complete list of this class is given anywhere. It is an, Akritigaṇa

Thus कस्कात् or कस्कात्.

१४५। संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

एवधिकृतम् ॥

145. In the sūtras of Pāṇini beginning with this up to VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence up to VI. 1. 158. Whatever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice.

१४६। छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

इत्यस्य छे परे गुणानाम् स्वासंहितायाम् । इत्युत्स्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भवत्येव हः । सतत्त्वत्स्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भवत्येव जः । तस्य चत्वेन चः । इत्युत्स्वस्यासिद्धत्वायोः कुरिति कृत्वे च । स्वच्छाया । शिदच्छाया ॥

146. The augment ह् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by छ, is added the augment ह् in Sanhitā. Here we must remember the rule पूर्व्यासिद्धम् (VIII. 4. 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form.

Thus ह् + छाया = स्वह् + छाया. Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 requiring the ह् to be changed to च; (2) VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 requiring the ह् to be changed to इ. By the maxim पूर्व्यासिद्धम् the च will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of जह्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वह् + छाया (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII. 4. 55 S. 121 by which ह् required to be changed into च् letter, and (2) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 by which इ required to be changed to इ. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वइ + छाया, and then इ is changed to च — स्वच + छाया (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII. 4. 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII. 2. 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छायाः सिक्छायाः ॥

१४७ । आङ्माहोश्च । ६ । १ । ७४ ॥

एतयोश्चे परे तुक् स्यात् । परान्वहेति विकल्पापवादः ॥ आच्छास्यति । माच्छिहत् ॥

147. The augment क् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sūtra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI. 1. 76 S. 149 it would have been optional. Thus आच्छास्यति, माच्छिहत् ॥

१४८ । दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । ७५ ॥

दीर्घाच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य । वेनाद्युपच्छायेति ज्ञापकात् । चेच्छिहत् ॥

148. The augment क्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pāṇini himself using it in the sūtra विनायाः यथायुपच्छाया &c. II. 4. 25. S. 828. Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च् by VIII. 4. 55, there would have been two च्'s, and not the form च्छ as used by Pāṇini himself in the above sūtra. Or if by applying the maxim संनिपातवक्ष्यविधिः (See S. 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of क् and this क् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच् and not च्छ ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छिहत् ॥

१४९ । पदान्ताद्याः । ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

दीर्घात्पदान्ताच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीछाया ॥

149. The augment क्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी छाया or लक्ष्मी छाया ॥

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४६ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sūtra has already been taught before. It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi. Thus विष्णुस् + प्राता = विष्णुर् + प्राता = विष्णु + प्राता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स् of the affix स्त्र of the nominative singular is changed to ह by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162; and then this र् is changed to Visarga by VIII. 3. 15 S. 76 and then this Visarga is changed to स् by the present rule. (This स् is not again changed to ह because with regard to ह this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*)

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे शरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न ल्यप्ते । कः स्त्रहः । यनायनः शोभनः । इह यदायधं सत्वं जिह्वागुलीयध न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर्. In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus कः स्त्रहः, यनायनः शोभनः ॥

(Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvāmuliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like ऋजिः स्वातन्त्र्य, वासः शोभनः ॥)

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि रेरे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हंराः सेति । हस्तिदंते । शर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्थाता । दृष्टिपुष्टि । वक्षे विसर्गे सत्वे न वैकल्प्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरि. होते or हरिः होति,

Vārt:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्यात् or रामः स्यात् हरिस्तुति or हरिः स्तुति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स change. Thus we get three forms रामस्यात् or रामः स्यात् or रामस्त्यात्.

कुप्योः × क × पो न्व । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क × करोति । कः करोति । क × कनति । कः कनति । क × कपति । कः कपति । क × कनति । कः कनति ॥

151 A. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or ■ hard labial. This sūtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus क + करोति or क × करोति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvāmūliya and the Upadhmanīya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sūtra is an aprāda to that. But VIII. 3. 35, S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः साध्वः साध्विः ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35, and 37. In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1), every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the existence of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कुर्येः "The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant," (2) × क × पो न्व "The jihvāmūliya and upadhmanīya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case."

१५२ । सोऽपदादी । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्वाक्षराणो कुप्योः पत्योः ॥ पाठकल्पकान्तेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्वाक्षम् यशस्वाक्षम् । यशस्वम् । यशस्वान्वति ॥ गगन्यवस्तेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ गगनः कल्पम् । कान्ये रेरेतेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ देह । दीः कान्वति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means "when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word," in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vart.—This is possible only before the affixes वाच, कल्प, क, and काम्य
Thus एवस्वाचम् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993); एवस्वल्लभ, यवस्वल्लभ, (V. 3. 67 S. 2022);
(V. 3. 70 S. 2025); यवस्वक, यवस्वकाम्यति (III. 1. 9 S. 2663).

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an
Indeclinable: as, दासः कल्पम् ॥

Vart.—The visarga which comes from ह is only changed to स before
काम्य, and not any other visarga. As एवस्वकाम्यति, and यवस्वकाम्यति; but not here,
यतिःकाम्यति ॥

१५३ । इणः च । ८ । ३ । ३९ ॥

इणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्वात्पूर्वविषये । सर्पिष्वाचम् । सर्पिष्कल्पम् । सर्पिष्कम् ।
सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

153. इ is the substitute of that visarga, which is
preceded by ह or ड and is followed by an affix beginning with
a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mention-
ed in the preceding sūtra.

Thus सर्पिष्वाचम्; सर्पिष्कल्पम्; सर्पिष्कम् सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

१५४ । नमस्पुरसोर्गत्वोः । ८ । ३ । ४० ॥

गतिसंज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुर्वोः परयोः । नमस्करोति । साक्षात्प्रवृत्तिर्यावु कृमोः योगे
विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा । हृषभसि नमः करोति । पुरीषमभिमिति विले गतिसंज्ञा । पुरस्करोति । भगवतिस्त्रासिह
पूः पुरो पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः ॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substi-
tuted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words
are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74 S. 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति ॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with
the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c. (see Ganapātha
under I. 4. 74). When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति ॥ पुरस्
is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I. 467. S. 768). Thus पुरस्करोति ॥ But
when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्याः where पुर is a noun and is declined
as पूः (N. S), पुरी (N. D), पुरः (N. Pl).

१५५ । इदुवुषधस्य चाप्यत्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४१ ॥

इकपिकोषधस्योगाप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य चः स्वात्कुर्वोः । निष्कृष्टम् । जादिष्ठम् । दुष्टम् ।
अप्रत्ययस्य किम् । अग्निः करोति । वायुः करोति । एकविंशशास्त्रनिमित्तकाय न पत्यम् । कश्चादिपु
भातुपुषधस्य पात्रम् । वेनेह न । शत्रुः कृष ॥ इदुवः पतिर्नभः ॥ सुष्टुः यथा ॥

155. ए is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर, डुर, वदिर, गगविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus निरःकुम्भस् भाविः कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe भाविः कतेति, वातुः कतेति ॥ How do you explain वातुः कृत्वा? For here in वातुः &c., the ए of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, S. 280. and the र् of वातुर् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to व ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word वातुष्पुनः in Kaskādi class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 144). indicates by implication, that व change does not take place of this visarga in वातुः, वातुः &c.: the only exception being भातुः ॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple व, but an ekādśa व obtained by वृ+अ=वृ (VI. 1. 111 S. 279.)

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of वृद्धस्; as वृद्धस्काण् or वृद्धः काण् ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुप्पोः । तिरःकर्त्ता । तिरःकर्त्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, or तिरः कर्त्ता ॥

१५७ । द्वित्रिचतुरिति कृत्वोर्ध्वे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वोर्ध्वे वर्तमानानाम्नां विवर्णस्य पकारो वा स्यात् कुप्पोः । द्विःकरोति । द्विः करोतीत्यादि । कृत्वोर्ध्वे द्विः । चतुर्ध्वपाठः ॥

157. ए is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix एप् (ए) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvāsuch by V. 4. 18. S. 2036.

As द्विः करोति वा द्विष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvāsuch or Numeral adverbs? Observe चतुर्ध्वपाठः where ए is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155.

१५८ । इमुभोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

इमोर्ध्वेर्ध्वपाठः इः स्याद्वा कुप्पोः । सर्विष्करोति । सर्विः करोति । चतुर्ध्वपाठः । चतुः करोति । चतुर्ध्वपाठः । सामर्थ्ये द्विः । तिरः सर्विः, विव चतुर्ध्वपाठः ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted व्, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The व् is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, धनुः करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठन् सर्पिः, पिब स्वद्वयम् where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठन् ॥

The word सामर्थ्ये here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्ये is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. (the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense). It does not here mean 'compound.' But it being a वक्षसि the word समर्थ (is understood here (समर्थः पदविधिः II. 1. 1 S. 647.). The employment of the word सामर्थ्ये here indicates that it is a different sāmāthyā from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote द्वाकाङ्क्षा or द्वैकाङ्क्ष्य which is the sāmāthyā of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmāthyā here means vyapekshā which is thus defined नानामृतयोः, पदार्पणे यौ सङ्गौ वर्तेत, तयो यौ येषः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

१५९. नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इह तौर्विर्तनीत्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं वः स्यात् कुन्तोः परयोः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थयेति किम् । परमसर्पिःकुण्डिका । कस्तूरिषु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाद्यस्योऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि परार्थः । व्यपेक्षायां नित्यार्थम् ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to व् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका. The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.

The inclusion of the word सर्पिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्तूरि class (VIII. 3. 48, S. 161 A) indicates that the व् change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the व् change is compulsory.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प by adding the Unādi affix रति (Uṇ II. 109), and धनुम् by the Unādi affix सति (Uṇ II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्थसोः would denote the mere forms सर्विन् and भवुस् and not forms like परमसर्विन् &c, then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य in the sūtra ?

Ans.—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sīhasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इत् and उत्तुः—प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् अ विहित इति स्तदन्तस्य पदस्य "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्विष्कारोति or परमसर्विः कर्तोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra ?

Ans.—Because the word सामर्थ्ये there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

१६० । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीप्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारानुत्तरस्थानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे निबं सकारादिषः स्वस्क्रोतादिषु परोपु न ह्यन्तपदस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अय सहिता कुशा अयस्कुशा । अयस्कर्णी । अतः कित् । गीःकारः । अयव्ययस्य कित् । स्वःकावः । समासे कित् । यशः करोति । अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य कित् । परमव्ययःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III. 2. 1 S. 2913.) कम्—अयस्कामः, कंस—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कुशा, कर्णी—अयस्कर्णी ॥

Why do we say अतः "a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अः"? See वीःकारः ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of an Indeclinable"? Observe एदः कान् ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यद्गः परित्ति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्यस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, यदन्तः परित्ति ॥

१६१ । अथः सिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतदेतिविगर्गस्य गोत्रेषः स्वान्दस्य परो । अथान्दम् । सिरसिदम् । समासे इति । अथः पदम् । एतः ११५ । अनुत्तरपदस्यस्येति । परित्ति १६५ ॥

161. For the visarga of अघस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अघस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥

The word सभासे is understood in this, therefore not here अघः पदम्, शिरः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमेशिरः पदम् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

भास्करः ॥

161 A. स or व is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्का and the rest. This sūtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus भाः + कर् = भास्करः ॥

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । सप्तसुपो ऋ । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

'पशनास्य सप्त सप्तपञ्चमस्य च ऋ स्यात् । अक्षरापवादः ॥

162. For the final **सु** and for the **प्** of **सप्तसुप्** is substituted **ऋ**, at the end of a word. This debars **जम्**.

Thus, **सिषत् + अर्थः**, here **सिषत्** is a word formed with the **Ne** native Singular case affix **सु**. This **सु** will be changed by the above Sūtra into **ऋ** and not to a **ज** letter. Thus, we get **सिषर् + अर्थः**. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्पुतादप्पुते । ९ । २ । ११३ ॥

अप्पुतादपुतः परस्य रोर् स्यादप्पुतेति । भोगमोऽप्यो इतिमात्रस्य चरस्योऽपवादः । इत्वं भति चरस्योऽपि इत्वं तु न भवति । सप्तमस्य चरविधेः सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The **उ** is the substitute of **ऋ** (the **ऋ** substitute of a final **सु** VIII. 2. 66.) when an **अ**, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sūtra debars the **व** of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167 The **ऋ** taught in the Tripāḍi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. for the purposes of **ऋ** substitution required by the present sūtra of the 6th Adhyāya. This is because this sūtra specifically mentions the word **ऋ** and then ordains **उ** in its stead. Had this sūtra not perceived the **ऋ** of VIII. 2. 66 it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

(The phrase **उ** is understood here, as well as the word **भति** of VI. 1. 107. Therefore **सिषर् + अर्थः** = **सिष + उ + अर्थः**. At this stage, the next sūtra VI. 1. 107 raises a doubt, viz, should **अ** and **उ** of **सिष + उ** become a long **आ** as **ऐषा**.

१६४ । अथमयोः पूर्वमवर्णः । ९ । २ । १०२ ॥

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words *वक्त्रः* and *दीर्घः* are both understood here. The word *प्रथमा* here means the *प्रथमा विभक्तिः* i. e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the *द्वितीया विभक्तिः* also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a *पूर्वस्व* or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of *क्षिप्रः+अर्च्यः* because of the following *apavāda* rule.

१६५ । नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वस्ववर्णसिचः । आहुणः । एहः पदान्तादिति । शिवोऽर्च्यः । अत इति तपः । किम् । देवः अथ । अतीति तपः । किम् । अमागन्ता । अप्पुनरिति । एहि सुलोत" अथ जाहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वात्तः परोऽयम् । अप्लुतमिति निषेधणे तु सुत्वाभ्यामप्राप्तिद्वयम् । तपःकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घनिवृत्त्या परितार्प्यत्वात् । अप्लुते इति किम् । तिष्ठतु पय अ" प्रियत् । सुतेरनृत् इति प्लुतः ॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when *अ* or *आ* is followed by a vowel (other than *अ*) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore *क्षिप्रः+अर्च्यः* = *क्षिप्रोऽर्च्यः* : The *अ* *उ* become *guṇa* by the *आहुणः* (VI. 1. 87. S. 69) and the subsequent *अ* of *अर्च्य* is elided by *एहः पदान्तादिति* (VI. 1. 109. S. 86). Why do we say 'after a short *अ*'? Or why have we added a *तु* to *अ*? So that the long *आ* may be excluded. Observe *देवः+अप=देवा अप* ॥ The word *अति* is understood here from VI. 1. 109. S. 36. ' *र* must be followed by a short *अ*; thus *अरु+आगन्ता=अमागन्ता* : Why do we say 'preceded by an *apluta अ*'? The rule will not apply if a *Pluta* vowel precedes it. As *एहि सुलोत ३ अथ जाहि* : Though the word is *अद्* in the sūtra, and it means only short *अ* and neither long *आ* nor the *pluta आ*, yet the word is repeated in the sūtra for the following reason. In the above example *एहि सुलोत" अथ स्नाहि*, the *अ* of *सुलोतम्* is prolated by VIII. 2. 84. This prolation, being effected by a *Tripādi* rule, would not be perceived by VI. 1. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non-existent, and the *अ* is still short. Therefore to make the prolation *siddha* or effective for the purposes of VI. 1. 113, the word " *pluta* " is specifically mentioned in the sūtra. The *तु* of *अद्* would not have produced this result, because that *तु* found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the *long आ* ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an *apluta अ*?" Observe *तिष्ठतु पय दध्निवत्* ! "O Agnidatta ! let the milk remain." Here *आ* of *Agnidatta* is *pluta* by VIII. 2. 86. and it being *asiddha*, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । ह्रिचि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अभ्युतादतः परस्य येकः स्याद्वचि । चिचो वन्यः । येतिर्युकारावतुल्यमपहणानिह । मातृत्व । धातुर्गच्छ । देवास् ॥ इति स्थितिः । इत्यम् ॥

166. The उ is the substitute of रु (the इ substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an *apluta* short अ ॥

The इत् *pratyāhāra* includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus चिचोवन्यः ।

The उ substitution takes place in the case of that रु only which is called रु in this Grammar; i.e. रु with the indicatory letter इ; therefore not in मातृ + अच् = मातृत्व or धातृ + गच्छ = धातुर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास् + इह । Here the इ is first changed into रु by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule:—

१६७ । भोमगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽसि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य शय्यविशः स्यादसि श्रे । अतन्निः श्रेयः । श्रेयः शाकन्त्यस्य । इवा इह । देवादिह । षति किम् । देवाः सन्ति । यद्यपीह यत्तस्यासिद्धत्वादितर्को नैव्यते स्यादिति विसर्गस्य स्यादित्यत्रादिन स्यात् । न ह्ययमन्विधिः । ऐरिति सप्तशय्यरूपाश्चयणात् । भोत् भवोस् अघोह् इति सकारान्ता निपाताः । येषां शीर्षेण कृते ॥

167. इ is substituted for the रु called रु, when it is preceded by भो, मगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अच् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sūtra भो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास् + इह = देवास् + इह = देवास् + इह = देवा इह or देवा इह । In one case we elide इ by the rule श्रेयः शाकन्त्यस्य (VIII. 3. 19. S. 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अच् *pratyāhāra*?' Observe देवास् सन्ति ।

Though in the Sūtra the इ being considered as *asiddha*, the रु will be changed not to इ but to *visarga*; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthānivat* to रु, will be changed to इ. Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthānivat* to रु, because here the whole word-form रु is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sūtra भोत्, मगोत्, अघोत् are three particles ending in इ. The इ will be changed to रु and the रु to इ and thus we have भोइ, मगोइ and अघोइ. Here applies the next sūtra:—

१६८ । ज्योतिष्प्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्तयोग्यकार्यकार्योत्पत्त्यर्थो ययौ वा स्तोत्रं च परे । यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वाधोपागतमध्यमूकानां
शक्तिर्ये जायते स लघुच्चारणः ॥

168. च् and य् (in मंगेय् &c. and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अच् letter, according to the opinion of Śakāṭāyana.

(The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara.) Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. च् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final च् and य् in भोक्, भर्गव, भवेद्य, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter च् will replace the heavy च्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोक्च, भर्गवच, भवेद्यच, कयस्ते. or क मास्ते, अस्मापुत्रर or अस्मा वृद्धर, अस्मापारित्यः or अस्मा आदित्यः, हावच or हावानच, or हाशानच ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-prayatna-tara. In śict, च् and य् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । औतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

औकाचार्यस्य पदान्तस्थाऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य निर्ले लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यचरणे पूजार्थम् । भो
अच्युत । अलघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । होचम् ॥

169. य् preceded by औ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अच् letter according to the opinion of Gārgya.

There can be no य् preceded by औ, so only च् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus औ अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (nitya) rule and not a vibhāṣha rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna च् which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara-य् does come also. As भोच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe होचम्.

१७० । उभि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वकोऽपदान्तस्थोऽयमौप उभि पदे । स उ एकविंशः । पदे किम् । अच्युतम् । तेमः
संस्कारणे रूपम् । यदि तु पदान्तस्थोऽयमौप उभि पदे । तर्हि पदे स उ एकविंशः ।

170. च् and य् (preceded by अ, or आ at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word. That Particle is meant here by the word उच् and not the उच् which is a root obtained by the samprasāraṇa of वेच् ॥ Thus स उ एकाग्रिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे 'उ' when it is a pada? So that the rule may not apply to उच् the form assumed by वेच् by samprasāraṇa, as सन्ने उर्हं = सन्नुत्तम् ॥ *Query*—उच्, could never have meant the form assumed by वेच्, for the samprasāraṇa of वच्, is उ, the च् is merely indicatory. Moreover the maxim of lakṣhaṇa- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उच् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उच् ॥

The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3. 32. This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional. Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough.

Note :—The maxim above referred to "सध्वण इतिपदेऽन्त्यैः इतिपदेऽन्त्यैश्च मङ्गलम्" means :

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । इति सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

सोमसोमसिवापूर्वस्य सध्वणस्युच्चारणस्य यत्कारस्य शेषः समादिति सर्वेषां नोत्तम् । सो वेदात् । सो रक्षितम् । सो विद्वत्सम् । मग्ने यत्तत्तम् । मग्ने यत्तत्तम् । वेदा मग्नेः । वेदा यत्तत्तम् । इति विद्वत् । वेदायित् ।

171. (The य whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by सो, मग्ने, यत्तत्तम्, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Āchāryas.

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । घ । २ । ६९ ॥

अहो रेफविद्यः स्वाज्ञ तु सुवि । रो-रपचाय । अह्राष्टः । मंहर्षणः । असुषि किम् । गहोभ्याम् ।
अघा-शक्तिरित्त्वम् ॥ रूपराधिरयन्तेरुत्वं सच्यम् ॥ अहोकायम् । गहमही राधिरया । एकदेशविकृत-
स्यानन्दावावहोरायः । अहोरायन्तरम् ॥ अह्राष्टकीर्णा पत्यादिषु वा रेफः ॥ विसर्गपचायः । मंहर्षतिः । गीर्षतिः ।
धर्षतिः । पक्षे विसर्गोपध्मान्नीया ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), रु is substituted for the ऋ of अहन् ॥

This debars रु. Thus अरुहः। अरुहेण ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अरुहोऽयम्, Here रु-called र replaced the final ह् of अरुह् by VIII. 2. 68, S. 443. The difference between this रु-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र is changed to रु by VI. 1. 113, S. 163, the ordinary र is not so changed.

Part.—Before the words कृप, राशि and रथन्तर, the इ of अहम् is changed to इ. As अहोऽकृपः, गतनहोराशिरेषा. So also अहारात्र, though the word रात्र is not राशि. This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यान्यत्वात् which means:—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Part.—The words अहर् &c. before पति &c. should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c. are replaced by ह or र before पति &c. As अहर्पति or गहर्पति or अहःपति ; गःपति, गःपति or गीःपति ; धृपति, धूःपति or धूःपति. Here ह is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र

१७३ । से दि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफ़स्य रेफ़े परि स्त्रियः स्यात् ॥

173. \ddot{r} is elided before a \ddot{r} #

Note.—The sūtra is रुः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रुः रि is the form which रुः रि and रोः रि will both assume. रुः is the Genitive of रु, and रोः would be the Genitive of र ॥ The sūtra is not confined to रु only, but to every रु in general including रुः ॥ Thus नीरुक्कम्, वरुक्कम् ॥

१७४ । ह्रलोपे पुर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

हरेर्कां शेषयतीति तथा सखिन्वर्णेऽर्थाद् ङकारेष्वात्मके परे पूर्वस्वाणो वीर्यः स्वात् पुनः । एते ।
हरी रस्यः । शंभुराजोऽंशः भणः किम् । कृदः । कृदः । कृद् द्विषायम् । वृद् उद्यममे । पूर्वभणमनुत्तरपदेऽपि
पूर्वभाषस्य वीर्याधिम् । तीदः । अज्जर्पाः । मनस रस इत्यत्र कृते कृते हृषि चेतुस्ते चोरिति लोपे च प्राप्ताः ।

Thus we get लिङ्+इ. The first इ being elided by VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीङ् by the present sūtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस्+एषः=मनस्+एषः. Here two sūtras simultaneously apply viz. ह्रस्विण VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of इ for ए and the sūtra रोरे VIII. 3. 14. S. 173. causing the elision of इ. What sūtra are we to apply? Here comes the following Interpretation sūtra.

१७५। विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १।४॥२॥

ह्रस्ववर्गविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्ते । पूर्वप्रासिद्धमिति रोरेत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्तरेण । मनोरपः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of इ of मनस् before एष. But here we must remember the rule of पूर्वप्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of इ (VIII. 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of इ required by VI. 1. 14. S. 166. Therefore we have इ. Thus we have मनस्+एष=मनोरपः ॥

१७६। एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे ह्रस्वि । ६।१।१३२॥

अककारयोरेतत्तदोः ह्रस्वस्य लोपः स्यादिति न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स षष्ठः । मकोः किल् ? एषको ह्रस्वः । अनञ्समासे किल् । अतः सिद्धः । इति किल् । एषोऽन ।

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एष+विष्णुः=एष विष्णुः ॥ स षष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको ह्रस्वः ॥

NOTE:—The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकप्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: *सन्त्ययवतिहस्तद् ग्रहण्यं गृह्यते* 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in the which is actually denoted by it.'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe एतदसिद्धः ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽन ॥

१७७ । सो ऽचि लांये चेत्पादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य सोलौपः स्यादचि पादभेदोपे सत्येव पूर्वतः । सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईद्विपे । इह भूमपाद एव गृह्यत इति धामनः । आदेशेष्वच्युक्तपादोऽपीत्यपरं सैव संक्षरयी रामः । लोपे चेद्विपे किम् । स इहू शोति । स एवमुक्तया । सत्येयैत्यधारणं तु स्वच्छन्दसि बहुलांति पूर्वसूत्राद्बहुतप्रवृत्त्यादुक्त्या सम्बन्धः । तेनेह न । सोऽश्माञ्जलमुद्रणम् ॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईद्विपे (Rig. II. 24. 1.) = सः इमान् अविद्धि (माण्डूहि, वापतेः मान्यर्थस्य कोटि रूपं) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण चूर्वां स्तुति) यः (हे बृहस्पते यस्व) ईद्विपे (सर्वस्य जगत् ईश्वरी भवति) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good-burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vāmana the author of Kāśikā, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokaś without any such distinction.

In explaining this sūtra we have used the word सत्येव " only then " in order to limit its scope ; and this we get by the force of the word बहुते in the sūtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽश्माञ्जलमुद्रणम् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेहू राजा क्षयति पर्यणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सोषधीन्दुरुष्यते (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say ' when by such elision the metre of the line is completed ' ? Observe स इहू शोति स एवमुक्तया ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness : for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened ; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kāśikā the Pāda must refer to a Pāda of the Rig-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as ' a foot of a śloka ' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have :—तेषु दाक्षणी दासः, तेषु राजा वृषिष्ठिरः, तेषु कर्णे महात्यागी तेषु भीष्मे महाबलः ॥

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवदधातुप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातुं प्रत्यये प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*prataya*) or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The *prātipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated are called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वद् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called *prātipadika*.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तोऽसमासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्णवृत्तेन लिखे समासपदं विद्वद्वाच्यम् ।
अथ संज्ञाते पूर्वो भागः पदं तस्य चैकवक्ति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prātipadika*.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in *Kṛt* and *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called *prātipadika*. The word *Samāsa* is used in the sūtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prātipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else; therefore the term *Prātipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेऽधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the 'end of the Fifth Book, (whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.)

१८१ । परम् । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. 'That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātu' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form.'

१८२ । क्वाप्प्रतिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

कृपान्तावायन्तायातिपदिकाद्येवापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेऽधिकारः । प्रतिपदिकमहणे निहृविषाहत्वादि महणमित्येव सिद्धे क्वाश्चमहणं क्वायन्ताच्चिदितोत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात् क्वाकृषोऽयम् ना भवित्वेवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes *ङि* or *आप्*, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base *महति* to which the affixes beginning with *हृ* treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with *क्व* (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term *ङि* is a common name for the three affixes *ङीप्*, *ङीए*, and *ङीत्*. The term *आप्* is the common name

for the three affixes स्त्री, स्त्री and स्त्री । These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word स्त्री प्रातिपदिकात् is a *Samāhāra-dvandva* or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha: Why have we employed the word 'āy-āp' in the aphorism? Is not the word *prātipadika* wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the *paribhāṣā*:—"A *prātipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender"?

Ans: The words स्त्री and स्त्री are specifically used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note:—The *Kāśikā* gives the following answer to the above question.

Not so. The *paribhāṣā* you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sūtra itself. In other words, "this *paribhāṣā* is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes *prātipadikas* generally (as the word '*prātipadika*' does in this sūtra) or denotes a particular *prātipadika*, (such as the words युवा, स्त्री, पति, पति, and स्त्री, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form *yuvā*, also includes the feminine: but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, स्त्री, स्त्री have been employed in the Sūtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (स्त्री) or long आ (स्त्री). Thus the feminine of 'काल' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला' ॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तत्' as 'कालितत्', 'हरिणितत्', 'खट्वातत्', and 'मालातत्' ॥

Now, had we not used that word 'āy-āp' in the Sūtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word '*kālitārā*,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes स्त्री by IV. 1. 42; to which when तत् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितत् ॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words āy-āp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule or *vipratishedha*, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली; and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have **खालर**; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the *taddhita* would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word *ny-āp*, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says:—The inclusion of **ङी** and **आप्** in this *sūtra* is useless, for the following reason:—all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as *Pratipadikas*, on the strength of the maxim *Pratipadika grahane linga-vishishtasya* &c. For example, **भग्नू**: "mother-in-law," derived from the masculine **एवमृ** with the affix **ङङ्** (see *Vārtika* under IV. 1. 68. S. 523. **भग्नू**स्योक्तोऽत्र कालोपचयः). Here the word **भग्नू** must be a *pratipadika*, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a **ङी** nor an **आप्** ending word. But we see that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as **ङी**, **आप्**, **ङ** etc.) are *Pratipadikas*; hence there is no necessity of using the words **ङी** and **आप्** in the *sūtra*.

Ans So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of **ङी** **आप्** as superfluous. But this *sūtra* not only ordains case-affixes, but *Taddhita* affixes as well: for the *sūtra* means "Let all the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or *Taddhita* &c. come after bases ending in **ङी**—**आप्** and after *Pratipadikas*." So that the *Taddhita* affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we infer because the words **ङी** and **आप्** are used in the *sūtra*. Thus we get **भार्यिका** or **भार्यिका** ॥ If the *Taddhita* affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form **भार्यिका** ॥ For the *swārthika* **कङ्** added by V. 4. 29. S. 2097. to **भार्य** being most *antarang* would come first and then the feminine **आप्**. Thus **भार्य** + **क** + **आप्** = **भार्यिका** ॥ Consequently the **अ** of **यै** could not be changed to **इ** by *वर्णभङ्गः* VII. 3. 46. S. 465.

For the **अ** here is not that **अ** which has replaced a long **आ** ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus:—

भार्या + **क** + **आप्** = **भार्यिका**, here the long **आ** of **भार्या** is shortened by *क्वप्*: VII. 4. 13. S. 834.

And so we can apply the rule *उक्षिप्तं* and get **भार्यिका**

१५३ स्त्रीजसमौदल्लष्टाभ्यामिस्ठेभ्याम्यस्ठसिप्र्याम्यस्ठसोसामङ्ग्योस्तु-
पृ॥४॥१॥२॥

द्वयन्तादाबन्ताव्यतिरिक्ताश्च परे स्थाप्यः प्रत्ययः । द्व्यन्तस्योक्तोत्कारो जगद्व्याधीतः ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termin-

tions **इ** or **आ**, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed):—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	aut (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ī (a)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	he (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	śasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	śas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ī (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like **ह** in **ह्य** and **ञ** in **ञि** are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final **प** is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra **सुप**, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The letters **ज**, **घ**, **ङ**, **ञ** and **प** are **ह्रस्व** or servile letters.

१८४ । विभक्तिश्च । १ । ४ । १०४ ॥

इतिहो विभक्तिर्लक्ष्ये स्तः । तत्र ह्य औ अह इत्यदिनां विकारानां प्रथमादयः सप्तम्यन्ताः प्राचां
वेदास्तामिदिहापि व्यवहारः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, *i. e.*, the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५ । सुप । १ । ४ । १०५ ॥

अपस्वीणि दीणि वचनान्त्येकत्र एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि सुपः ॥

185. Of **सुप** the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६ । द्विवचनैकवचने । १ । ४ । २२ ॥

द्विवचनद्वयेते स्तः ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७ । बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १ । ४ । २१ ॥

बहुषु एतत्सार्धं द्विवचनं । समः ॥

187. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom. Sing. the affix झ is added.

Thus राम + झ = राम + झ = राम + र् = रामा ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies.

१८८ । सरूपासामेकत्वेन एकविमक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविमक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ अयमर्थः पूर्वसवर्गः ॥ नारिणि ॥ वृद्धिरेणि ॥ रावौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम + राम = रावौ. The word रावौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102. S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *viddhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add ज्. Thus राम + ज् ॥ The ज् is indicative by the following sūtra.

१८९ । युद्ध । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रसवयो युद्धौ स्तः । इति जत्वित्त्वसाध ॥

अव्ययः

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicative.

Thus the ज् of ज् would become इद्. So the affix is really इद्. But is not the final र् of ज् also इद् by the sūtra इत्त्वम् I. 3. 3. S. 1. ? No, because of the following exceptions:—

१९० । न विमक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिपादावर्धसकारणकार इतो न ह्युः । इति सकारस्य नेत्यम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इद्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the म् of जम् is not इद्. Thus राम + म् ॥ At this stage the following rule appears which requires the म् + म् to be changed to म् by सकारस्यनेत्यम् :

१६१। अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपदान्तादकाराद्गुणे परतः पररूपमेकादेशः स्यादिति श्रौते । परस्वातूर्ध्वसर्वादीनि । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवाश अनन्तरान्विधीन्वाधत्ते, नोत्तरान्विति न्यायेनाकः सर्वथ इत्यस्यैवायमपवाशो नतु प्रथमयोर्वित्यस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekādeśa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमद्वौ पूर्वसर्गः VI. I. 102. S. 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel; while the present sūtra अतो गुणे debars the immediately succeeding sūtra अकारसर्गौ दीर्घः VI. I. 101. S. 85. by the maxim:—

Paribhāṣā:—*Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101. S. 85 is superseded by the present sūtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102. S. 164. Thus राम+अम्=रामाः. The Vocative case is like the nominative; the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following:—

१६२। एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम+म् ॥ Here the following sūtra applies.

१६३। एहहस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एहन्ताद्द्वयान्ताध्यद्वात्संबुद्धेः संबुद्ध्यादिप्रत्ययान्तैर्हहस्वाभ्यां विधीयमाणेह । हे कतरस्तुनेति । हे राम । हे राम्ये । हे रामाः । एह्यहर्णं किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अथ हि परस्तादिगदत्वाच्च संबुद्धिगुणे कृता हस्वात्परत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (म् and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to हे कतरस्तुनम् !

In हे कवरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix वत्, the substitute of ह् ; for the affix there is कवरत् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being दित् causes the elision of the final व् of कवर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कवर + वत्, here we have not a prātipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. (The word इह् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution required by इत्संय गुणः VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa). Therefore in हे कवरि + वत्, the affix is not elided, first, and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे दिष्णो. For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI. 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII. 3. 108; and because Guṇa is a nitya rule. Therefore when कवरि is guṇated to कवे, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of ह् would not have taken place had the word इह् been not used in the sūtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus: राम + वत्. Here applies the following Sūtra.

१६४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अमिअमि वत्तः पूर्वकमेकादेशः स्यात् । राम + वत् । रामः ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the व् of the case ending वत् ॥

The word अमि is understood here. Thus राम + वत् = राम + वत्. So also accusative dual राम + वौ = रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus:—राम + वत् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

१६५ । जश्चकित्चित्ते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

जश्चित्चकित्चित्ते वत्तः अकारवर्गा इवः स्युः । इति वत्तः सत्वेऽन्तः ॥

195. The initial छ and च, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicative.

The initial च्, छ्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicative, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore च् being इह्, the affix = वत्. Thus राम + वत्. At this stage applies the following sūtra:—

१६६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पुंसवर्णदीर्घात्परो यः सप्तः सप्तारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196. (After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first) च् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix वत् in the masculine.

Thus राग-न-श्च = राग + अन् = रागान् ॥ Now, should not the final ष् of रागान् be changed to ष by the following sūtra ?

१९७ । अङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि इति विहितम् अङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि एषांभ्यां परस्परं न स्यात् रागान्पदे । परस्परं न स्यादिति विधेयं नाङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि । अङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि एषांभ्यां परस्परं न स्यात् रागान्पदे । परस्परं न स्यादिति विधेयं नाङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि । अङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि एषांभ्यां परस्परं न स्यात् रागान्पदे । परस्परं न स्यादिति विधेयं नाङ्कुष्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि ॥ इति ज्ञेयं ॥

197. The substitute ण् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or क्, ख्, ग्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvāra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or ष, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अङ् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of अङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE:—The pratyāhāra अङ् stands for vowels and the letters क् ख् ग् and it includes the ayogavāha letters anusvāra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sūtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvāra. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणम्, गिरिणम्, कुरुणम्, गुरुणम् &c.

The क् means all the gutturals, e. g. अङ्गैः, कुल्लैः, गर्जैः, अर्धैः ॥

The ख् means all the labials, e. g. हर्षैः, रेखैः, गर्भैः, चर्मण्यैः, वर्मण्यैः ॥

The अङ् means the particle आ: e. g. पार्श्वेऽङ्गम् from नङ् (VIII. 2. 34)

निराणङ्गम् (of VIII. 4. 14).

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is वृहिवृद्धौ (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

(The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it.) Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहणम् from वृहिवृद्धौ हिंसायै ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. (Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As मेन्वन्तम्, मेन्वन्तीयम् from वृहिवृद्धौ वृहिवृद्धौः ॥)

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अङ्गैः, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न् ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of ष ॥

But the present sūtra is not applicable to रागान् because of the following sūtra.

१९८ । पदान्तस्य । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य यस्य पदं न स्यात् । यस्मात् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, प is not the substitute.

Thus यस्मात् ॥

१९९ । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्प्रत्यये सदादि प्रत्ययस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात् । भवामि भविष्यामीत्यादी । विकरणविहितस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं सदादिपठणम् । विधिति किम् । स्त्री इत्यती । प्रत्यये किम् । यत्रच । प्रत्ययविहितस्य सतोऽप्यधिकस्य वा ना भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i. e. a rule enjoining an affix; tadādi, that which begins therewith; pratyayo= in a pratyaya i. e. when a pratyaya follows; is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + त् = कर्ता he will do, हर्त्ता he will lose. कर्त्तव्यति, हरिव्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84); similarly because वपद् &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in वपेवर्गः &c.

The word कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix त् &c. वपद् + वच् = वपोवर्गः; कपद् + वच् = कपोवर्गः. Here उपगु + वच् = उपगोवर्गः. Similarly कृ + ल्य + वच् = करिष्य + वच् = करिष्यवर्गः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short ऋ is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i. e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikarāṇas like sya &c., or इत् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + वच् + इ = कुण्डवच् + इ = कुण्डाणि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुण्डा + नुम् + इ = कुण्डान् + इ = कुण्डानि, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix इ by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word "vidhi" "enjoined" in the sūtra? Observe
इयती ॥

Here the word इयती "this much or as much" is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after stri by any rule, the word stri does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the इ- of stri is not elided by यस्त्वितिच (VI. 4. 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below:—

इदम् + यत् = इदम् + यत् (किमिदं यो यः VI. 2. 40. S. 1841.) the य is changed to च ॥ The affix यत् is added to idam with the force of "measure" by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (य changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. आयेनयी) = ईदम् + इयत् (इयत्त्वितिच VI. 3. 90 S. 1018.)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्त्वितिच) = इयत् + स्त्रीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the base इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word यस्त्वितिच "when the affix follows" in the sūtra? For would not the word सक्तादि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No. Because without the word यस्त्वितिच the sūtra would have run thus "after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga." In this view, we could not get the form वज्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (जिह्) of the root औजश्च् 'to cut.'

This is thus formed:—

ज्रश्च् + णच् = ज्रश्च् + णच् + अ (VI. 1. 8, S. 2177 लिङिधातोरेभ्यश्चस्य)

= वृश्च् + ज्रश्च् + अ (VI. 1. 17 S. 2408 लिङ्यश्चस्योभ्येणच्)

= वरश्च् + ज्रश्च् + अ (VII. 4. 66 S. 2244 वरच् and वरच् वरः)

= व + ज्रश्च् + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 क्वाविधेयः) = वज्रश्च् ॥

If the word "pratyaye" did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix ई (इदम् + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + ज्रश्च् will assume the form of वज्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI. 1. 17. (For the ञ in the place of ऋ will not be sthānivat by अच्: परिस्त्वन् पूर्वविधी; because to be sthānivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ ओ ञच्, but this अ of ञच् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of ऋ in वृ will not be sthānivat; and not being so, ञ will not be considered as a samprasāraṇa vowel.) The अ of व not being a Samprasāraṇa, the prohibition of न समसाराणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to व.)

२०० । अङ्गस्व । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra.

२०१ । डाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्तावङ्गादीनां क्रमादिभिर्य आदेशाः स्युः । जस्व । रामेज ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन् for the Instrumental ending ङा; भव् for the Ablative ending वस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेज the न being changed to ज ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यमाशौ द्ववि परे अतोऽङ्गस्व शीर्षेः स्यान् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or म (literally a consonant of यङ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो शीर्षेः यमि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170).

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो भित् ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्तावङ्गादिस ऐस् स्यान् । अनिकान्ताव्यसर्गविधः । रामिः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *ddesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनिकान्ताव्यसर्गस्व I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामिः ॥

२०४ । हेर्यैः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अकारान्तावङ्गादिस्य हेर्यैः स्यान् । रामाय । इह स्याद्विभक्त्येन यदिवास्य सुप्ताव्युपि चेति शीर्षः । सन्निपातस्यार्थे विधिविधिविधे सन्निपातस्यार्थे परिभाषा तु नेह प्रथमं । कदाचिदप्यने इत्यादिभिर्देशेन स्यात् अर्थात्तदा । रामाय । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम + ए = राम + य = रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthānivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII. 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim संनिपातकक्षणी विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधानस्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आय ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pāṇini himself, by forming the dative of कट् = कटाय in Sūtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The क्तेः is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending क्ते; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 23 S. 382. The क्तेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of क्ति the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम + भ्याम्. Here applies the following Sūtra:—

२०५ । बहुवचने ह्रस्वेषु । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

ह्रस्वाद्यौ बहुवचने ह्रस्वि परे अतोऽङ्गुलिकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने कित् । रामः । रामस्य । इति कित् । रामाणाम् । ह्रस्वि कित् । वचध्वन् । अस्त्वन् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with म् or स् (lit. a ह्रस्व consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe रामः; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a ह्रस्व consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300). Why a case-affix? Observe वचध्वन्, and not पचध्वन् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular. राम + ङस्ति = राम + आत् (by VII. 1. 12. S. 201). Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by ह्रस्वा अतोऽङ्गुलिकारः and द् will then optionally be changed to त् by the following Sūtra.

२०६ । वावसाने । ८ । ४ । १६ ॥

अवसाने ह्रस्वा चोद्ये वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । ह्रस्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य ह्रस्वपक्षे ह्रस्वि चेति अतोऽङ्गुलिकारः स्यात् स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पप्राणतया मयत्रमेवात् । अत एव सः सीति नदिश आत्भवते ॥

At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽजन्तादस्य द्वीर्धः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । छुपि चेति द्वीर्धो यद्यपि परस्वपार्थक्यं न प्रवर्धते ।
सन्निपातपरिभाषास्थितेधात् । नामीत्यनेन स्वात्मसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा नाप्यस्ते । रामि । रामयोः । छुपि एवे छुते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix **नाम** (having the augment **छु**).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sūtra **छुपि** (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhāṣā* सन्निपातक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विपातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sūtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhāṣā*.

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular ;—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + छु = रामे + ङ्ग (VII. 3. 103. S. 205.) At this stage applies the following sūtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

मापदपरितमन्त्रेयविकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pāda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following : "A re-re-bral letter is substituted always in the room of——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इष्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of **अ** or **आ**), or a र or a guttural precedes."

The word **इष्** is a pratyāhāra formed with the second **ष्** of **इष्** ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except **अ** and **आ** ॥ Of the semi-vowels **इ** is only efficient ; so that only is taken in the translation. **कु** means the letters of the **क** class. Thus **इष्कोः** is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense,

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सहेः सादः ॥ इति सूत्रात् इति चतुर्थं पदमनुवर्तते । इण्कार्वाभ्यां परस्वापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्य-
यादयवध यः सकारस्तस्य दूर्ध्वन्त्यादेशः स्वान् । विवृतापोपस्य सस्य तादृश एव यः । रामेण । इण्कोः किम् ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपीः । सुपिचोः । सुपिचः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । इतिस्तथ । एवं कृष्णवृद्ध-
न्तादयः ॥

212. *ए* is substituted for that *स्* which is a substi-
tute (of the *ए* of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by ए both being *Vivṛita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेण ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or कृ' ?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute ए or that which is an affix' ?
Observe सुपीः ; सुपिचोः ; सुपिचः the स here is part of the Churādi root पिस "to
go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada' ? Observe इतिस्तथ ॥ Similarly should be declined
अन, वृद्धन् and all other words ending in य ॥

DECLENSION OF यम् ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	यम्	हे यम् ।	यम्	यमेण	यमाय	यमाद्	यमस्य	यमे
Dual	ययो	हे ययो ।	ययो	ययाभ्याम्	ययाभ्याम्	ययाभ्याम्	ययोर्यः	ययोर्यः
Plural	याम्	हे याम् ।	याम्	यये	ययेभ्यः	ययेभ्यः	याम्भ्यः	याम्भ्यः

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वोद्गीनि सर्वेनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वोद्गीनि सर्वभूतानि सर्वव्यापकानि स्युः । सर्वव्यापकस्य संज्ञा । इन्द्रे चेति सापदान् । सप्त
सप्तसर्वेति यम् । सर्वव्यापकानि यथा यम् ।

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvaudgīna or pronouns.

have the form परमसर्वज्ञ with the affix चन् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *trai* is added to it. Similarly परमभक्षकच्. Here the affix अक्षच् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४। जसः शी। ७। १। १७॥

अदन्तास्यनामः परस्य असः श्री स्यात्। अनेकास्तृत्यास्तर्वादिभः। नचार्धणस्तृ इत्यासदिव नाहु-
बन्धकृतनेकास्तृमिति वाच्यम्। सर्वविधास्तृत्यामितीतिज्ञाया एवाभावात्। सर्वे॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like वारिणी, मधुनी. In the case of सर्वे and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute श्री consists of more than one letter namely of स and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Stādni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute हृ &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final हृ of अर्धच् &c. for हृ is an affix of which हृ is an anubandha, and the following *Paribhāṣā* applies to it.

Prātibhāṣā:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But श्री like हृ and वे is not put down as an affix in Pāṇini's Grammar and therefore their initials हृ and वे are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But श्री is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution श्री not being a *pratyaya* the हृ cannot be called हृ; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its हृ becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that हृ of श्री is हृत् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (हृत्संज्ञायोगत्वननुबन्धत्वम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is सिद्धम्॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + श्री = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५। सर्वनाम्नः स्मै। ७। १। १४॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात्। सर्वस्मै॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ङ of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै।

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

सहः साहः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्तं षष्ठ्यनुवर्तते । इष्कावर्गाभ्यां परस्वापरान्तस्यविशः प्रत्य-
यावयवश्च यः सकारंस्तस्य मूर्धन्याविशः स्यात् । निवृत्ताधोषस्य सस्य तादृश एव यः । रामेषु । इष्कोः किम् ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । क्षुपीः । क्षुपिसौ । क्षुपिसः । अपत्यन्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तप । एवं कृष्णमुकु-
न्दावयः ॥

212. *च्* is substituted for that *स्* which is a substi-
tute (of the *च्* of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being
preceded by an इष् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by च both being *Vicrita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इष् vowel or कृ' ?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute च or that which is an affix ?
Observe क्षुपीः ; क्षुपिसौ ; क्षुपिसः the च here is part of the Churādi root चित् "to
go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada' ? Observe हरिस्तप ॥ Similarly should be declined
कृष्ण, मुकुन्द and all other words ending in ण ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामावच	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामे
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणां	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वार्थानि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वार्थानि सर्ववस्तुत्वानि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्वाधीनं संज्ञा । इन्द्रे चेति ज्ञापकात् । तेषां
परमसर्वमेति षष्ठः । परमभवत्त्वानियमाकृष्य सिद्ध्यति ॥

213. The words *sarva*, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

The words ending in *sarva* &c. are also *sarvanāma*. This we infer
from the Sūtra ह्ये च I. 1. 31. S. 224 which prohibits the application of the
term *Sarvanāma* to *Dvanda* compound (That is in all other compounds
except *Dvandra*, the words ending in *Sarva* &c. are *sarvanāmas*. For
some other exceptions see I. 1. 29. and 30. S. 222 and 223.) Therefore, we

have the form परमसर्वम् with the affix चत् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम् ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *trai* is added to it. Similarly परमनवकात्. Here the affix अक्चत् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४ । जसः शी । ७ । १ । १७ ॥

अवन्नात्सर्वनासः परस्य जसः शी. स्यात् । अनेकात्स्वात्सर्वविधः । नपुंसकेषु इत्यादिषु नाङ्-
बन्धकृतमेकात्स्वमिति शक्यम् । सर्वविधत्वात्प्राग्विज्ञाना एवाभावात् । सर्वे ॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like चाशि, वधुनी. In the case of सर्व and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Siddhi* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute वृ &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final वृ of अवन् &c, for वृ is an affix of which वृ is an anubandha, and the following Paribhāṣhā applies to it.

Prāibhāṣhā :—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like दा and दे is not put down as an affix in Pāṇini's Grammar and therefore their initials दृ and दे are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the वृ cannot be called इत्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its वृ becomes an Anubandha.

Note :—The opinion of Sekhara is that वृ of शी is इत् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायौगल्यमुक्तयेत्यम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is चिन् ॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + शी = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५ । सर्वनासः स्मै । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

अतः सर्वनासो दे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात् । सर्वस्मै ॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the अ of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै ।

२१६ । ऊसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनामोऽसिङ्योरेनौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनामः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात्सर्वनामो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एवंपत्वे । सर्वेष्वाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । तेषां रामवत् । एवं विश्वद्वयोऽन्यदन्ताः ।

सर्वादिष्व षञ्चविधाः । सर्वे, विश्व, सप्त, षडयः, उत्तर, अवन, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, स्वतु, स्व, मेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरापरस्थिनीसपापरापरानि व्यवस्थायातसंज्ञायात् । स्वपक्षाविषयत्वमायात् । अन्तरं बहिर्व्यो-
गोपसंज्ञायादौ ।

एवम्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इवम्, अवस्, एक, द्वि, त्र्यम्, अस्मद्, भवद्, किम्, इति ।

उपशब्दो द्विषविधिरष्टस्य व्यापकः । अत एव निर्यं द्विष्यन्तान्तः । तस्यैह पाठस्तु उपकाशिर-
त्यक्तार्थः । मय कर्मव्यतिरेकसिद्धिः । द्विष्यन्परस्याभावेनोभयत्र उभयपरेत्याशयिष्यमसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥
उपयोऽन्येति ॥ अन्येति द्विष्यन्परस्थाभावे ।

उपशब्दाश्च द्विष्यन् नाम्नीति कैयटः । अस्तीति हरश्चः । तस्मात्प्रत्ययनादेशस्य स्थानि-
यत्वादेन तद्यज्यस्यमान्तया प्रथमपरमेति विकल्पे प्राये विभक्तिविरुद्धेस्त्वेवास्तत्प्राप्तान्तिथैव संज्ञा
भवति । उभये ।

उत्तररुतनी प्रायथौ । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययमहणे सङ्ख्यमहणं नास्ति । इतिरुक्तमिति
ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह उदन्तमहणम् । केवलमैव संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनमावादात् ।

अन्यताम्यसमवायावशुपज्ञौ स्वभाववद्द्विवद्द्विषये निर्धारणे रतेते । तथान्यतमवाक्यस्य मने
वाताभावात् संज्ञा ।

स्य इ इति शब्दव्यवधानावश्यकार्थौ । एक उवाचोऽप्यस्येऽनुवाक इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नम इत्यर्थे । सप्तः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नम मृद्धौ । यथासंख्यमनुशेषः समानमिति
ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तरं बहिर्व्येति मणसुप्तेऽपुगीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुटि ॥

217. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word आम् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेष्वाम्. (The व is changed to ए by VII. 3. 103. S. 205 and the स् is changed to ए) सर्वेष्वाम्. The test of the declension of सप्त is like सप्त.

Note :— But मन्मात्रं of मन्म् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116 S. 270;

for that नाम् takes the augment *सद्*, *भूद्* or *स्यद्* (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present नाम् takes *सुद्* or *बुद्* ॥ Nor the नाम् of the Perfect Tense (III. 1. 35 &c.), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanāma; nor the नाम् of V. 4. 11., for the same reason. The word नाम् is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (नामः सर्वनामः सुद्), because सर्वनामः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim सप्तमिविद्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanāmas* ending in अ as विद्वा &c., are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanāmas* are thirty-five in number, namely:—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विद्वा 'all,' 3 द्वय 'two,' 4 द्वयम् 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 द्वतर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 दतम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 स्वद् 'other,' 11 स्व 'other,' 12 वेन 'half,' 13 सन 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole.' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अपर 'west or posterior,' 18 दक्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior,' 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अपर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure, but means 'own.' So also 23 अस्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma. 24 स्यद् 'he, she, it,' 25 तद् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इतद् 'it,' 29 अतद् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 तुभ्यद् 'you,' 33 अस्मि 'I,' 34 यस्मि 'you,' 35 किद् 'what.'

The word द्वय 'both' is always used in the dual number; as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of वर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2025) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal; as उभकौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क् by sūtra V. 3. 70. S. 2025?

Ans. No. (For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the द्वय always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यवर्तितस्तद्वचनेन गृह्यते i. e. " (Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) inserted in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being inserted in द्वय does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character.) Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अकच् by sūtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes च् and तच् in उभयच्, उभयच् ॥ Therefore Katyāyana has said,

Vārtika :—The word द्बन्ध is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, द्बन्ध has no dual number ; but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix ज्ञस् (Nom. Pl.), the substitute अयस् (V. 2. 44. S. 1845) being considered as स्थानिकद् to अयस् which it replaces, the word द्बन्ध is considered as ending in अयस् and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanāma* by the sūtra I. 1. 3. 3. S. 226. But the affix अयस् being added irrespective of any विभक्ति, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes द्बन्ध *always* and not optionally a *sarvanāma*. Thus द्बन्धे but never द्बन्धा : ॥

The words इतर and इतम in the above list are affixes ordained by VII. 1. 25. S. 315 and V. 3. 92 S. 2047 &c. By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are सर्वनाम ॥ This is according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself."

Q. If so, then the words ending in इतस् and इतम् should also be called च (I. 1. 22. S. 2003).

Ans. This is not so, according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुनिश्चिन्तं 'that which ends with 'Sup or Tin') in I. 4. 14. S. 29. indicates (the existence of) this *Paribhāṣā*; for, if the *Paribhāṣā* did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुनिश्चि alone would, in accordance with the preceding *Paribhāṣā*, denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tin.'"

Q. But this is also a संज्ञा विधि and therefore the affixes इतर, इतम should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans. In spite of the above *Paribhāṣā*, the affixes इतर, इतम denote here the words ending in those affixes. 'Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nāma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as *Sarva-nāma*.)

The words अन्वय and अन्वयम् are not derivative words formed by the affixes इतर and इतम, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote निर्धारण specifying अन्वय denoting, निर्धारण of one out of two, and आहतम् denoting निर्धारण or determination of one out of many. 'In other words, they do not get the force of निर्धारण by virtue of sūtras V. 3. 92 and 93 S. 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word अन्वयम्, however, not being real in the above list of *sarvanāmas* is not a *Sarvanāma*.

There are two त्व in the above list, namely त्वन् and त्व, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in त्व. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give त्वन् as a separate word ending in न् and say that both have anudātta accent. The word नेम means "half." The word सम is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i.e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10. S. 128. where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम् ॥

Var:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरादो पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । १।१।३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपठात्स्वर्यं वा प्राप्तं सा जति वा स्याद् । पूर्वे पूर्वाः ॥ स्वाभिधेयापेक्षावधिनियमो व्यवस्था । व्यवस्थायां किम् । दक्षिणा गायकाः । कुशादा इत्यर्थः । असंज्ञायां किम् । उत्तराः कुरवाः ॥

218. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanāmas. They are always sarvanāmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i.e. (when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthā or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanāmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanāma, as, दक्षिणा गायकाः 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तरा कुरवाः 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanāma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanāmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prāpta-vibhāṣā.

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । १।१।३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यथापि स्वयन्द्वयं वा प्राप्तं संज्ञा सा जति वा स्याद् । स्वे । स्वाः । आत्मीया इत्यर्थः । आत्मान इति अ । ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः । सावयोर्यथा वा ।

219. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a *sarvanāma*, before the affix *जस्*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanāma*, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus *स्वेषु पुत्राः* or *स्वाः पुत्राः* 'one's own sons,' *स्वेषु गावः* or *स्वा गावः* 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' *स्वाः* alone is the nom. pl. As, *स्वा ज्ञातये* 'these kinsmen' *प्रभुताः स्वा* ॥

२२० । अन्तरं वह्निर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ । ३६ ॥

यादौ परिधानीये चाप्यन्तरसम्बन्धस्य वा प्राज्ञा संज्ञा सा अस्ति वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । वाद्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा वाद्यकाः । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word *antara* being always a *sarvanāma*, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix *जस्*.

The word *अन्तर* when it means *वह्निर्योग*, *viz.*, 'outer' is always *sarvanāma*, so also, when it means *उपसंव्यान* or 'a lower garment.' Thus *अन्तरे गृहाः* or *अन्तरा गृहाः* 'outer houses, the residence of Chandai, and other low castes.' So *अन्तरे* or *अन्तराः* *वाद्यकाः* 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word *अन्तर* when used in the above sense is always *sarvanāma*, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a *sarvanāma*, e. g. *आनयोस्तरे वसति* 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is *अन्तरे* ॥

२२१ । पूर्वदिभ्यो नचभ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

एभ्यो ण्विङ्योः स्मृत्स्मिन् वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वान् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एवं पठदिनामपि ॥ चोदे तर्कयत् । एकवचनः संख्यायां निर्यिकवचनान्तः ॥

221. *स्मात्* and *स्मिन्* are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings. after *पूर्व* and the eight that follow it.

Thus *पूर्वस्मान्* or *पूर्वान्*, *पूर्वस्मिन्* or *पूर्वे*, *पश्चमात्* or *पश्चम*, *पश्चस्मिन्* or *पश्चे*, *अधस्तात्* or *अधस्तान्*, *अधस्तस्मिन्* or *अधस्ते*, *वह्निरस्मात्* or *वह्निरान्*, *वह्निरस्मिन्* or *वह्निरिन्*, *उत्तरात्* or *उत्तरान्*, *उत्तरस्मिन्*, or *उत्तरे*, *अपरस्मात्*, or *अपरान्*, *अपरस्मिन्*, or *अपरे*, *अधस्तात्*, or *अधस्तान्*, *अधस्तस्मिन्*, or *अधस्ते*, *अन्तरात्*, or *अन्तरान्*, *अन्तरस्मिन्* or *अन्तरे* ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एकै, एकैषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २६ ॥

नहुव्रीहौ षिडीयिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । एकं पितर यस्य स स्वकपितृकः । अयं पितर यस्य स नक्तपितृकः । इह समासाद्यामेव प्रक्रियायावदेव सर्वनामसंज्ञा निविध्यते । अन्यथा लौकिके विपद्वादय इव तत्रात्कृत् प्रयत्ने । स च सप्तसेऽपि श्रूयते । अतिक्रान्तो भवन्तमस्तिभवकागतिपत् । भाव्यकारस्तु स्वकपितृका नक्तपितृक इति रूपे इहापार्थे कृत्वैवस्युत्तं प्रत्यापद्यते । यद्योत्तरं पुनीनां प्राणापदम् । संश्लेषसंज्ञेनीभूतास्तु न सर्वोदयः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन तद्व्युत्पन्नानामिव गणै रानेयेदद्यात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यमन्त- र्गणयाद्यै च तेषां न भवति । सर्वे नाम कश्चित्तस्य सर्वाव देहि । अविद्यान्तः सर्वमनिसर्वस्तस्ये अतिसर्पाव देहि । अतिक्रान्तं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c., are not Sarvāṇāma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus एकं पितर यस्य = स्वकपितृकः । Similarly, अयं पितरयस्य = नक्तपितृकः । Here the affix लक्षच् is added by sūtra V. 3. 71 S. 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the sarvāṇāma is prohibited with regard to the words स्वकृत् and अयं other wise, in ordinary language, the word लक्षच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This लक्षच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिसर्वकृत् whose analysis is अतिसर्वास्त्वो भवकृत्लक्षच्. But the word स्वकृत् and नक्तृ not being treated as a sarvāṇāma take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and not the affix लक्षच्. Had they been treated as sarvāṇāma then लक्षच् would have been inserted before कृत् by V. 3. 71 S. 2026 giving the forms स्वकृत् and अयंकृत् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms स्वकृत्पितृकः- and नक्तृपितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sūtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sūtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vārtika:—The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as sarvāṇāma. (This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvāṇāma, instead of making a short technical name like हि &c.) (Therefore सर्व &c are Sarvāṇāmas when they have the meaning of "all &c." as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c." (Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined.) Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanāma* संज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्ये do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and VII. 2. 106. S. 381. are rules of अन्तर गण कार्ये, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि, "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिक्रूरं क्रुतम्. Here there is not the substitution of अद्द् as required by sūtra VII. 1. 25. S. 315. For क्रूर would have formed क्रूरत् but अतिक्रूर does not form अतिक्रूरत् but अतिक्रूरम् because here क्रूर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर गण कार्ये rule VII. 1. 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतिसत्. Here VII. 2. 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of इ for the final of सत् and the rule VII. 2. 106. S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final स do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of सत् is सः, the compound of सत् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतिसत्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

गण सर्वनामज्ञा न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थमाशयेऽपि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासिनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case.) This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e. g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै ; ■ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound ; as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे वचना संज्ञा न । वर्णाश्रयेऽवसानात् । समुदायत्वाय निषेधे न उपपत्त्यात् । नयेऽपि तदन्त-
विशिष्टादुपसङ्गः सर्वनामो विहितस्यायः शुद्धिनि व्याप्यतात्पर्यात् ॥

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanāma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sūtra prohibits the designation Sarvanāma with regard to the whole compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanāma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not इत् added to अण् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेणम् ? We reply, that अण् gets इत् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanāma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanāma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanāma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment इत् come before the genitive plural affix णम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of हन्तसिद्धिः. This is not so because in explaining that sūtra, we have used the word विशिष्टत्वं i. e. इत् is added only to that णम् which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanāma and not to every णम् in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतरेणाम् and not इतरेणाम्. So also पूर्वपरणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा अस्ति । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

मत्तापारं यस्कार्यं शीभाषाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये एन्द्रे वक्तुं संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमे-
तरा । शीभाषा प्रयोग विभाषितुक्तमत्रो वाक्यम् । किंतु कप्रत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतराः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma, when the nominative plural termination jaṣ follows.

It declares that before the termination ञ् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by स्त्री), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतरा may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either ञ् or स्त्री. ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix ञ् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix ञक् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतराः. Here ञक् is not added but ञ only in the plural. This affix ञक् (ञक्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । अथमचरमतयाल्लषार्द्धकतिषयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जासः कार्यं भव्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्याः । अथमे । अथवाः । शेषं रामवत् । तमे । प्रत्ययः संतस्तदन्ता
वाद्याः । द्वितये । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । जमे । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषामकारणे तीक्ष्णं तिष्ठ-
पसंख्यानम् ० ॥ द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयस्येत्यादि । एवं सुनीयः । अर्थवद्भङ्गान्तरम् । पटुमासीवाय । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words *prathama* 'first'; *charama* 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix *taya* (V. 2. 42); *alpa* 'few', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some,' and *nema* 'half' are optionally *sarvanāma*, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरेते or चरन्ताः, अन्ते or अन्ताः, अर्धे or अर्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix *ञच्* follows" are understood in this sūtra. By the word *स्य* in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix *स्य*. The rest are *pratipadikas* or crude bases. The word *नेम* has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called *prāpta-vibhāsā*, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like *स्य*, the rest of its declension is like *sarva*, while in the case of *prathama* &c. the nom. pl. may be like *sarva*, but the rest of their declension must be like that of *स्य*. The word *ubhaya*, has been formed by the addition of the affix *स्य*, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix *kan* or *akach* must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then *akach*, otherwise *kan*.

Vart:—The words formed by the affix *सीय* such as, *द्वितीय* and *तृतीय*, are optionally declined as *sarvanāma* before the case-affixes having an indicative *ङ* (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, *द्वितीयस्ये* or *द्वितीयाय*, *तृतीयस्ये* or *तृतीयाय*.

Paribhāṣā.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore *षट्पञ्चासीयाय* and not *षट्पञ्चासीयस्ये*. Here the affix is *आसीय* and not *सीय*, and in the affix *आसीय*, the portion *सीय* has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of *Sarvanāmans*.

सर्व

	Nom	Voc.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वे	सर्वेण	सर्वेभ्य	सर्वस्यात्	सर्वस्य	सर्वणि
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वोभ्याम्	सर्वोभ्याम्	सर्वोभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl.	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वा	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषां	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जरः. The Nominative Singular will be निर्जरः + सु = विजरः. The nominative dual will be निर्जरः + औ. Here applies the following sūtra.

२२७ । जराया जरसन्धत्तरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जराशब्दस्य जस् वा स्वावजादौ विभक्तौ । पलङ्गाधिकारे तस्य सङ्गतस्य च । जनेकाण्यश्वर्षदेवो प्राप्ते । निर्दिश्यमनस्वादेशाः भवन्ति । एकदेशाधिकृतस्यानन्वयात् जराशब्दस्य जस् । निर्जरी । निर्जरसः । इनादीन् साधित्वा परत्याज्जरास् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरखे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे ह्यस्यै च रामश्च । वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनातोः कृतयोः संनिपातपरिभाषाया आनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरासि कृते निर्जरसि न निर्जरसादिति कथं न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचित्पितृमुक्तम् । तथा भित्ति निर्जरसैरिति कपालरक्षकम् ॥ तद्वहुतादिभिश्च दृश्येकशब्देन निर्जरस्येवैव कथं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जर, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhāṣā* ;—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) ष्व or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sūtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhāṣā ;—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated. Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole. But the rule is “जर is replaced by जरस्” There is no जर with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution ? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhāṣā* ;—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as विजर ॥

Thus निर्जरः + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरौ. The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by वा as निर्जरसा. The substitute vibhakti ending इन् or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर. Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरखे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the *Vṛttikāra* the affixes इन् and आत् will come by the rule of *pūrva-vipratishedha*, prohibition in anticipation ; and as the संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जसिन् and निर्जसात् and not निर्जेसा and निर्जेसः. The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जेसैः। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जेस्य ॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरम्	निर्जेसा	निर्जेसे	निर्जेस्य	निर्जेसः	निर्जेसि
Dual	निर्जेसौ	निर्जेसौ	निर्जेसौ	निर्जेसभ्याम्	निर्जेसभ्याम्	निर्जेसभ्याम्	निर्जेसोः	निर्जेसोः
Pl.	निर्जेसाः	निर्जेसः	निर्जेसाः	निर्जेरैः	निर्जेरेभ्यः	निर्जेरेभ्यः	निर्जेसां	निर्जेरेषु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing.	निर्जेसः	निर्जर	निर्जरम्	निर्जेरेण	निर्जेस्य	निर्जेस्य	निर्जेरे
Dual	निर्जेसौ	निर्जेसौ	निर्जेसौ	निर्जेसभ्याम्	निर्जेसभ्याम्	निर्जेसभ्याम्	निर्जेस्योः
Pl.	निर्जेसाः	निर्जेसः	निर्जेसाः	निर्जेरैः	निर्जेरेभ्यः	निर्जेरेभ्यः	निर्जेसां

२२८ । पदशोमाहृतिशसन्धूपन्दोपन्यकञ्चकन्नुदसासञ्चस्मभूतिषु । ६ ।

१ । ६३ ॥

पादः, इत्, नासिका, मास, हृद्य, निशा, अस्तम्, हृद्य, दोष, यकन्, शकन्, उदक, आस्य एषां पदस्य आदेशाः स्युः एतादेव पा । यत् जातनस्यस्य भासमादेश इति काशिकायाद्वक्तं तद्व्यनाधिकम् । पादः । पादः । पादाः । पादम् । पादौ । पदः । पादम् । पदा । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted :—पद् for पाद्, वत् for वन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृद्य, निश् for निशा, अस्तन् for अस्तम्, यूपन् for हृद्य, दोषन् for दोष, यकन् for यकन्, शकन् for शकन्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives अस्तन् as the substitute for आसन्. This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः, पादम्, पादौ, पदः or पादम्, पदा or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुदन्तुसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

इदं प्रत्याहारः स्वादिपञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानयन्तानि स्युदीकृतम् ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra sūṭ (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्वादिपञ्चसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कल्प्यस्यपञ्चिषु स्वादिपञ्चसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वैः परस्य र्थान् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with ख (IV. 1. 2) and ending in क् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada

२३१। यच्चि भम् । १।४।१८॥

यकारादिप्रजाविषु च कम्पलयावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्यानिषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with ख and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanāmasthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२। आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा । १।४।१९॥

इत ऊर्ध्वे कङ्कारः कर्मभाष्य इत्यतः भागेकार्ध्वेकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽभवकाशा च । तेन एसात्तायपि भसंज्ञेय न पश्यन् । जसो जइत्वे न । दसः । इताः जइत्वेन् । दृग्भाषित्यादि । नासः । मासः । भ्यादि हत्वे दये च दलीपः । माभ्यान् । नाभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadārāḥ Karmadhāraye (II.2. 38 S. 751.) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note. (What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2. S. 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name.) As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, S. 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name i. e., 'heavy.' Thus in विद् to divide, छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching, भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root वृश् the वृ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अवत्सत्. Similarly वरत्सत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of *pada*. (The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft.) Thus the accusative Plural of दन्त is दन्तः. The Instrumental singular is दन्ता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the जङ् rule. (But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of *Pada* and we have the softening of the consonants, as दङ्गवाद् &c.) Similarly Ac. Pl. मासः, Ins. Sg. मासा. Before the affix भ्यान् the ख of गम् will

Thus द्योतद्वेभ्यः = द्योद्वे, ■ The Locative singular of this is द्योद्वि or द्योद्विनि, ■ So also द्योद्वे, ■ With वि—व्यद्वि, व्यद्विनि, व्यद्वे with साय्—सायाद्वि सायाद्विनि, सायाद्वे ■ These are एकवचनसंज्ञाः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than ■ Numeral, or वि or साय ■ Thus we have मन्त्राद्वे or मन्त्रमहनि, (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वोद्वे and अपरुद्वे only.

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 81, S. 728, with the force of मन् IV. 3. 11, S. 1381. Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samāsanta affix टच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 768 and the अहन् is replaced by अह् by V. 4. 88, S. 790. While the सन्निहार्य affix इम् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88, S. 1080.

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ.

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादिन or पदा	पादाय or पदि ।	पादन् or पदाः	पादस्य or पदः	पादि or पदि
Dual	पादे	पादे	पादाभ्यां or पद्वयम्	पादाभ्यां or पद्वयम् ।	पादाभ्याम् पद्वयां	पादयोः or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादाः	पादान् or पदाः	पादिः पदिभिः	पादिभ्यः or पद्व्यः ।	पादिभ्यः or पद्व्यः	पादानां or पदाश्च	पाद्विषु or पद्व्यश्च

दन्ति (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दन्ता	दन्ते	दन्तः	दन्तः	दन्ति
Dual	...	दन्ताभ्याम्	दन्ताभ्याम्	दन्ताभ्याम्	दन्तोः	दन्तोः
Plural	दन्तः	दन्तिभिः	दन्तभ्यः	दन्तभ्यः	दन्ताम्	दन्तु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	मासाभ्याम्	मासाभ्याम्	मासाभ्याम्	मासोः	मासोः
Plural	मासाः	मासिभिः	मासभ्यः	मासभ्यः	मासाम्	मासु

सूप (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	सूपना	सूपे	सूपः	सूपः	सूपिनि
Dual	...	सूपनाभ्याम्	सूपनाभ्याम्	सूपनाभ्याम्	सूपनोः	सूपनोः
Plural	सूपः	सूपनिभिः	सूपभ्यः	सूपभ्यः	सूपनाम्	सूपनु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा.

२३६ । दीर्घाज्जासि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जासि इति च परे ग्रन्थयोः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घः । विश्वपाः पञ्चमीद्वौहि मादिर्नीत्येव सिद्धं असि तु धत्वसि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे सविनास्ति तथापि गोर्वा गोर्व इत्याद्यर्थे रूपनिहासि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपाः ; Nom. Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vriddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and वा.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom. Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165. as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI. 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sūtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sūtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौर्वौ and गौरिः respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकाशतो वा धातुस्तन्तस्य भस्वाऽङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । आतोऽङ्गस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपाः । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवे वाङ्मन्त्रादयः । धातोः क्रिप् । हाहात् । वा सवर्णदीर्घः । हाहा । डे वृद्धिः । हाहे । ङसिद्धोऽसौदीर्घः । हाहाः । ओसि वृद्धिः । हाहोः । डौ आहुणः । हाहि । ङप् विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागादधातोऽप्याकारलोपः कथयितुं सः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu. Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing. विश्वपा ; विश्वपाभ्याम् &c.

Like विश्वपा should be declined, वाङ्मन्त्रा &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहात् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing. will be हाहा + ट् = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + डे = हाहे by Vriddhi. Its Abl. and Gen. Sing. will be हाहा + ङसि or ङस् = हाहाः by lengthening. Its Gen. and Loc. dual will be हाहा + ओस् = हाहोः

by Vṛiddhi. Its Loc. Sing. will be हाह + हि = हाँहि by guṇa. The rest are like विश्वपा.

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगवभागाद्विच्छिन्नाः) i. e. "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sūtra may be divided into two Sūtras e.g. (1.) आत्तः, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided; (2) धातोः, the final धा of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed क्तः and क्तः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvā and ṛnā. For Pāṇini himself has declined क्तः and क्तः by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37. S. 3332 (क्तमासेऽनञ्पूर्वोक्तोऽप्यम्) and III. 1. 83. S. 2557. (क्तः क्तः क्तमासेऽप्यम्)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वपा

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Ger.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपाः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वपाः	विश्वपाः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	॥ विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाः	विश्वपाः	विश्वपौ
Plural	विश्वपाः	॥ विश्वपाः	विश्वपाः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपाङ्

हाहा

	Singular							
	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहा	हाहै	हाहाः	हाहाः	हाहि
Dual	हाहौ	॥ हाहौ	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहौ	हाहौ	हाहौ
Plural	हाहाः	॥ हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहाभिः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाम्	हाहाङ्

Now we take up the declension of the word हृदि. The Nom. sing. will be हृदि: Nom. Dual will be हृदि + औ = हृदौ by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102. S. 164. The Pl. is हृदि + ङस् = हृदिङ्. Here applies the following.

२४१। जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ।

इत्थान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि क्ते । हाहाः ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

Therefore the इ of हृदि is *guṇated* to ए. Thus हृदि + अस् = हृदे + अस् = हृदयः । The Vocative Sing. will be हृदि + सु. Here the following rule applies.

२४२। ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ।

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्संज्ञौ । एहृदसाविधि संज्ञाविधिः । हे हृदे । हृदि । हृदौ । हृदिङ् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to ए and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus we get हे हरे.

The Acc. forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीन्.

The Instr. sing. is हरी + टा. Here the following two rules apply.

२४३ । शेषो घ्यसम्भि । १ । ४ । ७ ॥

अनदीसंतो ह्यसौ याविदुर्वा तदन्तं सखिबन्ने पितृन्तं स्यात् । शेषः किम् । गत्यै । एकसंज्ञाभिन्ना पारितोषे शेषप्रदणं स्पष्टार्थम् । ह्यसौ किम् । वातप्रत्यये । हदुवौ किम् । भावे ॥

243. 'The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word. Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe नदि, for नदि being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadi*; (for otherwise its declension will be नद्वै, formed by applying the rule VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VII. 3. 111 S. 243). But नद्वै is of course a wrong form. Though by the rule I. 4. 1. S. 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and नदि which is a nadi word can never be called ghi, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sūtra, there would not have been any fear of नदि being confounded with a ghi word, still शेष is used in the sūtra for the sake of precision and clearness. Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe वातप्रत्यये ॥ Why do we say इ and उ? Observe भावे ॥

Note:—This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word *hrasva* is understood in this sūtra. The word *sheṣha* or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicative ण, the ghi nouns guṇate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + हे = अग्नये + ए = अग्नये "to the fire." So also वायु + हे = वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्यं सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

२४४ । आहो नास्त्रियाम् ७ । ३ । १२० ॥

येः परस्मैहो ना स्यात्स्त्रियाम् । आहिति दासंता प्राचाम् । हरिणा । अस्त्रियां किम् । मत्स्या ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आहृ is the ancient name of the affix टा. Thus हरि + टा = हरि + आ = हरिणा. Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe नदि + टा = नदि।

Now we form the Dat: Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sūtra,

२४५ । घेङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

पिंसङकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणे स्यात् । हरे । घेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । ह्रिपि किम् । वद्दी । घङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये. Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are वद्दी &c. ॥

The word वद्दी is formed by adding वीङ् to वद् (IV. 1. 44 S. 502). वीङ् is not a case-affix, though it is हिङ् and is added to वद् which is घि ॥

Thus हरि+ङे=हरे+ए=हरे.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि+ङपि=हरे+अस् (the इ of हरे is *guṇated* by the present Sūtra). At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

२४६ । ङसिङलोभ । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङी ङसिङलोपीति परे पूर्वकपमेकारेणः स्यात् । हरे । हयोः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), +अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे+अस्=हरेः The genitive dual will be हयोः The pl. हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc. Sing. हरे+ङि=हरे+इ ॥ (The इ is *guṇated* by the preceding sūtra). At this stage applies the following rule.

२४७ । अघघेः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इङुवभ्यामुत्तरस्य ङेपौत्स्यद् घेरन्तावस्यकारः । हरे । हयोः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यमिषयिकव्याख्याः ॥

247. After a घि (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, ङे is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such घि stem.

Therefore हरि+ङ=हर+अौ=हरे ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हयोः and हरिषु respectively.

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रुद्र, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing.	हरिः	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरेः	हरेः	हरौ
Dual.	हरि	॥ हरौ	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हर्योः	हर्योः
Plural.	हरयः	॥ हरवः	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

—:OC:—

Now we decline the word **हरि** ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ६३ ॥

सप्तपुरस्कृत्याऽनङ्गविशः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । द्विवेक्यन्तदेशः ॥

248. **अनङ्** (**अन्**) is substituted for the **इ** of **सखि** before **सु** of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus **हस्ति + सु = सखन् + सु** ॥ The **अनङ्** being a **द्विवेक** augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. I. 53 S. 43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अतोऽन्यात्पूर्वं उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अनन्तादहः पूर्वो वर्ग उपधासंतः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in **सखन्**, the **अ** of **ख** is penultimate or **उपधा**. Being **उपधा**, the following rule applies to this **अ**.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in **न्** the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the **अ** is lengthened and we have **सखान् + त्**. Now the affix **त्** consists of a single letter and is called **अप्रकृ** by the following rule.

२५१ । अप्रकृ एकाल्प्रत्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाल्प्रत्यये अः सोऽप्रकृत्यन्तः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this सू being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule:

२५२ । ह्रस्व्याव्ययो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

ह्रस्वात्परं दीर्घो यो ह्रस्वो सन्ताप्य परं सुविर्त्यितपृक्तं हल् लुप्यति । ह्रस्व्याव्ययोः कित् । यामणीः । दीर्घात्किम् । निष्कोशाम्बिः । अतिखट्वः । सुतिसीति किम् । अभिस्वीत् तिषा सहचरितस्य तिषा यद्वहसिचो यद्वहणे नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । विमर्ति । एस् किम् । विभद । प्रथमहल् किम् । राजा । नमोसो न स्यात् संयोगान्तलोपस्याधिष्ठत्वात् । सखा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix सू, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of ह् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix सू ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्तं हल्) are elided. But हि and वि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe यामणीः, ऐनामीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long-vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कोशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु, ति, and सि"? Observe अभिस्वीत् ॥ The ति being read along with सि, does not include सिप्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe विमर्ति ॥ Why do we say 'the consonant is elided'? Observe विभद, ॥ Here the अपृक्ता affix स of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of सि is like सि, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why do we say 'first consonant'? Observe राज्ञ्.

Why has the elision of सू (सु), ह् (सिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23; being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राज्ञ्, तर्ज्ञ् could not be evolved. As राज्ञ्+स्=राज्ज्ञ्+स् (VI. 4. 8. S. 250)=राज्ज्ञस् and by eliding स by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राज्ज्ञ् and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 3th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope,

since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of इ,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom. Sg. सख्य Voc Sg. हे सख्ये In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३। सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ। ७। १। ६२॥

सख्युरङ्गात्परं संतुष्टिर्वाच्ये सर्वनामस्थानं षित्कार्यकृत् सख्य्॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are षित्॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule:—

२५४। भञो ङिति। ७। १। ११५॥

भिति ङिति च षेऽन्ताद्भ्यस्य वृद्धिः स्यात्। सखायौ। सखायम्। सखायौ। पितृभ्याम्। सखायम्। सख्यौ। सख्ये॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicative अ or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखे + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखायः, Acc. Sing. सखायम्, Acc. dual सखायौ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix इ; and as the word सखि is not a चि word (See I. 4. 7. S. 243) it does not take न or गुण as required by VII. 3. 120. S. 244 or VII. 3. 1. S. 245. Thus we have सखि + मा = सख्यम्.

Dative Sing. will be सखि + इ = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies:—

२५५। वयस्यात्परस्य। ६। १। ११२॥

षितिश्चक्राभ्यां वीतीषभ्यां कृतयणवेषाभ्यां परस्य ङविभ्रुषोत्त इत्यात्। सख्युः॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems इ is substituted.

The phrase ङविभ्रुषोः and इत् are understood here also. The स्य means and includes सि and सी when the इ is changed to य, and स्य denotes हि and ती, the इ being changed to य॥ Thus सखि + अम् = सख्युः as सख्युःसख्युः, सख्युः स्य॥ So also पत्युःसख्युः, पत्युः स्यम्॥ The illustration of सी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सख्येन वर्तते = सख्यः, सखायः = सखि + अम् (III. 1. 8.) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding विभ्रु to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखीः 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + अत् = सख्युः also. Of सी we have the following example. सूनविभ्रुः = सुनीय, add विभ्रु = सुनीः, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also लुङ्, the न् of लुङ् being the substitute of न् of Nishṭhā is considered like न् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ह्य and ह्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपठित्वा indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसख्, सेनापते: ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim अहम्यवसा प्रतियोगिकेन त्वन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to some this rule applies to all खी and ही, such as सुखी: one who loves pleasure' (सुखनिष्ठति = सुखीय + खिप्), and सुही: 'one who wishes a son' (सुहनिष्ठति = सुहीय + खिप्) Thus सुख्युः, सुह्युः &c.

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुङ्-धां परस्व डेतेस्त्वान् । उक्तावनुवृत्तिरन्तर्या । सख्यौ । रोपे हरिवत् । शोभना सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखायः । अमिहृणित्वावयोरद्वयत्वात्तन्मतेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । सहायस्य सखिरूपत्वाभावादसखीति निषेधामवृत्तौर्पित्वा । सुसखिनाम् । सुसख्ये । उचित्वैवार्थेने कृते कृतवपणवैक्याभावात् यमस्यादिपुण्यं न । सुसखेः । सुसखी इत्यादि । एवमतिपायितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यथेति विभवे । परमसखा । परमसखायादित्यादि । जीमत्वेऽप्यनङ्गित्वे प्रथमे सखीमतिक्रान्ताञ्जितसखिः । लिङ्मादिशिङ्परिभाषाया आमेस्त्वान् टच् । हरिवत् । इहामङ्गित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोरीति इत्येव सांज्ञाशब्दस्य लक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणमतिपरिक्तयोः प्रतिपरिक्तत्वैव प्रवृत्तात् ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like इति.

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning = good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखायः. Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93. S. 248.) and treating the case affixes as णिन् as required by VII. 1. 92. S. 253. are operations which relate to the अङ्. or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I. 4. 7. S. 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is पि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gnated* by VII. 3. 111 S. 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + ञम् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि. (The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्ये)

In the case of नदी words आद् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of चि words औ preceded by अ substitution of चि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadi and ghi.

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुखा will be सुखेः, सुखेः and सुखौ respectively.

Similarly the compound word भविसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखि masculine) is declined like सुखा ॥

But the word परसखा when treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुखा. How is this word परसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अवङ् and णिङ् apply to this case also. Thus परसखा and परसखायौ &c.

Now in the declension of the word भविसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix ण् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated: *प्रतिपरिकल्पणे निरूपितस्यैव प्रमाणं* i. e. 'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhāṣa to rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 which declares that the affix ण् is added to the words *rājan*, *ahan*, and *sakhi* when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be भविसख and not भविसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhāṣa is not universal. The word भविसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि; and therefore अवङ् and णिङ् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S. 655 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुखा &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhāṣa applies to this word:—*लक्षणप्रतिपदोन्मो* &c. i. e. "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

प्रतिषेद्धिः समास एव पितृज्ञः स्यात् । पर्या । पत्न्ये । पशुः । पत्न्यौ । घेयं हरिषत् । समासे तु मूर्धनिना । मूर्धन्ये । कसिण्यो निर्ये बहुवचनान्तः ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sūtra I. 4. 7. 5. 243; the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पति 'by the lord' but 'मूर्धनिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्न्ये and मूर्धन्ये; पशुः and मूर्धन्ये, पत्न्यौ and मूर्धन्यौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four हिच् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well = षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते संख्यासंज्ञाः स्तुः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyā).

The word कति is formed by the affix षटि therefore it is = Sankhyā.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वयन्ता संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

259. And the sankhyās ending with the affix ḍati are called śaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix षटि, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sūtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुप्तलुप्तः । १ । १ । ६१ ॥

लुप्तलुप्तप्रत्ययेः कृत् प्रत्ययादर्शनं ज्ञापयाम्यन्तं स्यात् ॥

260. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lap are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *flu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *flu* or *iup*.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word **सति** are elided by using the term **लुक्**, as is shown in the following **Sātra**.

२६१ । षडङ्गो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

अहम्भ्यः परयोर्अणसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S. 369).

Therefore कति + जम् or कति + णम् = कति + ० or कति ÷ ०. Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sūtra.

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये ह्यनेऽपि सत्राश्रितं कार्यं स्यात् । इति दक्षि षेति दुभे पाठे ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though अन् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *gunā* of the इ of कति, by VII. 3. 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कति requires to be *gunated*; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sūtra.

२६३ । ■ लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

सुखं बलं हृदं एते सुगन्तः । लुपता शस्त्रेण क्षुब्धे तस्मिन्निधनद्वयकार्ये न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः
कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतिनाम् । कतिषु । अस्माकमस्वद्वैतकाक्षिपु सुकृपाः । विप्रश्चो नित्यं बह्वक्ष-
णान्तः । प्रयः । वैत्र । त्रिभिः विभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing ϵ , the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words रुक्, नृक्, or रुक्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

formed by the Uṇādi affix long ई (See Uṇādi Sūtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV. 1.) added to the root वा to measure. The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is क्तिच् (Uṇādi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long वा being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S. 2372.

The Nom. Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI. 1. 102 S. 164. required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI. 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. वातप्रम्यः : The Voc. Sing. हे वातप्रमी. The Acc. Sing. is thus formed :—वातप्रमी + मम्. The single substitution required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is set aside by VI. 1. 105. S. 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavāda rule VI. 1. 107. (आदि पूर्वः) S. 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the म् of the case ending मम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing. is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीम्. The Inst. Sing. is वातप्रम्या. The Inst. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रमीभ्याम् and वातप्रमिभिः. The Dat. forms are वातप्रम्यै वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमिभ्यः. The Abl. Sing. is वातप्रम्यः. The Genitive Sing. and Dual are वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्योः. The Genitive Pl. is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment ब्रुह is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing. is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl. is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words वही (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road;") and वही (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Uṇādi III. 159.)

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्तिच् and not क्तिच् ई then in the Acc. Sing. and Pl. and Loc. Sing. the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्या and वातप्रमि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्तिच् in this way. वातप्रमी निव वातरति इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of āchāra, formed by the affix क्तिच् (III. 1. 10 and 11 S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्तिच् is added again in the sense of agent (III. 2. 76 S. 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + मम् = वातप्रम् + म + मम्. Here म् is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S. 272 and the word is declined like वही.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुभेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word भेयसी is formed by the affix ईदप् added to म् the substitute of प्रशय (V. 3. 60. S. 2009). To this is added the affix णीप् by IV. 1. 6 S. 455 to form the feminine भेयसी.

The Nom. Sing. of बहुशेखरी is बहुशेखरी + सु = बहुशेखरी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl. are बहुशेखरौ, बहुशेखराः .

The formation of Voc. Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

Note :—The word बहुशेखरी is a Bahuvrīhi compound. There is पुनश्चात् by the rule VI. 3. 34. S. 831. The Samāsanta affix कप् is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156. S. 894. The long ई required to be shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656 is prohibited by the Vārtika under V. 4. 156. S. 894.

२६६ । यू स्याक्यो नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

ईदृशी निलसीमित्री नदीसंज्ञो न्वः । प्रथममिद्वयम् च । पूर्वं स्याक्यस्योपसर्जनस्येति नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū, being names of females which are always feminine are called Nadi.

The word यू is a compound of ई + क्. The word sryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇī has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī 'a virgin' यवागृ yavāgṛh 'rice gruel.'

Why do we say ending in ई and क् ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमारी, the Dative of इदित् will be इदिते .

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी: 'leader of a village'; सेनानी: 'leader of an army'; स्वप्नू: 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामणे, सेनाय्ये स्वप्नवे.

(Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word) Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामणे सिद्धे, and स्वप्नवे सिद्धे .

Vartika :—The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word. Here the original word शेखरी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुशेखरी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadi the whole word बहुशेखरी will be treated as Nadi, though शेखरी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana).

Therefore बहुशेखरी getting the designation of Nadi is anected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७ । अम्भार्यनयोर्ह्रस्वः । ७ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अम्भार्यानां नद्यन्तानां च द्वयः स्यात् संतुष्टौ । हे बहुभ्येवसि । एति बहुभ्येवसीन् ।

267. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुभ्येवसि.

The Acc. Sing and Dual are बहुभ्येवसीम्, बहुभ्येवसीम् respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुभ्येवसीम्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms.

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आद्य नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्परेषां द्वित्वाभावात्तमः स्यात् ।

268. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आद् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vṛiddhi Vowel by the following rule.

२६९ । आदृक् । ६ । १ । ६० ॥

आदृक्पि परं वृद्धिरुक्तानां स्यात् । बहुभ्येवसि । बहुभ्येवस्याम् । नद्यन्तात्परेषां द्वित्वाभावात् । बहुभ्येवसीनाम् ॥

269. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आद् is followed by any vowel.

The आद् is the augment which द्वित्वा case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). बहुभ्येवसी + आद् + डे = बहुभ्येवसि (Dative Singular). (The आद् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense ऋद्), similarly, बहुभ्येवस्याम्

The augment ऋद् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 203. As बहुभ्येवसीनाम्.

Note—The च् 'and' in the sutra shows that the परस्मैपद rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उत्. औ and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आइ ॥ Thus मौसीयत्, मौकार्षीवत् ॥ आ + ऊदा. — मोदा, तामैच्छत् = मोदायत् ॥

२७० । कुमारे नवास्तीत्यः । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नवान्तादाबन्ताप्रोशब्दाश्च डेराप् स्यात् । इह परत्वादाय नुङ् नाभ्यस्ते । बहुभ्येयस्याम् । शेषानीश-
त्ययान्तवातपनीवत् । अङ्यन्तस्त्वान्त क्लृप्तोऽपः । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेषं बहुभ्येयसीवत् । कुमारीमिच्छत् कुमारीवा-
चरन्वा बाह्वयः कुमारी । कथञ्चन्तस्तथातद्विचरन्ताश्च कर्त्तरि विभ्यः । इच्छत्यादिनि तुल्योपः ।

270. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुङ् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural; because नुङ् of the Sutra VII. 154, S. 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आइ of the VII. 3. 112, S. 268.

Thus बहुभ्यसी + इति = बहुभ्यसी + आइ + ति (VII, 3. 112, S. 268) = बहुभ्यसी + आइ + आम् = बहुभ्येयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुभ्यसी are like those of वातपनी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom. Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix नु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'इतदप्यम्' (VI. 1. 68, S. 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुभ्यसी ॥

Note.—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sūtras III. 160 लक्षिर्हृत्, as लम् + हृत् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमरि meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III. 2. 76. S. 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमरि considered to be formed by the affix कथच् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664), with the affix क्तिप् of III. 2. 76.)

Note.—As कुमारीयम्, किशोर्यम्, गौर्यम्, ब्रह्महन्त्याम्, पीरबन्ध्याम्, खड्गायाम्, बहुराज्यायाम्, कारीरगन्ध्यायाम्, गी-मन्ध्याम्, सेवान्याम् ॥

The word घातकी is formed by क्तिप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the न is changed to ण by अण् घाताभ्याम्; and the यन् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

Thus कुमारी + नु = कुमारी ॥ नु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि श्रुधातुमुवां श्वोरियकुवहौ । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

इदमस्यान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोर्भात्यस्य चातस्येवङ्ङ्यहौ स्तोऽज्जहौ मयये पो । ङिभेत्यन्ता-
देवः । भान्तात्तम्यादेरेवङ् गोस्वद् इतीवङि प्राप्तः ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of उ, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final ह, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of झ, the ह् (for ह or ई) and उक् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इवङ् and उवङ् have indicatory व and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इवङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमरि + श्री = कुमार + इव + श्री. But this is prevented by the next Sūtra.

Note:—Similarly आध्नुवन्ति, उध्नुवन्ति, उध्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class, पिशियहः लुलुवहः, लुलुवः, पिथे, वियः, लुथै, लुवः and लुथै and लुवः ॥

२७२ । एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्वयधसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इषणस्तत्त्वतो यो धातुस्तत्त्वस्यानेकाधोऽहस्य यण स्टाहमादौ
प्रत्यये परे । हानि यण् । कुनार्योः । कुनार्यः । हे कुनारि । अग्निं वसति च । कुनार्यम् । कुनार्यः । कुनार्योः । कुना-
र्याः । कुनारिणाम् । कुनार्याम् । प्रधीः । प्रधीः । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्यः । उग्रयतोऽपुमीः । धातुना संयो-
गाद्य विशेपणादिह स्वादेव यण् । उन्नयोः । उन्नयः । हे उन्नीः । उन्नयम् । हेराय् । उन्नयान् । एवं धामणीः ।
जानकापः क्रिम् । मीः । निर्वोः । निवः । ज्ञानं वसति च परस्यादिवह । निवम् । निवः । हेराय् । निवाम् ।
शस्त्रयोगपूर्वस्य क्रिम् । दुश्चिद्योः । यवमिर्वोः । गतिकारकतत्त्वपूर्णवस्य यण् मन्थ्यते । हुक्षधिद्योः । परममिर्वोः
कथं सर्ति दुश्चिद्योः अधिकभिदेशादि । उच्यते । दुःस्थित्यत धीर्येवापिति विभक्ते दुरितस्य धीशब्दं प्रति गतिर्य-
मेव गच्छति । धात्क्रियापुन्ताः प्रत्ययस्य गन्धुपसंज्ञाः । अधिककृतस्य बुद्धिकृतमवाधानत्वं नेह विव-
क्षितम् । अधिकतत्त्वमिन्धी श्रीर्बुद्धिकधीरेषुसत्त्वपत्तेर्यो वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final τ or ξ of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयच् we get यच् Adcs, therefore कुमापि + ओ = कुमार्यो; कुम(पि + अच् = कुमार्यो; कुम(पि

The Voc. Sing. is हे कुमारी । The Acc. Sing., Dual and Pl. are कुमारी, कुमार्यः । There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.
The Dative Sing. is — हे कुमारी ।

The Dative Sing. is कुम्भाय्. The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुम्भाद् and कुम्भात्. The Loc. Sing. is कुम्भायाम्. The word मयि is not used in the singular.

The word प्रथी is thus declined:—प्रथी, प्रथीः, प्रथ, प्रथव्य, प्रथ्य. &c. This word is derived from the root पथ् with the prefix प्र. The ण is changed to इ by Unādi IV, 115. Thus प्रथ+ङिप्=प्रथि. The short इ is lengthened by VI, 4. 2. S 2552. So we have प्रथ.

The declension of the word वञ्जी. It is formed by adding the prefix वञ् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sûtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sûtra applies to वञ्जी which is declined as वञ्जीः, वञ्ज्यौ; वञ्ज्यः; हे वञ्जीः; Acc. Sing. वञ्ज्याम्, Loc. Sing. वञ्ज्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word घानर्षी, the Nom. Sing. of which is घानर्षीः ॥

How do you explain the forms *दुर्विवा* where there is not *सन्* though *दुर्व* is a Gati, and the word *दुर्विक्रमि* where the word *दुर्विक्र* is a Kāraka ? We reply that the preposition *दुर्व* is not a Gati with regard to the word *धी*, because we analyse the word as *दुःस्विता धीर्विवा*, a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, in which *दुर्व* is Gati with regard to the word *स्विता* understood. This compound is formed by the Vārtika *प्रादिभ्यो घातुजस्य* &c. (II. 2. 24. S. 830.) by which the subsequent term *स्विता* is elided after the Gati word *दुर्व*. In fact, the word *Gati* is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly *दुर्विक्रमी* should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (*पञ्चमी सप्तम्य चनासा*) formed by I. 4. 25. S. 588., as *दुर्विका द्विभेति* = *दुर्विक्रमी*; but as *दुर्विक्रमन्विधी*: *मी* ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion'; in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case *दुर्विक्र* is not a Kāraka with regard to *मी*. Therefore the vārtika applies to it.

२७३ । न भस्त्रधियोः । ६ । ४ । ८५ ॥

[illegible]

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in **म्** or the word **सुधी**, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिम्—प्रतिमुखो, प्रतिमुखः ; सुपी—सुधीनो, सुधीयः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयात् (i.e. he who desires a friend). Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्तिप् and the letters ख and य are both elided. Here the elision of य being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be वणादेश under the previous Sūtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following.

Vārtika:—when there is elision before the affix क्तिप् the elision is not considered as *sthānivat*.

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII. 3. 116. S. 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI. 1. 68 and VII. 2. 115. S. 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशादिकृतस्यानन्वयाऽवर्जणित्वे ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा; सखायौ; सखाय, Voc. हे सखीः. The Acc. Sing. is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखी + अच्. Here VI. 1. 107. S. 194 requires Pārva-rūpa, that is सखीयम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI. 4. 82. S. 272. requiring यच् which would have given the form सखयम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII. 1. 92. S. 253. Hence the form सखि + अच् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ. The Acc. Pl. is सखयः for the Acc. Pl. not being a Sarvanāmasthāna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह क्षेत्रं वर्तते इति सखः. It is a Bahuvrīhi compound formed by II. 2. 28. S. 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3. 82. S. 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्त्वाच् by III. 1. 8. S. 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII. 4. 33. S. 2658, and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्तिप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness'; and पुत्री meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows:—Nom. Sing. सखी; सुखी; पुत्री. The dual is सखे; सुखे; पुत्रे. The Abl. and Gen. Singular forms are सख्युः; सुख्युः; पुत्र्युः; by applying the sūtra VI. 1. 112. S. 255.

Similarly the words ह्वी; शयी; व्रणी; meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e. g. flowers &c; 'one who desires Vishnu'; and 'one who desires crowd' &c, are to be declined.

Note—The word *हू* is the past participle of the root *हृ* to cut; the *nishthā* ण is changed to न by VIII. 2. 44. S. 3018. *क्षाम* is the past participle of the root *क्षे* to wane, the ण is changed to म by VIII. 2. 53. S. 3032. Similarly *प्रस्तीम* is the past participle of the root *स्ते* to make noise, preceded by the preposition *प्र*. The *nishthā* ण is changed to म by VIII. 2. 54. S. 3034. The *Samprasāraṇa* takes place by VI. 1. 23.

The Nom. Sing. forms are *हूनाः*; *क्षामी*; *प्रस्तीमी*. In other cases their declension is like the word *घृती* &c., except the Abl. and Gen.; Sing. Here in these cases the words do not really end in *ही* and *मी* and therefore the rule VI. 1. 112 S. 255. is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of *हू* and the म of *क्षाम* and *प्रस्तीम* are substitutes of ण and as these are taught in the *Triṣaḍī*, namely the last three chapters of the *Aṣṭiddhyāyī*, therefore the न and म substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ adhyāyas. In other words these words are considered as *हृती*; *क्षामी*; *प्रस्तीमी*; and the rule VI. 1. 112. S. 255 applying to them; we have the Abl.; and Genitive Sing. forms as *हून्*; *क्षाम्*; *प्रस्तीम्* ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word *घृक्षी*, derived from the noun *घृक्ष* through the derivative verb *घृक्षीय* with the affix *किप्* is different. *घृक्ष* is the past participle of the root *घृक्ष्* where the *nishthā* ण is changed to क by VIII. 2. 51. S. 3030. Thus the Nom. Sing. is *घृक्षी*. The Nom. Dual and Pl. are *घृक्षिवी*; and *घृक्षिकाः* with the affix *इवङ्* by VI. 4. 77. S. 271 and not with *वङ्* because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl. and Gen.; singular is *घृक्षिवा* &c.,

Similarly *पक्की* is formed from the past participle *पक्क* where the *Nishthā* ण is changed to क VIII. 2. 52. S. 3031 after the root *पक्* 'to cook.'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

संयुद्धिदन् । एवं विष्णु यादु भान्वाहयः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in ङ ॥ The declension of the word *हाम्* is like that of *हरि* ॥ So also ॥ *विष्णु*; *यादु*; *मादु* ॥

The declension of the word *क्रोष्टु* is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply.

२७४ । तृज्यत्क्रोष्टुः । ७ । १ । ६५ ॥

क्रोष्टव्यस्य तृज्यत् नुत्यं वर्तेत भवन्तु द्वौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रोष्टव्यस्य स्थाने क्रोष्टव्यः प्रथोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274. The word *क्रोष्टु* 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in *त्च्* (ई) ॥

Note:—The word क्रीड् is declined like क्रोड् in the strong cases. As क्रीडौ, क्रीडारौ, क्रीडारः, क्रीडारम्, क्रीडारौ ॥ But क्रीडून् in weak cases, and हे क्रीडौ in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the कृच् affix, i. e. acute on the final. The word क्रीडू is formed by the affix कृच् (Un. सितनिगिनि &c, 1. 69).

The word क्रीड् is treated as क्रोड् and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in क् apply to it, viz, the following Sūtras,

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

सौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे ऋत्स्वाङ्गत्वात् गुणः स्वाङ् । इति शोभे ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires क्रोड् to be changed to क्रोडः, but this is prevented by the following.

२७६ । ऋतुशनस्युदंसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

ऋतुशानादुशनसादीनां चानङ् स्वाङ्गत्वाद्भौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anah (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, puruḍaśas, and anehas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अण्टन्तृचस्वतुनन्तृनेष्ट्वष्टृत्तृहोतृषेतृप्रशास्तृणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्वाङ्गत्वाद्भौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । अण्टादिहर्णं प्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियतार्थम् । तेन विष्ठादुपभृतीनां न । उदात्तपञ्चस्य तु भवत्येव । समर्थसूत्रे उदात्तार इति शब्दप्रयोगान् । क्रोडा । क्रोडारौ । क्रोडारः । क्रोडारम् । क्रोडारौ । क्रोडून् ॥

277. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in ऋच्, in stems formed by कृच् and कृच् affixes, and in स्वच्, नन्त्, नेष्टृ, तृष्टृ, क्षच्, होत्, पोत् and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नन्त् &c. in this sūtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नन्त् &c. be taken as derivative words formed with the affix कृच् or कृच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sūtra, because the word कृच् and कृच् of the sūtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unādi affixes कृच् and कृच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words विष्ठाणम् &c. But the word उदात्त is governed by this rule, because we find the उदात्तारः in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus we get the forms क्रोडाः क्रोडारः ; क्रोडारम् ; क्रोडारौ ; क्रोडून् ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply:—

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु कोटुर्वा तृज्वत् । कोट्टा । कोट्टे ॥

278. कोट्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtp, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As कोट्टो or कोट्टुना, कोट्टे or कोट्टे, कोट्टेः or कोट्टे, कोट्टेरे or कोट्टे, कोट्टेः or कोट्टेः ॥ But कोट्टु in the Accusative Plural, and कोट्टुयां before consonant-beginning affixes.

In forming the Abl. and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । प्रकृत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

कवन्ताद् टक्षिडसेरति परे डकार एकाविशः स्यात् । रपरत्त्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ङ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

*Note:—*Thus होतु+अस्=होतुस् (The ङ must always be followed by १ L. 1. 51 though this ङ is not the substitute of ङ only, but of ङ+अ conjointly; on the maxim that a substitute which replaces too, both shows in the genitive case, as कसः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the ङ may be called the substitute of ङ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2, 24 and we have होतु=होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

२८० । रात्सस्व । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेकाल्लोकात्मन्य सखिन् लोको गान्त्वम् । रेकस्व विसर्गः । कोट्टुः । आदि परत्वाङ्ङञ्जाने माप्ते ।
* हुमभिरवृज्जञ्जानयो जुह पूर्वविक्रियेयेन । कोट्टुनाम् । कोट्टरे । कोट्टेः । पत्ते हताने ष षंजुवत् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus कोट्टु+अस्=कोट्टुस् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र is changed to visarga. Thus we get कोट्टु Before the Gen: Pl: नमः कोट्टु requires to be treated as कोट्टु by VII. 1. 97. S. 278 but this is prevented by the following *Vāts*:—हुम् and जुह् augments come in supersession of the Tich-vadhbhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

शिवकोष्ठ will be शिवकोष्ठेने उपखाय, द्विकोष्ठेने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'कोष्ठे ॥ Similarly with वृद्ध, as कोष्ठनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are कोष्ठरि or कोष्ठः; कोष्ठः &c.

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form.

Note.—The word कोष्ठ is formed from the root कृष् to cry' or 'to call' with the affix तुन् by the Unādi I. 69. Similarly the word कोष्ठ is formed from the same root with the affix लृप् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i. e. 'a jackal'. But the word कोष्ठ is defective in the first five cases, where कोष्ठ supplies the want.

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

—:0:—

हूः हूँ । हूः । हूय । हूँ । हूमिस्थिति । अतिचमूचने तु वरीकार्ये विशेषः । हे अतिचमू । अतिचमूः । अतिचमूः २ । अतिचमूनाम् । अतिचमूनाम् । खल्वः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long उ ॥ As हू (name of a celestial songster). The Nom. and Acc. forms are हूः ; हूँ ; हूः । हूय ; हूँ ; हूय &c.

In declining the word अतिचमू, the Nadi rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3. S. 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc. Sing. is therefore. हे अतिचमू ॥ The Dat. Sing. is अतिचमूः ; Abl. and Gen. singular अतिचमूः ; Gens. Pl. अतिचमूनाम् ; Loc. Sing. अतिचमूनाम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खल्वः ॥ The Nom. Sing. is खल्वः ॥

In forming the Nom. Dual the following rule applies

२८१ । ओः सुवि । ६ । ४ । ८३ ॥

धातुवचनसंयोगपूर्वम् न भवति च उपनिस्तम्बो यो धातुस्तन्मन्त्राणां योऽङ्गस्य यस्य स्वादिनासौ सुवि । शक्तिकारकेतापूर्वस्य सप्त नेप्थने । खल्वी । खल्व इत्यादि । एवं वृत्तावयवः । अनेकाश्च किम् । हूः । हूँ । हूयः ॥ धातुवचनेति किम् । उक्तः । उक्तौ । उक्तः । शतयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कवमुदी । कवमुदी । गवीत्यादि किम् । परामुदी । सुवि किम् । सुसुवतुः । स्वतुः । न भूतुविद्योः ॥ स्वमुदी । स्वमुदी ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खल्व 'a sweeper' :—d. खल्वी, pl. खल्वः ; or also खल्वी and खल्वः, and खल्वः dual खल्वी and खल्वः ॥ But सुसुवतुः and सुसुवतुः before tense-affixes (non—युव) ; हू—हूँ, हूय (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उक्तः ; उक्तौ : उक्तः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उन् + ह् = उन्ह् ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कष्टम्, कष्टुचौ, कष्टुवः । Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Kāraka? Observe. परमह्, परम लुवा; परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a case-affix follows? Observe लुलुवह् ॥

But the declension of the word स्वम् is not governed by this rule but by VI. 4. 85. S. 273. Thus Nom: forms are स्वम्; स्वमुचौ; स्वमुवः ॥ So also स्वयम् ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule.

२८२ । वर्षाभूश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्योवर्णस्य यण् स्यादपि सुपि । वर्षाभूः । वर्षाभूः । हम्बकीति हम्बः । अन्तुहम्बजम्बकफेदक-
कम्बुविधिपुरिस्त्रुणवित्नेन ग्युत्वादितः । हम्बौ । हम्बः । हम्बम् । हम्बौ । हम्बम् । योषं ह्नुवम् । इति
नाम्ने हितायेत्यये भुवः क्तिम् । हम्बः । ह्नुकरपुनःपूर्वस्य भुवो यण् वक्तव्यः । हम्बौ । हम्बन् ह्नुवादि यत्-
पूवम् । कम्बौ । कम्बः । दीर्घपाठे तु कर एव कारः । स्वार्थिकः प्रज्ञायण् । कारभौ । कारभः । पुनर्भू-
गिकः पुंसि । पुनर्भूविस्वादि । हम्बकाराह्वयौ स्वयंभूजम् ॥

282. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभौ, वर्षाभः ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273.

The words जम्बू, हम्बू; जम्बू, कफिह्, कर्कन्धू, सिधिर are Unādi formed words under Unādi sūtras I. 96. Thus कृष्णः "an author" or "a reciter"; हम्बी; हम्बा; हम्बुवः; हम्बौ; हम्बम्. The rest of the declensions is like those of ह्नु ॥ The word हम्बू is formed from the root हम्ब् with the affix ऊ (technically क्तु) ॥ But there is another word हम्बू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word हन् to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्तिम् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vārtā:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, क्षार and पुनर् precede भू, as हम्बौ, हम्बा, पुनर्भौ, पुनर्भः कारभौ (कारभौ), कारभः (कारभः) ॥

In this vārtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करम् or कारम् (the meaning of both is the same, because कर is formed by the affix मण् without changing the sense, under sūtra V. 4. 38, S. 2106).

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns हम्बू and कारभू are declined like स्वयम् ॥

Notes:—According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in क्.

धाता । हे धातः । धातायै । धातारः ॥ ऋवर्णानस्य चर्धे चाचट् * ॥ धातुणामित्यादि । एवं नञादयः । ददातायै । दित्ता । ध्रुवत्तिष्ठते नञादिष्वहणस्य नियमार्थत्वात् क्षीर्घः । वित्तये । वित्तः । वित्त्तम् । वित्तैव । द्वयं धातुवत् : एवं ज्ञानातृभाषावयः । ना । नये । नयः । हे नः ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातु. It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3. 110. S. 275 ; VII. 1. 94. S. 276., VI. 1. 111. S. 279. and VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus धाताः धातायै धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vartika :—After words ending in क्, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl : is धातॄणां ॥

The declension of वक्तु &c mentioned in VI. 4. 11. S. 277. is like धातु ॥ So also that of व्रजतु ॥

But the declension of वितु is not like this. वितु is a Uṇādi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Uṇādi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Uṇādi words, as कृदि words. Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of वितु is governed by VII. 3. 110. S. 275. and the क् of वितु is guṇated. Thus Nom. Dual and Pl : are वित्तये, वित्तः.

According to the second view, the word वितु is considered to be formed with the affix कृच् and कृच् added to the root वा 'to protect' by Uṇādi sūtra II. 9. Then the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word वक्तु as restricting the rule only to वक्तु &c and not to वितु. Therefore, we never have वित्तये but always वित्तये. Thus वित्ता. वित्तये, वित्तारः ; वित्तम्, वित्तैव. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातु. The words ज्ञानातृ, भातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	Nom	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni.	Locative
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धातया	धातये	धातुः	धातुः	धातारि
Dual	धातायै	धातारो	धातॄभ्यां	धातॄभ्यां	धातॄभ्यां	धातॄभ्यां	धातारो
Plural	धातारः	धातॄन्	धातॄभिः	धातॄभ्यः	धातॄभ्यः	धातॄणां	धातॄड
—xx—							
Sing	वित्ता	वित्तं	वित्ता	वित्ते	वित्तुः	वित्तुः	वित्तारि
Dual	वित्तये	वित्तये	वित्तॄभ्यां	वित्तॄभ्यां	वित्तॄभ्यां	वित्तॄभ्यां	वित्तारो
Plural	वित्तारः	वित्तॄन्	वित्तॄभिः	वित्तॄभ्यः	वित्तॄभ्यः	वित्तॄणां	वित्तॄड

The declension of the Noun नृ is नः, नये, नरः The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following

२८३ । नृ च । ६ । ४ । ६ ॥

नृ ऋतेस्य नामि क् ऋतेः स्वात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As लं नृणां नृपते, and लं नृणां नृपतेः According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short ऋ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in long ऋ ॥

कृ तु अनसोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिसदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादित्ये एतत्तत् । कीः । किरौ किरः । कीः । किरौ । किरौ । किरः इत्यादि भीषत् । इत्याभावपक्षे तु ऋदुष्टन इति ऋतो ऋदिनि च सपरकरणा एतदुष्टनौ न । कृः । कीः । कः । कृत् । कैः । कुम् । का । के इत्यादि ॥

कृ and कृ are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कृ and कृ ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कृ and कृ on the following maxim. *Paribhāṣā*:—"An imitative name is like original." Therefore the rule VII. 1. 100 S. 2390. read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words. Thus we have किर and किर as bases. Therefore the Nom. forms are कीः । किरौ । किरः । कीः । किरौ । किरः ; These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as किर ॥

The above *Paribhāṣā* is, however, optional and the इत् substitution may not take place. In that case, the rules VII. 3. 110 S. 275 and VII. 1. 95. S. 276 requiring the गुणत and अनह् substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short ऋ as the word कृत् in those sūtras shows, for the indicatory नृ shows that the short ऋ is to be taken (see I. 1. 70 S. 15). Therefore, the declension of these words is कृः, कीः, कः, कुम्, कैः, कृत्, का, के etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long ऋ ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

गम्य शक्त्व अनसोरनुकरणेऽनह् । गम्या । शक्ता गुणस्थिते तु सपरत्वम् । गम्यौ । गमतः । गमत्यम् । गम्यौ । गम्यन् । गम्या । गम्ये । उदितोऽसौ ऋत इति व्युत्पत्तेः लपत्ते संयोगान्तरस्य लोपः । गम्यत् । गम्यत् । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्य and शक्त्व the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्य 'to go' and शक्त्व 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have गम्य by VII. 1. 94. S. 276, as गम्य, शक्ता ॥ In the other strong cases, we have गुण by VII. 3. 110 S. 275, as गम्यौ ; गमतः ; गमत्यम्, गम्यौ, गम्यन् ; गम्यत् ; गम्ये ॥

In Abl. and Gen.: singular, the sūtra VI. 1. 111. S. 279 and I. 1. 51. S. 70 will apply. Therefore, the **ह+ञ्** of the affix will be changed to **व** followed by **त्** ॥ Thus we have **गम्ह् + अस् = गम्ह् + स्** ॥ The **स्** itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have **गम्ह्** ॥ So also **गम्ह्** &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **ह्** ॥

—:—

हेः । सयौ । सवः । स्मृतेः । स्मृत्यौ । स्मृतयः ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in **ह्** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word **हे** ॥ This word is thus formed; **स+इ=हे** or **स+ई=हे** ॥ The short **इ** is the name of Kāma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word **अ** meaning Vishnu with the **अपत्य** affix **इ** meaning the son of **अ** ॥ Similarly **ई** may be considered to be the feminine of **अ**, namely the wife of Vishnu. **हे** may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kāma' or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi.' Therefore, the word **हे** is declined as **हेः, सयौ, सवः** ॥

Similarly the word **स्मृते** which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kāma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word **स्मृते** being *Nishkṛta* is placed first in this Bahuvrīhi compound by II. 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get **स्मृतेः, स्मृत्यौ, स्मृतयः** ॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **ह्** ॥

—:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **मो** ॥

We take the word **मो**; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । मोतो जित् । ७ । १ । ६० ॥

मोहन्नास्वर् सर्वनामस्थानं जित् स्वात् । मोः । मावौ । मावः ॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are **जित्** after **मो** ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the **जित्** operations: such as **Vṛddhi** &c. As **मोः, मावौ, मावः** ॥ Why have we added a **त्** after **मो**? The rule applies to the form **मो**, and not when it assumes the form **मु**, as in **चित्रमु, दधलमु** ॥

Note:—How do you explain the forms **हे चित्रमो, हे दधलमः**? This is done on the maxim **प्राकृतं पुनस्तुतान्विधि निमित्तस्य**, (when an operation which is taught in the *Āngādhikāra* VI. 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the *Āngādhikāra* is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when **Guna** once taken place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3, 108-109, the **जित्** operation of this rule will not again take place. Or **मोत्** in the sūtra may be construed as **Sara-**

bandha-lakṣaṇā Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation): and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow'." While in चित्रम्, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another object, namely to a 'person' who possesses bridled cows. तु in गोतु in this view is for specification only.

२८५ । औतोऽमशसोः । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

आ औत इति हेङ् । ओकारश्चस्यसोऽपि परे आकार एकादेशः स्यात् । एता साहचर्यास्तुयेव भव्य पृथक् । नेङ् । अचिनवम् । अमुनवम् । गाम् । गायी । गाः । गवा । गवे । गोः । इत्यादि । औतो निश्चिति वाच्यम् । चित्रितविशेषणं च । तेन । सुचौः । सुचायौ । सुचायः । ओकारान्ताद्भिन्नं तर्धनास्यस्थानिति व्याख्यानमिह । हे भानो । हे भगवः । उः संयुः स्तृणो येन सः, स्तृवीः । स्तृवायौ । स्तृवायः । स्तृताम् । स्तृतायौ । इत्यादि ॥

285. For औ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अम्, the single substitute is औ ॥

The word औतः is a compound of आ+औतः ॥ Thus गो+अम्, = गाम्, गो+अम्=गाः ॥ Thus गाँ पश्य, गाः पश्य ॥ This debars the Vṛddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also द्यौँ or द्याः पश्य; = the word औ is also a nominal stem ending in औ ॥ The Sarvanāmasthāna affixes are णिन् after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Vṛddhi, therefore, this औ debars the Vṛddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix णम् and as the word अम् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, अमुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गायी; गाः; गवा; गवे; गोः etc.

Vārtika:—The sūtra VII. 1. 90 S. 284 should be read as औतोऽणिन् meaning the ending of strong cases are णिन् after bases ending in औ ॥

Vārtika:—And the endings are णिन् after those bases only which have औ in them. Thus, the Noun सुचौ is declined as सुचौः; सुचायौ, सुचायः ॥

Some read the sūtra as औतः णिन्, so that the rule will apply to औ also: as, द्यौँ, द्यायौ, द्यायः ॥ If the reading be taken औतः, then we extend this rule to औ also, by taking औ as merely illustrative of all words ending in औ; and this is done by the letter ह् in औतः, for the त्वर rule applies to letters, and not to words, so that औतः means and includes words ending in औ ॥

The Sarva-nāma sthāna affixes are णिन् only after original bases ending in औ and not after a derivative base ending in औ ॥ Therefore the Sarvanāma sthāna affix सु or अम् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णिन्, because the औ here is derivative. Therefore हे भानो, हे भगवः ॥

Similarly, the word स्तृनो formed from स्तृन्+उ meaning 'he who

remembers *दे* or *खञ्*, is declined as स्मृतौ, स्मृतयो. स्मृतान्; स्मृतान्, स्मृतावो; स्मृताः etc.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in *ञो* ॥

—:0:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in *ऐ*.

We take the word *दै* (wealth).

२८६ । दायो हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

देशद्वयकारोन्तादेशः स्वाध्यासि विभक्तौ । अथि आद्यदेशः । दाय । दायै । दायः । दायम् । दायौ । दया । दया । दाम्नामेत्यदि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, *दा* is substituted for the final of *दै* ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the *दै* of *दै* is changed to *दाम्* by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus दायः, दायौ, दायः; दायम्, दायौ, दया; दया, दाम्नाम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in *ऐ*.

—:0:—

Declension of Nouns ending in *औ*.

शौ । शतावौ शतावः । शतवम् । शतावौ । शतवम् । इत्यादि । औलोऽश्वालोऽरिषीह न प्रवर्तते । ऐभोजिति सूत्रेण औदेशतोः साधर्ण्याभावस्तदनाम् ॥

We take the word *शौ*. It is declined as शतौ, शतवौ, शतावः, शतावम्, शतावौ, शतावः etc.

The sūtra VI. 1. 93. S. 285 applied only to bases ending in *औ* and not to those which end in *औ*. Because *औ* and *औ* are not savarṇa letters, a fact which we learn from Paṇini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sūtras *द औः* and *दै औः*.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels,

—:0:—

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायं	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखावौ	सखावौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखावौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=मुखा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सुखः	सुखम्	सुखेन	सुखे	सुखे	सुखः	सुखे	सुखे
Dual	सुखौ	सुखम्	सुखेभ्याम्	सुखेभ्यः	सुखेभ्यः	सुखयोः	सुखे	सुखौ
Plural	सुखाः	सुखान्	सुखेभिः	सुखेभ्यः	सुखेभ्यः	सुखानाम्	सुखेषु	सुखाः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पतेन	पते	पते	पतिः	पते	पते
Dual	पतौ	पतम्	पतेभ्याम्	पतेभ्यः	पतेभ्यः	पतयोः	पते	पतौ
Plural	पतयः	पतान्	पतेभिः	पतेभ्यः	पतेभ्यः	पतानाम्	पतेषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Ab.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपतिम्	भूपतेन	भूपते	भूपते	भूपतिः	भूपते	भूपते
Dual	भूपतौ	भूपतम्	भूपतेभ्याम्	भूपतेभ्यः	भूपतेभ्यः	भूपतयोः	भूपते	भूपतौ
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतान्	भूपतेभिः	भूपतेभ्यः	भूपतेभ्यः	भूपतानाम्	भूपतेषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्यः	कतीनाम्	कतिषु

त्रि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयानाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्व्याभ्याम्	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वयोः	द्वयोः

अतिद्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विनेन	अतिद्विने	अतिद्विने	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विने
Dual	अतिद्विद्वौ	अतिद्विद्वौ	अतिद्विद्व्याम्	अतिद्विद्व्योः	अतिद्विद्व्योः	अतिद्विद्वयोः	अतिद्विद्वयोः
Plural	अतिद्विद्वयः	अतिद्विद्वान्	अतिद्विद्विभिः	अतिद्विद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विद्वानाम्	अतिद्विद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
S.	औडुलोमः	औडुलोमम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमेः	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमे
D.	औडुलोमि	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्याम्	औडुलोमिभ्याम्	औडुलोमिभ्याम्	औडुलोमी
P.	वडुलोमः	वडुलोमान्	वडुलोमैः	वडुलोमैः	वडुलोमैः	वडुलोमैः	वडुलोमैः	वडुलोमैः

वातप्रयी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	वातप्रयी	वातप्रयीम्	वातप्रयीना	वातप्रये	वातप्रयेः	वातप्रयेः	वातप्रये	हे वातप्रयी
								or वातप्रयि
Dual	वातप्रयौ	वातप्रयौ	वातप्रयीभ्यां	वातप्रयीभ्यां	वातप्रयीभ्याम्	वातप्रयीभ्याम्	वातप्रयीभ्याम्	"
Plural	वातप्रयः	वातप्रयान्	वातप्रयीभिः	वातप्रयीभिः	वातप्रयीभिः	वातप्रयीभिः	वातप्रयीभिः	"
								or वातप्रयि

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसी	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयसीना	बहुश्रेयसे	बहुश्रेयसेः	बहुश्रेयसेः	बहुश्रेयसे
D.	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यां	"	"	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	"
P.	बहुश्रेयस्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	"	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	अतिलक्ष्मी	हे अतिलक्ष्मी	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्मीना	अतिलक्ष्मे	अतिलक्ष्मेः	अतिलक्ष्मेः	अतिलक्ष्मे
D.	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	"	"	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ
P.	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	"	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्यै	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	"	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्याम्	"	"
Plural	कुमार्यः	"	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीभिः	"	"

प्रधी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing.	प्रधी	प्रधीम्	प्रधीना	प्रधे	प्रधेः	प्रधेः	प्रधे	प्रधी
Dual	प्रधी	प्रधी	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्याम्	प्रधीभ्याम्	"	"
Plural	प्रधी	प्रधी	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभिः	"	"

उत्तरी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	उत्तरीः	उत्तम्यम्	उत्तम्या	उत्तम्ये	उत्तम्यः	उत्तम्याः	उत्तम्याम्	उत्तरीः
Dual	उत्तमौ	उत्तम्यौ	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तम्योः	उत्तम्योः	उत्तमौ
Plural	उत्तम्यः	उत्तम्यः	उत्तरीभिः	उत्तरीभिः	उत्तरीभ्यः	उत्तम्याम्	उत्तरीषु	उत्तम्यः

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्याः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीः
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्यौ
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्यः

नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	नियः	नियः	नियाम्	नीः
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्यां	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियोः	नियोः	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	नियः

Sing	सुनीः	सुन्यम्	सुन्या					
Dual	सुन्यौ	सुन्यौ						
Plural	सुन्यः	सुन्यः	like	प्रथीः				

शंसु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	शंसुः	शंसुम्	शंसुना	शंसवे	शंसोः	शंसोः	शंसोः	शंसो
Dual	शंसु	शंसु	शंसुभ्याम्	शंसुभ्यां	शंसुभ्यां	शंसोः	शंसोः	शंसु
Plural	शंसवः	शंसुन्	शंसुभिः	शंसुभ्यः	शंसुभ्यः	शंसुनाम्	शंसुषु	शंसवः

कोष्टु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	कोष्टः	कोष्टम्	कोष्टा	कोष्टुना	कोष्टे	कोष्टे	कोष्टः
Dual	कोष्टौ	कोष्टौ	कोष्टभ्यां	कोष्टभ्यां	कोष्टभ्यां	कोष्टोः	कोष्टोः
Plural	कोष्टवः	कोष्टुन्	कोष्टुभिः	कोष्टुभ्यः	कोष्टुभ्यः	कोष्टनाम्	कोष्टुषु

हृष्ट

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हृष्टः	हृष्टम्	हृष्टा	हृष्टे	हृष्टः	हृष्टः	हृष्टः
Dual	हृष्टौ	हृष्टौ	हृष्टभ्याम्	हृष्टभ्यां	हृष्टभ्यां	हृष्टोः	हृष्टोः
Plural	हृष्टः	हृष्टः	हृष्टभिः	हृष्टभ्यः	हृष्टभ्यः	हृष्टनाम्	हृष्टषु

सलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	सलपूः	सलपूम्	सलपूणा	सलपूवे	सलपूवः	सलपूवः	सलपूवि
Dual	सलपूवौ	सलपूवौ	सलपूभ्यां	सलपूभ्यां	सलपूभ्याम्	सलपूवोः	सलपूवोः
Plural	सलपूवः	सलपूवः	सलपूभिः	सलपूभ्यः	सलपूभ्यः	सलपूवां	सलपूवुः

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	स्वभूः	स्वभूम्	स्वभूणा	स्वभूवे	स्वभूवः	स्वभूवः	स्वभूवि
Dual	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्याम्	स्वभूवोः	स्वभूवोः
Plural	स्वभूवः	स्वभूवः	स्वभूभिः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूवां	स्वभूवुः

Singular	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूम्	वर्षाभूणा	वर्षाभूवे	वर्षाभूवः	वर्षाभूवः	वर्षाभूवि
Dual	वर्षाभूवौ	वर्षाभूवौ	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूवोः	वर्षाभूवोः
Plural	वर्षाभूवः	वर्षाभूवः	वर्षाभूभिः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूवां	वर्षाभूवुः

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	नृ	नरम्	नृ	नृ	नृः	नृः	नरि
Dual	नरी	नरौ	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्याम्	नरोः	नरी
Plural	नरः	नरम्	नृभिः	नृभ्यः	नृभ्यः	"	नरुः

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृ	किरम्	किर	किरे	किरः	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरी	किरौ	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	किरोः	किरोः
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीर्भिः	कीर्भ्यः	कीर्भ्यः	किरां	कीर्बुः

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृ	कृम्	कृ	के	कृः	कृः	कृ
Dual	कौ	कौ	कृभ्यां	कृभ्यां	कृभ्याम्	कौः	कौः
Plural	कः	कृम्	कृभिः	कृभ्यः	कृभ्यः	काम्	कृवुः

गम्ल

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गमल	गमलम्	गमल	गमले	गमल	गमल	गमलि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गमलभ्याम्	"	गमलोः	गमलोः	गमलोः
Plural	गमलः	गमलम्	गमलभिः	गमलभ्यः	"	गमलां or गमलतणां	गमलवुः

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सद्यम्	सद्य	सद्ये	सद्यः	सद्यः	सद्यि
Dual	सद्यौ	सद्यौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सद्योः	सद्योः
Plural	सद्यः	सद्यः	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सद्याम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गौः	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गोः	गोः	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाः	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गावु व व

स्मृतो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	स्मृतीः	स्मृतान्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतवोः	स्मृतवोः
Plural	स्मृतावः	स्मृताः	स्मृताभिः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतवाच	स्मृतीषु

रे

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	रः	राद्यम्	राद्या	राद्वे	राद्यः	राद्यः	राद्वि
Dual	राद्यौ	राद्यौ	राद्यभ्यः	राद्योः	राद्योः	राद्योः	राद्योः
Plural	राद्यः	राद्यः	रादिभिः	राद्यः	राद्यः	राद्याम्	राद्यु

ग्लौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	ग्लौः	ग्लावम्	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावोः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाच	ग्लौषु

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX.

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS.

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा. (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix लृच् and the feminine affix णी). The Nom. Sing is रमा. The affix लु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In forming the Nom : and Acc : Dual the following rule applies:—

२८७ । ङीङ् आषः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

भाबन्तादङ्गात्परस्वोङ्गः ङी स्यात् । ङीङ्स्त्रीकान्तिमकोऽन्तः । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix ङी, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

The ह् in ङीङ् is for the purpose of including ङीद् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as ङीङ् taught by Pāṇini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + ङी = रमे ॥

The Pl: will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sūtra

२८८ । संयुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

भाष एकारः स्वात्सुद्धौ । एङ्स्त्रीकान्ति संयुद्धौनेषः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमात् । रमे । रमा । ङीत्यानस्वभावाः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final ङी of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + लु = रमे + लु = रमे ॥ The affix लु is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus Voc: Sing. Dual and Pl: are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively.

The Acc: forms are रमात्, रमे, रमाः ॥ The च is not added in the Acc: Pl: because it is feminine. The rule VI. 1. 193. S. 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns.

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies.

२८९ । ङाङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

भाङि ङीति च णे भाबन्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारः स्वात् । रमात् । रमाभ्याम् । रमाभिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings, ओस् and before ङा of

the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final अ of the Feminine-affix.

एङ् is the name given to the affix ए, the Ins. Sing. by the ancient grammarians.

Thus एङ् + ट = ऐ + आ = एमाङ् ॥ The Instr. dual and Pl. forms are एमाङ् एमाङ् ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sūtra applies :—

२९० । याङाप् । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

आप् परस्व डित्चनस्य याङागमः स्यात् । वृद्धिर्वाच्यः । एमाङ् । सर्ववक्ष्यः । एमाङ् । एमोः । एमाङ् । एव दुर्गादयः ॥

290. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in अ ॥

Thus एङ् + ङे = एमाङ् + ङे = एमाङ् + ए = एमाङ् according to VI. 1. 88. S. 72.

The Abl. and Gen. Singulars are thus formed :—एङ् + ङलि = एङ् + याद् + ङलि = एमाङ् + ङल् = एमाङ् ॥

The Gen. and Loc. dual एमोः is formed as follows एङ् + ओल् = ऐ + ओल् (VII. 3. 105 S. 289) = एमोः ॥

The Gen. Pl. is एमाङ् (ए being added by VII. 1. 54. S. 208).

The Loc. Sing. एमाङ् is formed according to VII. 3. 116. S. 270. Thus एङ् + याद् + ङि = एङ् + याद् + आङ् = एमाङ् ॥

The Loc. dual and Pl. are एमोः and एमाङ् ॥ The Feminine Nouns ईना &c. are to be similarly declined.

~~~~~:0:~~~~~

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun सर्वः ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like एङ् ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply :—

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्द्विस्वञ्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आप्तान्तास्तर्वनाम्नः परस्व ङिः स्याद् स्यादापञ्च द्वस्वः । यादोऽपञ्चः । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः २ । एकवैश्वस्य पूर्वान्तद्वय भस्वनाम्नि सर्वनाम्न इति सुट् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वयोः । सर्वान् । एवं विश्वस्य आपन्ताः ॥

291. After a Pronominal stem ending in long अ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the अ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै विश्वस्यै अस्मै त्वस्यै कस्यै भस्मै भस्वनाम्नः सर्वस्याः विश्वस्याः, भस्वनाम्नः, त्वस्याः, अन्यस्यै जन्मस्याः ॥

But अग्रुच्ये where the stem does not end in long वा of the Feminine

This debars the augment दाट् Thus Dat: Sing is formed as follows.

सर्वा + स्वाद् + टे = सर्व + स्वा + इ = सर्वस्यै ॥

Similarly the Abl: and Gen: Singular सर्वस्याः is formed.

In Gen: Pl: सुद् is added by VII. 8. 52 S. 217. Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वानाम्, for the ekādes'a वा of सर्वा ( सर्व + वा = सर्वा ) is considered = the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S. 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen: Pl: सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc: Sing is thus formed सर्वा + डि = सर्व + स्वा + भाद् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc: Dual and Pl: forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वसु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in वा like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्प्रमासे बह्व्रीहि । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनाम्ना वा. स्वाद् ॥ उत्तरपूर्वस्ये । उत्तरपूर्वस्ये । विद्वन्मानवमतरे इति प्रतिपत्तिस्तस्य दिक्प्रमासस्य महत्त्वमिदं । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यन्मन्त्र उन्मुखायास्तस्य उत्तरपूर्वस्ये । बह्व्रीहिमहत्त्वं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्ये शालस्ये । बाह्यास्ये इत्यर्थः । अग्रुच्येऽन्तेर्नेह । अन्तरस्ये नमर्थे ॥

292. The Sarvanāma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction ( II. 2, 26. S. 845 ).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्ये or उत्तरपूर्वस्ये ॥ The Bahuvrīhi compound specifically taught in II. 2. 26. S. 845 and not every other bahuvrīhi. Therefore when the word उत्तर or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा ( a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East ) though = bahuvrīhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanāma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वस्ये and not उत्तरपूर्वस्ये ॥

The word बह्व्रीहि is used in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra would have referred to Bahuvrīhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrīhi in it.

The word अन्तर is a Sarvanāma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्ये अन्तरस्ये meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes 'a city' it is not a sarvanāma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरस्ये नमर्थे ( See Vārtika under sūtra VII. 1. 52 S. 217 ).



argument however is incorrect for the form अरसी is nowhere to be found. Ques. अस् replacing अत् may be considered as like अत् by the rule of स्यानिबन्धोश्च (I. 1. 56. S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18. S. 287. VII. 3. 105. S. 289. VII. 3. 113. S. 290; VII. S. 208; VII. 3. 116 S. 270. apply to अस्. Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका; निष् the substitute of निष्ठा, पून् the substitute of पूतना 'an army'. (See VI. 1. 64 S. 2264).

Answer. No, for the स्यानिबन्ध rule does not apply in cases of भास्वादि. For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आच्, ङी should be construed as compounded of आ+आच्=आच् and ङी+ई=ङी; that is those Feminine words in आच् and ङी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई. For the same reason, the forms अतिष्ठन् and निष्ठीकाम्बि are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ. Similarly the Dative of अतिष्ठन् will be अतिष्ठन्नाय. Here also the augment अद् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नसः; Instr: Sg. नसा &c. when this substitution does not take place नासिका is declined like नस. Similarly निष् is declined. But before the affixes आच् &c. the ई is changed to इ by the following rule.

२९४। अस्त्रस्त्रजस्त्रजमृजयजराजम्राजच्छशौ षः। ८। २। ३६॥

अधारीनां वरानां छयान्तमैत्र्य वक्राणोऽन्तादिषः स्याच्चात्ते पञ्चाले षः। वस्य अङ्गत्वेन वक्राः। निष्-आच्। निष्-निः। सुवि वः सीदि षेति पुद्। पर्यप्। सत्त्वादिजस्यपञ्चो द्वितीयः इति वस्यवाच्यो न। न पञ्चान्ताङ्गिणिति दुर्लभं न। निरुद्धः। निरुद्धः॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष before jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus अवधः—अवरा. अवधुष्, अवधयस्, सुवधुष्॥ अशः। अण्डुष्। अट्टयष्। धानावद्। वृक्षः। सवृक्षः। रज्जुवृक्षः। धृजः। गार्धाः। गार्धुष्। गार्धयष्। कंसपरिवृद्धः। यजः। यरा। यण्डुष्। यष्टयष्। उपयद्। राष्। समाद्। स्वराद्। विराद्। विभ्राद्॥

Thus निष्+आच्=निष्+आच्=निष्-आच्; निष्-निः॥ By VIII. 3. 29. S. 131, there is an optional augment इ before the Loc. Pl: सुप्; then this इ is changed to ए and ए to व्॥ This last substitution being considered as asiddha because it is a विपादि rule, the इ and व् are not changed to ए and व् as will be required by Vārtika under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4. 42. S. 114. apply. Thus we get. निरुद्धः or निरुद्धः॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षटोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१ ॥

एवम् हस्य च कः स्यात्प्रकारे परे । इति तु न-मवतिः प्रत्येन प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात् । केचित्तु त्रधा-  
विस्तरे शविर्धातोरिति सुवाच्यान्तरित्यनुवर्तयन्ति । सन्मते जडत्वेन प्रकारे । निष्ठायाम् । निष्ठिभः । अदस्य-  
म् । दस्युत्तम् । पश्यम् । मिच्छ । चोः कुर्याति कुरुते तु न मवति । जडत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् ॥ मातृपूतनामाहर्ता  
मंस्युत्तमो वाच्याः सातांश वा \* ॥ पूतः । पूताः । पूतवाम् । पौः सुति च रणायम् । गोपा विश्वपावम् ।  
मतिः प्रविण हरिवम् । स्त्रीत्याजस्थम्भायः । मतीः ॥ नास्ते न मत्या ॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ड before स ॥

Therefore निष्ठ+सु (Loc. Pl.)=निष्+सु=निह्+सु=निह्+सु=But the application of this rule would be wrong, for the जड rule is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sôtra by confining it to roots only, they read the anuvṛtti of चतोः in that Sâtra from the previous Sôtra, VIII. 2. 32 S. 325. According to them, there will be ञ when जड rule is applied. Thus निष्ठायाम् । निष्ठिभः । In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of ष and so निष्ठा+भ्याम् is changed to निह्+भ्याम्. Therefore, according to them, the Loc. Pl. will be निह्+सु=निह्+सु=निह्+सु=निह्+सु. The च् is not changed to क् by VIII. 2. 30 S. 378, because the जड substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

*Vârtika.* Before the affixes of the Acc. Pl. and the rest the words मातृ, पूतना and सातु are optionally replaced by माह्, पूतः and स्युः.

Therefore Acc. Pl. of पूतः will be पूतः ; Instr. Sg. पूता; Instr. Dual पूतभ्याम्. In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflectional cases पूतना is declined like रतः. The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा ॥

The Feminine मतिः is declined like हरि except in the following cases :— The Acc. Pl. is मतीः ; there is no न because it is Feminine. Similarly the Instr. Sg. is नम्या and not मतिना because VII. 3 120. S. 244. does not apply to Feminine nouns.

Before the हिन् affixes, मति is governed by the following rule.

२९६। किति ह्रस्वञ्च । १। ४। ६ ॥

इयङ्गुवत्स्थाने स्त्रीसङ्घनिर्गते नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीदृते इत्ये च ह्रस्वर्णे स्त्रियां वा मदी सङ्घे स्त्री-  
किति परे ॥ आण् नद्याः ॥ मत्वा मत्वे । मत्वाः । मतः । नद्योत्पण्डे औदिति ऊरोच्चे पति ॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ñ (*ñit*) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long ि and ु which admit of iyañ and uvañ : but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long ि and ु have been defined as nadi, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take *iyā* and *uvā*. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicative *ḥ* follows.

The case-affixes having an indicative *ḥ* are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मत्स्ये or मत्स्यै, धनवे or धेनवे, शिष्ये or शिष्यै ; Ablative and Genitive मत्से or मत्स्याः, धेनो, or धेन्याः, शिष्यः or शिष्याः ; Locative मत्स्यौ or मत्स्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्याम्, शिष्यौ or शिष्याम् ॥ So also भुवे or भुवे &c. But *strī* is always स्त्रियै &c.

When the word मत्स्य is treated as a Nadi word, then the Loc. Sg. requires औ by VII. 3. 118, S. 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुद्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

मत्स्यसंज्ञाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां कस्य डेचच् स्यात् । पक्षे मच धे । मत्स्यात् । मत्स्यौ । एवं भुतिस्त्रिया-  
द्वयः ॥

297. After the Feminine nadi words ending in *इ* and *उ* short, *आम्* is substituted for the *इ* of the Loc. Sg.

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a *वि* word and rule VII. 3. 19 S. 247 applies. Thus Loc. Sg. is मत्स्याम् or मत्स्यौ.

The words भुति, स्त्रियै &c. are declined like मत्स्यै ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in *इ* like तिष्ठ् and चतृ the feminine of वि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sūtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः श्रियां तिष्ठचतृ । ७ । २ । ६६ ॥

जीनिह्वयेरेवयोरैकापादेवौ लो विभक्तौ वतः ॥

298. तिष्ठ् is substituted for त्रि and चतृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिष्ठचतृ एतयोर्ऋकारस्य ऐकारेणः स्यादचि । सुण्डीपौष्पानामपञ्चवः । तिस्रः २ । शानि  
गुणपिरेति जुह् ॥

299. र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिष्ठ् and चतृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel

In the Genitive there is the augment इद् under *Vārtika* VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिष्ठ् + इद् + आम् = तिष्ठ् + आम्. Here the Sūtra VI. 4. 3. S. 209. requires the lengthening of the *इ* but it is prevented by the following Sūtra.



३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयोर्नामि जीवौ न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति त्रिचतुरादिशेषाभात् । त्रियाद्य-  
यस्त्रीणि या यस्याः सा त्रियधिः यतिवत् । यामि तु त्रियनवाणांमिति विशेषः । त्रियास्तिस्त्री यस्य स इति  
विशेषे न त्रियतिसा । त्रियतिसो । त्रियतिसः । त्रियतिस्रिभिर्यादि । त्रियतिस्रो यस्य सत्कुलं त्रियधिः । स्वमां-  
लुंका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावात् तिस्रिद्वयः । न लुप्ततेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे त्रियतिसृ । \* रादेशान्  
पूर्वविभातिद्वयेन युम् । त्रियतिसृणी त्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु यक्षणा नपुंसकाधिकृत्यात्पक्षेण लुप्तमात्रे ।  
त्रियतिस्रा । त्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । द्वेत्वे सत्त्वात् । द्वे २ । द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । गौरी । गौर्वी । गौर्यः ।  
महीकार्यम् । द्वे गौरि । गौर्ये इत्यादि । एवं बाष्पनिष्पादः । प्रातिपदिकमहर्षे निङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि महपादनङि  
निङ्गजोच्य च प्राप्ते ॥ त्रिचतस्रि निङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणम् ॥ सस्त्री । सस्त्री । सस्त्रीयः इत्यादि गौरिवत् । अष्ट्यस्तत्त्वात्  
सुलोपः । तक्षी । श्वेदे गौरीवत् । एवं त्रीलङ्ग्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । द्वे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc. Pl. is तिसृषु.

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word मूल् 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as त्रियास्त्रयास्त्रयाः or त्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्त्रा ब्राह्मण्यः = त्रियधिः 'a Brāhmanī to whom three are beloved.' dual. त्रिययाः, Pl. त्रिययः ॥ Similarly त्रियचत्वारः त्रियचत्वारो, त्रियचत्वारः ॥ The word त्रियाच will be declined like त्रि । The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will त्रियत्रियाणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as त्रियास्तिस्त्री ब्राह्मण्योस्तस्य ब्राह्मण्यः = त्रियतिसा ब्राह्मणः (VII. 1. 94) त्रियतिसो. त्रियतिसा ॥

If the compound is analysed as त्रिया तिस्रो यस्य सत्कुलं, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be त्रियाचै. Here the Nom. and Acc. case endings सु and अच् are elided by VII. 1. 23 S. 319 by using the word लुक्. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षणे (See I. 1. 63, S. 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sūtra I. 1. 63, S. 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom. and Acc. Singular will be त्रियतिसृ. The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following Vārtika:—

Vārtika:—The gūṇa of VII. 3. 110 S. 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment दुच् by VII. 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are त्रियतिसृणी and त्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally युच् or the इ substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus त्रियतिसा or त्रियातिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **हि**. The **इ** of **हि** is replaced by **अ** according to Sūtra VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it assumes the form **हृ**. To this is added the Feminine affix **आप्** and thus we get the form **हा**. It is always Dual and is declined as **हे**; **हे**; **हाभ्याम्**; **हाभ्याम्**; **हाभ्याम्**; **द्वयोः**; **द्वयोः**.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **गौरी**. Its Nominative: forms are **गौरी**; **गौर्यै**; **गौर्यै**. Its Voc.: is **हे गौरी** according to VII. 3. 107 S. 267. Its Dat.: will be **गौर्यै** by VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VI. 1. 90 S. 269.

The Feminine Nouns **राणी** and **नक्षी** &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of the Fem.: Noun **सखी**. There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix **अनङ्** under Sūtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as **भित्** by VII. 1. 92. S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prātipadika form **सखी**, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun **सखी** when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a *Vibhakti* is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following.

*Paribhāṣā*:—"A Prātipadika is a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika before a case-termination after the Prātipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prātipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom. forms of **सखी** are **सखी**; **सख्यै**; **सख्यः**. The rest of the declensions are like those of **गौरी**.



Now we take up the declension of **नक्षी**. As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix **ई**, therefore the Nom.: Singular affix **सु** will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI. 1. 68 S. 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix **ई**. The word **नक्षी** is an Unādi formed word. The long **ई** is not a Feminine affix. Thus Nom. Sing. is **नक्षी**. The rest of the declensions are like those of **गौरी**.

So are the words **वरी**, **सनी** &c. declined.

*Note*:—Some consider the **नक्षी** to be formed by the *Varṇika* कृत्कारादिक्रियः under IV. 1. 45. S. 503. the affix **दीप्** is added to every कृत्-वृत् word ending in **इ** or **ई** with the exception of the affix **सि**. According to this view, **नक्षी**, **वरी** &c. are **दीप्** formed, and so the Nom.: Sing. affix will be elided after them.



Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **चरी**. Its Nom.: Sg. is **चरी**. Its Vocative Sg. is **हे चरी**.

In forming the Nom : Dual and Pl : the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीपठस्येयह् स्वाकृजादौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As सिद्धो, शिष्यः ॥

In the Acc: Dual and Pl: the following rule gives option as regard the *सुप्* *Adesa*.

३०२ । षांशस्तोः । ६ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभि शक्ति ष स्त्रिया इत्यहं वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रियैः । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । वि स्वा-  
-स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परत्वाभ्युद् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियशक्तिकान्तः अभिस्त्रिः ।  
अभिस्त्रियोः ॥

गुणनाभादीत्यनुभूतिः परत्वायुंति वाच्यते । इति चेत्तुमा न स्त्रीष्वस्येयदित्यवधारणाम् ॥

[illegible]

धोऽद्योक्तारे न्व निष्यं स्थावन्मसौस्तु विभाषया । इत्यरेषोऽपि सामय त्रिधाः पुंस्युपसर्जने ॥

खीवे तु पुन । अतिवि । अतिस्त्रियैः । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिया । अतिस्त्रिये । देगधुताथगौ  
 पक्ष्यमात्रपुत्रजायास्वसे माग्धुवृक्ष । अतिस्त्रय or अतिस्त्रिये । अतिस्त्रियः २ । अतिस्त्रीः २ । अतिस्त्रियैः २ ।  
 अतिस्त्रियोरिरमादि । स्त्रियां तु मयेण पुंवत् । चादि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । किति ह्रस्वधेति ह्रस्वान्तात्त्वम-  
 युक्ता विकल्पः । अखीवि तु इत्यनुबद्धस्यानाविस्मयेव पक्षिणः । तत्संबन्धस्यैवावुत्तेरीपरिभाषां निषेधो-  
 नत्तु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रिये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रीः २ । अतिस्त्रीयाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् ।  
 अतिस्त्री । स्त्रीः । स्त्रियैः । स्त्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयस् for the ई of strī is optional before the accusative endings अम् and दास् (अस्) ।

Thus क्षियन् or क्षीन् ; क्षिद्यः or क्षीः

The Instr: Sing is **सिखा**; Dat: Sing **सिखे**. Abl: and Gen: Sing: **सिखा**; Gen: Dual **सिखोः**; Gen: Pl. is formed by the addition of **वुट्** to the exclusion of **इयङ्**; because **लुट्** is taught subsequently. Thus **सिखावुट्**. The Loc. forms are **सिखायाम्**; **सिखोः**; **सिखे**.

Now, we take up the declension of **अतिथिः**, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom. Sing. ■ **अतिथिः**; Dual **अतिथिभ्यो**.

*Verse* :—The *स्यङ्* substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII. 3. 109, S. 241; VII. 3. 111 S. 245.); the *न* substitution in the Instr. (VII. 3. 120, S. 244); the *ञौ* substitution (VII. 3. 119 S. 247)

and the *सुह* augment (VII. 1. 54. S. 208). In the Neuter the *सुह* being subsequent replaces the *इयङ्*.

Thus the rule 'असिच' gives us the form *असिचयः*. The Voc forms are *हे असिच्ये*; *हे असिचिये*; *हे असिचयः*. The Acc. forms are *असिचियम्* or *असिचिम्*; *असिचियो*; *असिचियः* or *असिचीन्*. The Instr. Sing is *असिचिणा*. The Dat. Sing is *असिच्ये* (with the *गुण*, according to VII. 3. 111. S. 245). The Abl. Sing. is *असिचिः*; The genitive forms are *असिच्ये*; *असिचिये*; *असिचिणाम्*. The Loc. Sing. is *असिचौ* formed by *अञ्च* चैः (VII. 3. 119. S. 247) The Loc. Dual is *असिचियो*.

*Verse* :—The *इयङ्* substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen. and Loc. Duals (Viz. *जोश्*) also the Nom. and Acc. Duals (*जौ*) and optionally before the Acc. Sing. and Pl. *सम्* and *स्य* and nowhere else when the *स्त्री* becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound *असिचि* denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows :—Nom. and Acc. forms are *असिचि*; *असिचिणी*; *असिचीणि*. The augment *सुह* is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S. 314 and 320 The Instr. Sing. is *असिचिणा*; VII. 1. 73. In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1. 74 S. 321. Thus the Dat. Sing. is *असिच्ये* or *असिचिये*. The Abl. Sing. is *असिचिः* or *असिचिचः* and so also is Gen. Sing. The Gen. and Loc. Dual *असिचिदौ* or *असिचियो*; &c.

When the word *असिचि* is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine *असिचि* with the following exceptions :—The Acc. Pl. is *असिचीः*; Instr. Sing. *असिचिणम्*. Before the *हिन्* case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option. The word *अस्त्री* of the Sūtra I. 4. 4 S. 303 which is read by *anuvritā* in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 is confined to that form of *स्त्री* which takes the substitution *इयङ्*. Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word *स्त्री* in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 refers to that form of *स्त्री* which ends in long *ई* and not to short *ई* as in *असिचि*. The result is that the rule I. 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word *असिचि* and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat. Sing. is either *असिचिदे* (as a *Nadi*) or *असिचिये* (as a *ghī*). The Abl. and Genitive Sing. forms are either *असिचिदा*; (as a *Nadi*) or *असिचिः* (as a *ghī*). The Genitive Pl. is *असिचिणाम्*. The Loc. Sing. forms are either *असिचिणम्* or *असिचौ* ■

—30:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun *क्षी*. Its Nom. forms are *क्षी*; *क्षिये*; *क्षियः*

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयङ्कुवङ्स्थानावली । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयङ्कुवङोः स्थितिर्ययोस्तापीद्वौ नवीसंज्ञौ न स्तो ननु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रिये । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रिवः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in *i* and *ū* which admit the substitute (इयङ्) *iyāṅ* and (उवङ्) *uvāṅ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadī*; except the word *strī*, (which is called *nadī* notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṅ*).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रिय or श्रिये; Abl: Sing is श्रियाः or श्रिवः by I. 4. 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen; Pl: the following Sūtra applies:—

३०४ । घामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयङ्कुवङ्स्थानोऽभ्याख्यौ इ घामि वा नवीसंज्ञौ स्तो ननु स्त्री । श्रीः (श्रियम्) श्रियम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रथीतवृत्त्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां नते लक्ष्मीवद्वृत्त्यम् । वृत्तान्तरं विनापि श्रियां वर्तमानत्वं निवृत्तीत्यपि स्वीकारम् । निजान्तरामभिधायकत्वं तदिति कैयदेवेन तु पुंवद्वृत्त्यम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मीवत् । अति वृत्ति न प्रथं प्रथं इति विग्रहः । सुप्तु धीर्यस्याः सुप्तु भ्याकते वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रीवत् । वृत्तान्तरं पुंवत् । सुप्तु धीरिति विग्रहे तु धीर्येशः । सामन्तीः पुंवत् । मानवयनस्योत्सर्गतः पुंघर्षतया पञ्चान्तरं विनापि श्रियामप्रवृत्तिः ॥ एवं जलपयनादेवपि पुंघर्षत्ववैयर्थिकं बोध्यम् । हेतुर्भातिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in *i* and *ū*, though admitting *iyāṅ* and *uvāṅ* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadī*, when the affix *ām* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strī*, which is always *Nadī*.

श्री + आम् = श्रियङ् + आम् = श्रियाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + इङ् + अम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम्;

The Loc. Sing. is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word *प्रथी* is declined like *लक्ष्मी* according to the author of *वृत्तिकार* and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine; and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word. But according to *Kaiyata* it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as प्रकृष्टा धीः then it is to be declined like *सक्वी*. The only peculiarities being in the Acc: Sing and Plural, where the forms are प्रथवम् and प्रथवः ।

The word *सुधी* when analysed as, सुसुधीर्यस्या "that woman whose understanding is good" or when analysed as सुसुधायसि या 'She who meditates well', then it is declined as श्री according to *वृत्ति* author. According to others it is

to be declined ■ a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुधु धीः 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामणी 'a female head of a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामी; because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word स्वाम् 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.

### Declension of Feminines ending in इ,

The Feminine Noun वेदु is declined like नति. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun कोटु. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३०५ । स्त्रियां च । ७ । १ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीयाश्च कोटुश्चान्तमन्तपूर्वे लभेते ॥

305. The word कोटु is treated as if it ended in कृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because कोटु is treated as if it was कोट्, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीप् by IV. १. ५. as given below:—

३०६ । स्त्रोत्रेभ्यो डीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥

स्त्रोत्रेभ्यो नाम्नेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । कोट् । कोट्री । कोट्र्यः । यधूरीरिपत् । भू । श्रीवत् । हे सुधुः । कर्म तर्हि दापितः कासि हे सुधु इति भट्टिः । प्रमादं स्वायमिति ग्रहः । स्वयूः पुपत् । पुनर्भूः । इत्कृतेति यना उपट्टी बाधनमियदुषडिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भू । पुनर्भूम् । पुनर्भौ । पुनर्भेः ॥

306. The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in कृ ।

Thus कोटु becomes कोट्री and is declined as Nom : कोट्री ; कोट्र्यो ; कोट्र्याः ।

### Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like नौरी; वृ is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing is हे वधूः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as वधू in the following passage दापितः स्वायि हे वधू ? The Bhatti has misapplied Sūtra I. २. 48 S. 656 which is not applicable because वृ is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix ड् added to the root वन (See Uṇādi II. 68) If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sūtra VII. 3. 107. S. 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But सुबु is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4. S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kālidāsa of the form सुबु in the sentence विमाने सुबु विनगृहे कृतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun **स्त्री** is to be declined like the Masculine Noun **पुरुष** !

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्ह. By the *Vārtika*, under VI. 4. 84. S. 28z, the ङ is replaced by न् and thus the वनह, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sūtra* I. 4. 4. S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्ह which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे पुनर्ह. The Acc. forms are पुनर्हम्; पुनर्हो; पुनर्हः.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाक्षरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाग्रचरणं यस्य तस्मिन् सनाथे पूर्वपक्षस्याग्निमेषात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तदुग्धमिक्षित्यस्य  
नस्य मिश्रं गन्धं स्यात् । आरम्भसमर्थाजित्यस्येति चेत् पुनर्नक्षत्रं स्पष्टार्थम् । दणं बाधित्वा परत्वात्तुह ।  
पुनर्नृणाम् । यथाभू । भेज्जाती नित्यस्त्रीत्वानायात् । हे वर्षाभूः कैवलयते । यतान्तरं तु हे वर्षाभूः । पुनर्न-  
षायां तु हे वर्षाभूः । भेज्यां पुनर्नक्षत्रां स्त्री वर्षाभूतुते पुनान्विति कावः । वर्षाभूः । वर्षाभिः ।  
स्वयंष्टः प्रवृत्त ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ऋ in the room of न् of the second member, provided that the न् is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment लुन्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

*Text*.—The व is repeated in this sūtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sūtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the Kāśikā). Because the sūtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sūtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sūtras VIII. 4. 10 and II. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment जुङ्ग is added, because it is subsequently taught and supersedes the वङ्ग of the Vārtika under VI. 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्जुङ्गाय ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **वर्षा** । When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be **हे वर्षा !** । According to others, the Voc. Sing. is **हे वर्षाय !** ।

According to the Lexicographer Yādava, वर्षाङ्ग is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavā; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.





सर्वा

|          | Nom.   | Acc.    | Ins.        | Dat.      | Abl.      | Gen.      | Loc.       |
|----------|--------|---------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Singular | सर्वा  | सर्वाम् | सर्वया      | सर्वस्यै  | सर्वस्याः | "         | सर्वस्याम् |
| Dual     | सर्वे  | सर्वे   | सर्वाभ्याम् | "         | "         | सर्वयोः   | "          |
| Plural   | सर्वाः | "       | सर्वाभिः    | सर्वाभ्यः | "         | सर्वासाम् | सर्वास्तु  |

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

|          | Nom.         | Acc.          | Ins.              | Dat.                                   | Abl.                                    | Gen.                                     | Loc.                                      |
|----------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Singular | उत्तरपूर्वा  | उत्तरपूर्वाम् | उत्तरपूर्वया      | उत्तरपूर्वस्यै<br>or<br>उत्तरपूर्वस्यै | उत्तरपूर्वस्याः<br>or<br>उत्तरपूर्वायाः | "                                        | उत्तरपूर्वस्याम्<br>or<br>उत्तरपूर्वायाम् |
| Dual     | उत्तरपूर्वे  | "             | उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम् | "                                      | "                                       | उत्तरपूर्वयोः                            | "                                         |
| Plural   | उत्तरपूर्वाः | "             | उत्तरपूर्वाभिः    | उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः                        | "                                       | उत्तरपूर्वासाम्<br>or<br>उत्तरपूर्वाणाम् | उत्तरपूर्वास्तु                           |

जरा

|          | Nom. | Acc.  | Ins.      | Dat.    | Abl.   | Gen.    | Loc.     |
|----------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|---------|----------|
| Singular | जरा  | जराम् | जरया      | जरस्यै  | जरस्यः | "       | जरस्याम् |
| Dual     | जरी  | "     | जराभ्याम् | "       | "      | जरीयोः  | "        |
| Plural   | जराः | "     | जराभिः    | जराभ्यः | "      | जरासाम् | जरास्तु  |

OR

|          | Nom. | Acc.  | Ins.      | Dat.    | Abl.   | Gen.    | Loc.    |
|----------|------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|---------|---------|
| Singular | जरा  | जराम् | जराया     | जरायै   | जरायाः | "       | जरायाम् |
| Dual     | जरे  | "     | जराभ्याम् | "       | "      | जरीयोः  | "       |
| Plural   | जराः | "     | जरीभिः    | जराभ्यः | "      | जराणाम् | जरास्तु |

नासिका

|          | Nom.    | Acc.     | Ins.        | Dat.      | Abl.  | Gen.    | Loc.     |
|----------|---------|----------|-------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|
| Singular | नासिका  | नासिकाम् | नस्यै       | नस्यै     | नस्यः | नस्यः   | नस्यै    |
| Dual     | नासिके  | "        | नस्योभ्याम् | "         | "     | नस्योः  | "        |
| Plural   | नासिकाः | नस्यः    | नस्योभिः    | नस्योभ्यः | "     | नस्याम् | नस्यस्तु |

निशा

|          | Nom.  | Acc.   | Ins.                           | Dat.                       | Abl.  | Gen.   | Loc.                                      |
|----------|-------|--------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------|--------|-------------------------------------------|
| Singular | निशा  | निशाम् | निशै                           | निशै                       | निशः  | निशः   | निशै                                      |
| Dual     | निशे  | "      | निशोभ्याम्<br>or<br>निशोभ्याम् | "                          | निशोः | "      | "                                         |
| Plural   | निशाः | निशः   | निशोभिः<br>or<br>निशोभिः       | निशोभ्यः<br>or<br>निशोभ्यः | "     | निशाम् | निशस्तु<br>or<br>निशस्तु<br>or<br>निशस्तु |

# अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

## CHAPTER X.

### DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽज्ञान् इति वात्स्योरण् स्वात् ॥ अणि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ वृद्धस्वादिति हल्वाचलोऽः ।  
हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान् + अम् = ज्ञानम् ( See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom : Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान ; i. e. the ए of अम् is elided and not the अ

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

इति वात्स्योरण् छी स्वात् । असेज्ञानम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha*.

*Note*:—By Sūtra I. 1. 43. S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vāna Sthāna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18 S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel. ई is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

अस्येति च नपुंसकयोर्वचः स्वाधिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारोच्चे प्राप्ते ॥ ओङ्कः द्वायां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः \* ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a *bha* stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान् + छी = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vārtika*.:—

*Vart*:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of वी (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long वा. Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and ए are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने. It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra.

In forming the Nom. and Acc. Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जडशसोः सिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

झीवावनयोः सि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or शस् = ज्ञान + सि. Now, this सि gets the designation of *Sarvanāma Sthāna* as taught in the next Sūtra and being so called, the Sūtra after that applies to it; by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । सि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

सि इत्येतदुक्तत्वं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix सि (VII. I. 20) is called *sarvanāma-sthāna*.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य लुक्चः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

ज्ञानत्वाऽऽप्तस्य च झीवस्य दुर्गमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने षी । वयश्चक्षीर्यः । ज्ञानानि । जलानि । येष रानवन् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment लुक् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + सि = ज्ञान + लुक् + सि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. S. 250.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of शम् ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns घन, वन, फल &c.

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३१५। अद्ङ् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७। १। २५ ॥

एभ्यः कृषिभ्यः स्वयोरद्ङादेशः स्यात् ॥

315. अद्ङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and भ्म् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note :—These are the five pronouns; which in the list of Sarvanāmāns are read together (See 1. 1. 27, S. 213)—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्ङ् = कतरद् (the म of katarā elided by ङ्) : as कतरद् विष्मिन्. कतरद् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ङ in the affix अद्ङ् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sūtra.

३१६। ङेः । ६। ४। १४३ ॥

विति परे मस्य ऐर्ध्वेः स्यात् ॥ पाठसामे ॥ कतरम् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । मस्येति किय । पञ्चभ्यः । ऐर्ध्वेः स्यात् अथमस्येति पूर्ववत्तर्जनीये एङ्गस्वादिति संयुक्तिकोपपन्नं न भवति । हे कतरम् । पुनस्तद्ङम् । णिर्ध्वं इवम् । कतम् । इतम् । अन्यम् । अन्यतरम् । अन्यतमश्च इत्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतमश्च इति धी वक्तव्यः \* ॥ एकतरम् । सोऽन्तादेशे कृते संनिपातपरिभाषया न ऋश् । अजश्च । अजशी च श्रे । परराज् जपि कृते सन्ततस्याम्बुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicative ङ्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a bha Stem.

\* Thus कतर + सु or भ्म् = कतर + अद्ङ् = कतर + अद् = कतरद् or कतरत् (र is optionally changed to ङ् by VIII. 4. 56, S. 206.)

The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे; कतराणि.

Why have we read the anuvṛtti of bha in this Sūtra? Observe पञ्चभ्यः

Note :—The anuvṛtti of bha is read into this Sūtra from VI. 4. 129, S. 233. the word पञ्चभ्यः is formed by adding the affix इद् to the word पञ्चम् with the augment गद् (V. 2. 48 & 49, S. 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चम् + इद्. The affix इद् does not cause the elision of the म् of पञ्चम् but the म् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII. 2. 7, S. 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicative ङ्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular: as कतर + अद् = कतरम् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, अद् being the substitute of भ्म् will be sthānivat, and give us कतरम् by VI. 1. 107 even without

इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely इ and not अइ; it would give कतरत् &c. without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple इ would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्. The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprkta. See however VI. 1. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛtti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अइ (i. e. the vocative of members in अइ will not be elided, हे कइत् will be the form required and not हे कइ); if however, the anuvṛtti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कत). Therefore, by reading the affix अइ with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अइइ we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अइ in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतवत्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

Thus the Voc: Sing. is हे कतरत्.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम्, इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् is like that of कतरम्. Thus कतवत्; इतवत्, अन्यवत् and अन्यतरवत् ॥ The word अन्यतरम् forms its Nom: and Acc: Sing अन्यतवम् and not अन्यतवम् ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सामान्यादि-अन्यतवत्तम् ॥

*Vārtika*:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतरम् although it is formed with the affix इतर. Thus its Nom: Sing is एकतरम् and not एकतवम्.

—:—:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजर meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना अजर इत्यर्थः). The अ of अजर is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजर. Thus अजर + इ = अजर + इ (VII. 1. 24. S. 309). At this stage Sūtra VII. 2. 101. S. 227 requires the substitution of जस् in the place of अस्, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातकृत्यो विधिविधिविन् नद्विषयतस्य that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For इ is added to अजर as it ended in अ and since अ has caused the production of इ, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जस् to be substituted for अ ॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is अजरोस्त्री or अजरो.

In the case of Nom. Plural there is affix चि. and when जस् is substituted, then we have the augment जुम् (VII. 1. 72. S. 314) because चि is Sarvanamasthāna. This जुम् must be added after the जस् substitution has taken

place, because जस् substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101 S. 227. which is latter in order of the Ashtādhyāyī than जुस् augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus जजरे + सि = जजरेसि + जुस् + इ = जजरेस्सु + इ ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sūtra,

३१७ । सान्तमहत्तः संयोगस्य । ६ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य नञ्प्रथमो नकारस्तत्त्वोपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनाभस्याम परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । यदि लुकोपवाङ्मन्मासं थाभित्वा परस्वाडिजस् । सतः संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरासम् । अजरास् । अजरासी । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । संये पुंवन् । पञ्च इति ह्रस्वोऽकास्त्वानां एह उवन् भासम् । हन्ति । ह्वा । ह्रस्वामिथादि । उवाणि । उवा । उवामिथादि । भासामि । भासा । भासामिथादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्म्यामिथादि । वस्तुस्तु प्रभृतिप्रहणं प्रकाशयामिप्रहणम् । अत एव भाष्ये नांस्त्वया ङदीर्घा-इत्युक्तवत् । अयस्त्वयादिस्त्वेन मत्वास्त्वयोगान्तोपी न । पञ्च इत्यत्र हि ह्रस्वस्त्व-स्युपनिर्गतं वृत्तौ तथाप्येवमीष्यन् मास्यङ्स्त्वसीति वार्तिके ङस्त्वोऽपहणसामर्थ्यात्तौक्येति ह्यथिति त्रिषदोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगननुवृत्त्य पक्षस्यः प्रयोगात् इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it; and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When अस् substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing.; we have अजरे + अम्.

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first luk-clision of the affix अम् by VII. 1. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जस् for जरे by VII. 2. 101 Of these लुक्-clision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जस् of VII. 2. 101 जस् being substituted for जरे, we have अजरास्, now लुक् cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरांसि ॥

When there is no जस् substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजराम् ॥

The Acc: Dual will be —सी or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥

of this नुम् intervention. And though tadantaridhi applies in these chapters (अप्राप्तपक्षे तस्य च स्यन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य चादिशा भवन्ति), therefore जरम् would not replace जर which forms only a portion of a full word अजरः. Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be found after the म् of जरम्. Therefore, the जरम् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the नुम् should be added after-wards under VII. 1. 72.

The form अजरसे is thus evolved. We have अजर + जम्. Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य भवन्त्यान्, we substitute जरम् for जर also, (for जर and जरम् are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23. ordaining the luk. of जम् and VII. 1. 24. teaching अजम्. The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृदय &c referred to in Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृदय is replaced by हृद्; वक्त्र by वक्त्रम् and आस्य by आस्यम् and नास by नासम्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृन्ति हृदा, हृद्व्याम् &c; वक्त्रानि; वक्त्रा, वक्त्रव्याम् &c; आस्यानि, आस्यम्, आस्यव्याम् &c; नासि, नासा, नासव्याम्, &c.

In fact, the word प्रवृत्ति is used in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sūtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahābhāṣya* gives the example of 'नासव्याम् वक्त्राः'. Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant.

*Note*:—नासव्याम् is thus formed. From the root पच we form पचन with the affix क्त्वा in the sense of instrument and location, under Sūtra, III. 3. 93. S. 3271. meaning the vessel for cooking. To पचन is added the feminine affix ङीष्, नासस्य पचनी = नासपचनी. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 and therefore नासम् would not have been substituted for नास, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रवृत्ति in the sense प्रकार.

By taking this compound under I. 4. 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not संयोगान्न लेष. Moreover, if in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of छन्दसि be read from the Sūtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sūtra VII. 4. 43. S. 442, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has read the following Vartika. नासच्छन्दसि meaning न् is substituted for the final of नास before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now गोपेभि (VII. 4. 43. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्त्स् in the *Vārtika* indicates by implication that छन्त्स् rules are not confined to the Vedās only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of मस्र in VI. 1. 63. S. 263. is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word 'Chhandas' in मस्रछन्दासि *Vārtika* under Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442. indicates that पृह् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ७७ ॥

श्रीवे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽनन्वस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीपि । ह्रानवत् । श्रीपाय । अत्र संनिपातपरिभाषणं यतो धातोर्गोत्राकारोऽपि न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

Thus श्रीप becomes श्रीप which is declined like ह्रान् ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here आ is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140. S. 240 before the affix के on the maxim 'संनिपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

-----20:-----

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom : Sg. वारि + ह्र ॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

श्रीपाद्वारिस्वमोर्ह्रिक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings ह्र and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + ह्र = वारि + O = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + ओ ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

१२० । इयोऽपि विभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इयन्तस्य श्रीयस्य युगायामः स्वाहृदि विभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारिणि । ननुमतेति निर्दिष्टस्यानिश्चयः । ततो संसृष्टिनिमित्तो गुणः । हे वारि । हे वारि । वाढो म । वारिणा । वारिणीतिगुणं प्राप्ते ॥ वृद्धौत्वत्तु । आनगुणम्यो गुण इतिप्रतिषेधेन \* ॥ वारिणि । वारिणः । वारिणोः । वारिणोः । युगचिरेति जुद् । वारिणीति । वारिणम् । वारिणि । वारिणोः । इत्यादौ हरिषत् ॥

320. The augment युम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + युम् + ओ = वारि + युम् + ओ ( VII. 1. 19. S. 310 ) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom : Pl. is वारिणी ॥



The Voc : Sing : has two forms हे वारि or हे वारि ॥ हे वारि is formed by the guṇa of व under rule VII. 3. 108. S. 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I. 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by ह्र it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1. 63 S. 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst : Sing : is वारिण्य ॥

The Dat : Sing : is वारि + क् ॥ Here the rule वैङ्गि VII. 3. 111 S. 245 requires guṇa. But the guṇa is set aside by the following *Vārtika*.

*Vārtik.* The augment लृप् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, यौ substitution, वृद्धस्त्व and guṇa. Thus वारिणेः ॥

The Abl : and Gen : sing is वारिणः ॥

The Gen : dual is वारिणोः ॥

The augment लृट् is added by the *Vārtika* लृप्चिर &c. under sūtra VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. in forming the Genitive Plural ; and the short ॥ is lengthened by VI. 4. 3. S. 209. Thus we get the Gen : Plural ; वारिणाम् ॥

The Loc : Sing : and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively. Before the consonant beginning affix लृ of the Loc : Pl : it is like that of हरि ( VII. 3. 119. S. 247. ) i. e. वारिणु ॥

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Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies :—

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भावितपुंस्के पुंवद्भालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तस्य भावितपुंस्कमिषत्तं स्त्रीवं पुंश्च स्याद्भावाच्च । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि ।  
शेषं वारिवत् । पीलुर्द्वैतस्तत्कलं पीलु तर्हि पीलुने । अथ न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमेवात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender ; its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

Singular is *वीलुने* and not *वीलवे* ॥ This is because the word *वीलु* denoting 'fruit' has no corresponding Masculine word denoting fruit, for the corresponding Masculine *वीलु* refers to the tree, and not to the fruit ; so this word *वीलु* cannot be said to be *आदिनपुंसकः* ॥

—307—

Now we take up the declension of the Noun *दधि* ॥ In the declension of this word the following rule applies :

३२२ । अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यङ्गामनङ्कुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ७५ ॥

एवमनङ् स्थाहादाधिवि स षोडाशः ॥ अक्षोपोऽनः ॥ दध्ना । दधि । दध्नाः २ । दधी २ । दधि । दधानि णैर्ब वारिणम् । एवमस्थिसक्थ्यधीनि । नन्दन्त्याप्यनङ् । अनिदध्ना । दधुधि । दधुधिनी । दधुधिनि । हे दधुधे । हे दधुधि । दधुधिया । दधुधिया । प्रध्ना । प्रधुधिया । मधु । मधुनी । मधुधिया । हे मधो । हे मधु । एवमङ्कुदात्तः । सातुदात्तस्य सुवो । सुनि । सातुनि । मियकोदु । मियकोदुनी । कृञ्चक्षाशसूर्वादिमतिदेधेन जुम् । मियकोदुनि दावा पुनद्वक्षे मियकोदु । मियकोदुना । मियकोदे । मियकोदवे । अन्त्येन कृञ्चक्षाशसूर्वादिमतिदेधेन जुमेव । मियकोदुना । मियकोदुवे । जुमोचयेति । जुम् । मियकोदुनाम् । सुलु । सुलुनी । सुलुनि ॥ पुनस्तदङ् । सुलुवा । सुलुना । धाह । धाहनी । धाहूनि । हे धाहः । हे धाह । धाधा । धाह्या । एवं ज्ञातकर्त्तव्यः ॥

322. The acutely accented *अङ्* ( *अनङ्* ) is substituted for the finals of *asthi*, *dadhi*, *sakthi*, and *akshi*, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Note :—Thus *अस्थी*, *अक्षी*, *दधी*, *क्षी*, *सक्थी*, *सक्थी*, *अङ्गी* *अङ्गी* ॥ The words *अस्थि* &c have *nanta* on the first syllable, the substitute *अनङ्* would have been also *nandatta*, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation *अ*, we elide the *अ* ( VI. 4. 134 ), the *udatta* *अ* being thus elided, the case-ending, which was *nandatta* before, now becomes *udatta* ( VI. 1. 161 ). The stems ending with ' *asthi* &c ' and though not *nanta*, are governed by this rule. As *मियादध्ना प्राद्वयेन*, *मियदध्ना* ॥ Why ' before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest ? ' Observe *अस्थिनी*, *दधिनी* ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have *अस्थिनाम्*, *दधिनाम्* ॥

Thus *दधि + मा* ( *Ins-sing* ) = *दध् + धेन् + मा* = *दध् + न् + मा* The *धे* is elided by VI. 4. 134 = *दधा*, so also D. S. *दधि* G. A. S. *दध्ना*, G. and L. D. *दध्नाः* L. S. *दधि*, or *दधनि* ॥ In the remaining cases, it is like *यति* as :—

N. S. *दधि*, N. D. *दधिनी* N. P. *दधिनि* ॥ Before consonantal affixes the form is *दधिनाम्* &c.

The *अनङ्* comes even after bases that are compound but which end in *अस्थि* &c as *अस्थिदध्ना* ॥

The word *दधुधि* is thus declined :—

N. A. S *दधुधि*, N. A. D. *दधुधिनी*; N. Pl. *दधुधिनि*; Voc. *हे दधुधे* or *हे दधुधि* ॥ I. S. *दधुध्या* or *दधुधि*; ( VI. 4. 85 S. 23 ) the *Ins. S.* of *दधुधि* however is *दधुध्या* or *दधुधिना* ( VI. 4. 82 S. 272 )

The word मधु is thus declined : as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधुनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु; D. S. मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words स्रग्धु &c. The word स्रग्धु optionally assumes the form स्रु by the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 41 S. 295. Thus स्रुनि or स्रानुनि ॥

So also विद्यकोष्ठ, विद्यकोष्ठनी ॥ The plural will have वृष् by prohibiting in anticipation the वृज्यद्वाय (VII. 1. 95. S. 274), as विद्यकोष्ठानि । In Ins. S and other cases, when the rule VII. 1. 74 applies, we have two forms as विद्यकोष्ठम् or विद्यकोष्ठाना, विद्यकोष्ठे or विद्यकोष्ठे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with वृष् alone, as विद्यकोष्ठाना विद्यकोष्ठाने ॥ There will be वृद्ध by वृषधिर as विद्यकोष्ठानाम् ॥

The Noun सुनु is declined as follows: Nom: and Acc: forms are सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनुनि ॥ Instr: singular is सुनुया or सुनुना ॥

The Noun धातृ is declined as follows:—Nom and Acc: forms are धातृ, धातुनी, धातुनि ॥ The Voc: Sing. is हे धातृ or हे धातु ॥

The Instr: Singular is धातुया or धातुना ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञातृ, कर्तृ &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रसौ ending in औ ॥ In Neuter, the औ is changed to इ in accordance with the following Sātra:—

३२३ । एच् इग्रस्वादेशे । १ । १ छन्द ॥

आदिभ्रमनेषु इत्येषु मध्ये एच् इग्रस्वात् ॥ प्रसु । प्रसुनी । प्रसुनि । प्रसुनेत्यादि । इह न ईष्वत् । अविगन्तं प्रसु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्त्वभावात् । एवमप्येति । प्रति । प्रतिनी । प्रसीणि । प्ररीणा । एकदेशादि-कृतस्यानन्त्याद्वायो ङीत्यात्यम् । प्रग्राभ्याम् । प्रग्राभिः पुनश्चैति सुव्यास्ते प्रग्राभानिति माधवः । वस्तुतस्तु तन्निवातपरिभाषया पुञ्जात्वं न । नास्ति च दीर्घस्वाम्बसागर्भस्वरिभाषां बाधश्च इत्युक्तम् । प्ररीणाम् । सुनु । सुनुनी । सुनुनि । सुनुना । सुनुने । इत्यादि ॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इच् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note:—This sūtra points out the इच् substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of इ and ऐ, औ and ओ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and ए respectively. Tīna, J. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude from provided it ends in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + हे, the हे must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ अतिरि 'disembarked or landed,' बी, उपरि 'near a cow.' All avyaya-bhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इच्. Thus the short of आ is अ. अति + खट्वा = अति खट्वा. अति + वात्स = अतिवात्स ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when, एतु or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इच् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त !

Thus Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रद्यु, प्रद्युनी ; प्रद्युनि. The Instr : Sing. is प्रद्युना etc. This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form. 'प्रदि' which is derived from the root दै to give with the prefix प्र. The दै being changed to दि by the present Sūtra. we get the form प्रदि. It is declined as follows :—Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रदि परिशी, प्रदीणि. Instr : Sing. प्रदिना. By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change something else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to दै will apply to दि also. Hence the rule रादौ हलि VII. 2. 85. S. 286 will apply to प्रदि also. Thus forms before भ्याम् and निः will be प्रदाभ्याम् and प्रदानिः । According to Mādhava, the Genitive Pl : will be प्रदानाम्, the augment जुद् being added by the Vārtika जुमाचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before जुद् in accordance with the Maxim हानिवात् हृत्तयो विधित्वेनित्तं, i. e. That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sūtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्रदीनाम् ॥

The word प्रद्यु which is the shortened form of प्रद्युनी meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom : and Acc : forms as प्रद्यु, प्रद्युनी, प्रद्युनि ॥ The Instr and Dat : Singular forms are प्रद्युना ; प्रद्युने respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XI

### DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिह् derived from the root लिह् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्तिप्. The Nom. Sing. is लिह + इत्. The इ is changed to ट by the following rule,

३२४ । होदः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

हृत्पुङ्गवः स्याद्भ्रान्तिरप्यनेन च । धृक्पुङ्गवविविधे सुलोपः । पदान्तस्याज्ञस्य ङः । अदस्यचलैः । लिङ् ।  
लिङ् । लिङी । लिङ् । लिङम् । लिङी । लिङः । लिङा । लिङ्भ्यश्च । लिङस्तु ॥

324. ञ is substituted for ण before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिह् + ह्र = लिह् + ० ( The ह्र is elided by ह्रस्वत्व VI. 1. 68 S. 252. )  
= लिह् ( The ह्र is changed to ह्र because it is final in a pada ) = लिह् ( VIII. 2. 39  
S. 84 ) or लिह् ( VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 ).

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are लिखी ; लिखी ॥

The Acc : forms are लिहम्, लिहौ : लिहः ।

The Instr : forms are *लङ्गा, लिङ्ग-याम् लिङ्गनिः* ॥

The Loc: Pl: is लिख्य ( The & being optionally added by VIII, 3. 29. S. 131 ) or लिख्य ॥

Now we take up the declension of शम्भुः. It is derived from the Denominative Verb शम्भुः शम्भुः (शम्भुः शम्भुः शम्भुः one who desires a शम्भुः). Here the following sūtra is inapplicable, though the root शम्भुः begins with ह :

३२५ । द्वादेशार्थात्तर्कः । ८ । २ । ३२ ।

उपरोधे एतेर्धातोर्इत्य मः स्त्वाच्चाति पदान्ते-५ । उपरोधे क्तिप् । अथोरोत्थय दया स्यात् । दाम-  
लिहमात्मानं इच्छति वानलित्यपि । ततः क्विपि वानलिह । प्राक् मा भूत् ॥

325. Of a root beginning with ऋ, in original enunciation, the ऋ is substituted for ॠ, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But दामलिङ् does not become दामलिङ् because the anuvritti of the word दपदेङ् is understood in the above Sūtra and as in the Dhātupāṭha there is no root like दामलिङ्, so this rule is inapplicable ( See the Not given below ).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sūtra ? So that there may be व substitution in अघोर्, which does not begin with द in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with द ॥

*Notes:—*For the final ह् of a ह्-beginning root, व is substituted under similar circumstances. As हन्था, हन्थुर्, हन्थव्यर्, काष्ठुह्, रोधर्, रोधुर्, रोधव्यर्, गोष्ठुर्, from ह् and ठु ॥ For the ह् of the affixes ह् &c. व is substituted by VIII. 2, 40, before which, the व becomes ञ् by VIII. 4 53. For the व in काष्ठुह् is substituted ञ् by VIII. 2, 39, or ह् by VIII. 4 56, and ह् becomes व by VIII. 2, 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with ह्" ? Observe लेह, लहुर्, लेहव्यर्, लुहलिङ् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धनौः is not to make it in apposition with the word दीह् but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole : so that it means "the word which begins with ह् and forms part of a root, for the ह् of such a part is substituted व्." What does follow from it ? The letter व is substituted in अघोर् also, which begins with ञ् ॥ For without the above explanation ( धातोऽप्ययस्य वा ञादिपञ्चस्तद्वदवस्य हकारत्वं &c. ), the व् would have come in examples like गाल् पाह्, without the augment ञ, but not where there was the augment ञ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवदीर्घा वरी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

३२६ । एकाचो वशो भप् भवन्तस्य स्थोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोश्चयथा य एकाच् द्वापन्तस्तद्वयस्य वशः स्थाने भप् स्यात्सकारे भवत्ये वशन्ते य । एकाचो धातोरेति सामानाधिकरण्यान्वये तु ■ न स्यात् । गर्ह्यमाचष्टे गर्ह्यमिति । ततः किरप् / फिलेपः । गर्ह्यप् । इतीति निवृत्तम् । स्थेर्महत्तागर्ह्यात् । तेनेह य । दुग्धम् । क्षेम्भ । व्यवस्थेतिपदान्नायेन धात्वयदवत्ताङ्ग-भादः । अन्त्यपरत्वे । ध्रुक् ध्रुम् । दुहो । दुहः । पत्यपरत्वे । ध्रुम् ॥

326. For the letters क, ग, ङ or द in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in क, म, घ, ढ or ङ, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or च respectively in that portion of it which begins with चश् and ends with जप् before स or च्च, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sūtra, we have used the word भवत्ये or ■ member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sūtra, that is to say, which begins with क, ग, ङ or द and ends with झ, भ, घ, ढ, ङ, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ञ and ends with the fourth letter of the *Varga*, then for क is substituted भ, for ग, घ, for ङ, ■ and for द, च ॥ But had we explained the sūtra by saying एकाचोधातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्ह्यप् from the denominative root गर्ह्यमिति. The word गर्ह्यप् is derived from the root गर्ह्यन् by the affix क्तिप् to the root and the elision of नि ॥ The द is changed to च ॥

The anuvṛtti of दृष्टि ceases here and is not to be read in the sūtra. This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the *Aṣṭā dhyāyī*.

By taking the letters स and च्च in the sūtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, क्षेम्भा ॥ Here द is not changed to च ॥

By applying the maxim व्यवस्थेतिपदान्नायेन, that is "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach," the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह्+ङ्=दुह्+O=दुह्+O=दुह्=दुह् or दुह् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुहो; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc : Pl : the present sūtra will apply and we get the form ध्रुम् ॥ ( स being changed to घ् by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212 )

In declining 'दह' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा द्रुहमुहण्युहण्विहाय । ८ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषां वत्य वा यः स्याज्ज्ञानि पदान्ते च । एते वः । द्रुह् । घृह् । भ्रुह् । ध्रुह् । हुहः । घृह्याय । भ्रुह्याय । ध्रुह्यु । ध्रुह्युह् । ध्रुह्युह् । एते छण्युहण्विहाय ॥ विभ्रवाद् । विद्रवाद् । विध्रवाही । विध्रवाहः । विभ्रवाहि । विध्रवाही ॥

327. The ह् of druh, mnh, snuh, and snih is optionally changed to च before ण् jhañ letter or at the end of a word.

The ह् of these words is changed to य optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to दृ ॥ Thus Nom : Sing is द्रुह् or घृह् or भ्रुह् or ध्रुह् ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is घृह्याय् or भ्रुह्याय्. Locative Pl : is ध्रुह् or घृह्यह् ( VIII. 3. 29. S. 131 ) or ध्रुह्यह् ॥

Similar is the declension of द्रुह्, स्नुह् and क्षिह् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विभ्रवाह् ॥ The Nom : forms are विभ्रवाद् or विभ्रवाह् ; विभ्रवाही, विध्रवाहिः ; Acc : Sing and Dual are विभ्रवाहम्, विध्रवाही ॥

In forming the Acc : Pl : the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of ' bha ' before this affix ; that is the semi-vowel व् is changed to इ ॥ This change is called संप्रसारण ( Samprasāraṇa ) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sūtra.

३२८ । इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ८ ॥

दिनः स्वप्ने प्रपुच्छन्तो य इक् च संप्रसारणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels yan are called samprasāraṇa.



३२६ । वाह ऊह । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

मत्स्य वाह-संप्रसारणपूर्व स्यात् ॥

329. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ ( ऊह ), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणादपि षे पूर्वकपमकोषः स्यात् ॥ एत्येयस्युद्ध ॥ विद्योहः । विद्योहेत्यादि ।  
छान्दस्येव नियमिति पक्षे निजन्ताद्विह ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्ववाह + वत् = विश्व + ऊ + ओह् + वत् = विश्व + ऊह् + वत् = विश्वोहः ( The Vridhhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S. 73 ) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वोहा and so on.

If वाह in विश्ववाह be considered to have been formed by the affix वि under sūtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix वि after it by sūtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word वाह is a वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वोहः \* By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + वत् ( of वा ) = ऊह् ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वोह the Vridhhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : वत् + वाह् + वत् = वत् + वह् + वत् ( VI. 1. 108 ) = वत् + ओह् + वत् ( the affix वि III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa ) = वतोहः ( VI. 1. 88 ). In fact वि is never added to वत् ( III. 2. 64 ) unless the preceding member ends in व् and that व् + ओ of वा will always produce ओ \* The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊह्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: अवशिष्टं षहिरूपमन्तरङ्गं ; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation: therefore, we can never get the form वतोह् ॥

—————३३०—————

Now we take up the declension of अन्नद्वह्. In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनङ्गोऽयमुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ६८ ॥

अनदीयम् स्यात्कारेणामस्याने च चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अन्नद्वह् get the acutely accented augment आ ( आम् ) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अन्नद्वह् + सु = अन्नद्वोह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

## ३३२ । साधनद्वयः । ७ । १ । २ ।

अस्य तुम् स्यात्सौ परे । अतिथिधिकापक्षार्णवसेऽयं तुम् । अतो विधिविहितेनापि तुमा आम् न चाभ्येत । अथा च तुम् ॥ आभ्यते । सीर्षेणः । तुम् विधिसामर्थ्याद्गुणस्थिति कश्च न । संयोगान्तरेप-  
स्थासिद्धत्वात्संज्ञा न । अनङ्गात् ॥

332. अनङ्गात् gets the augment तुम् before the ending ॥ of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनङ्गात् gets the augment अ after ङ in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनङ्गात् and अनङ्गात् ॥ By the present sūtra ३ is added after this अ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनङ्गात् Nominative Singular; and अनङ्गात् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede तुम्, nor are they superseded by तुम् ॥

The तुम् is specifically taught by this Sūtra, the ह् is not changed to ङ by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final ३ is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23. S 54 is not perceived by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of ३ because of the rule VIII. 2. 1. S 12. So the ३ is not elided. Thus the Nom: Sing is अनङ्गात्. In forming the Voc: the following rule applies,

## ३३३ । अम् संयुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ६९ ॥

अङ्गानङ्गोरम् स्यात्संयुद्धौ । आनीपदाः । हे अनङ्गात् । अङ्गात्सौ । अनङ्गात् । अनङ्गात् ॥

333. अङ्गात् and अनङ्गात् get the augment अ after the ३ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनङ्गात्, हे अनङ्गात्सौ, अनङ्गात्सः ॥

The Instr: Sing. is अनङ्गात्.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, निः &c, the ह् is changed to ङ by the following rule.

## ३३४ । पञ्चसंयुद्धंस्वनङ्गात् ङः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सामान्यस्वनस्य संज्ञातेऽयं ङः स्यात्पदान्ते । अनङ्गात्पदान्यादि । स्यान्तेति किम् । विद्वान् । पशवो इति किम् । पशवम् । पशवम् ॥

334. ङ is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix पञ्च् and ending in स and for the final of स्तम्, लम् and अनङ्गात् at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 4. 17 ).

Thus अनङ्गात्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix वहु must end in इ ? Observe विद्वान्.

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe सत्त्वः, अत्त्वम्.

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of तुलसाह्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३५। सहेः साङः सः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

साङ्ख्यस्य सहेः सस्य वृथैव्यदिष्टः स्यात् । तुलसाह् । तुलसाह् । तुलसाहो । तुलसाहः । तुलसाह-  
भ्यामिष्यादि । तुलं सहेत इत्यर्थे उन्नाति सहे इति लिङ् । लोके तु साहयतेः किरप् । अन्येषामपीति पूर्वपक्षश्च  
दीर्घः ॥

३३५. ष is substituted for the स in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् ( साह् ) ॥

Thus तुलसाह्, साह् is derived from सह् by the affix लि (III. 2. 63 S 3409), there is vriddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ष (VIII. 2. 31), and the upapada is lengthened ( VI. 3. 137 S. 3539).

Note :—साङः सः would have been enough, for there is no other form साह् except this derived from सह् : why then the word is used in the sūtra ? There is another form साङ not derived from सह् ॥ Thus सह डेन वरुणं = सङः, सङस्य नवत्यं = साङिः ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ष is called सङ् ; as वृङ् ॥

Why do we say ' in the form of साङ् ' ? The rule will not apply when the form is साह्, as अलासाहम्, तुलसाहम् ॥ Why do we say सः " for the स " ? So that the सा of साह् may not be changed to cerebral : the ह is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in इ ॥

—:0:—

There is no masculine noun ending in इ though on the analogy of the Noun कनक् (See 340) we may form लोक् meaning लोचनायसायः and decline as लोक्, लोके, लोयः yet this इ will always be elided by the rule VI. 1. 66 S. 873. We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in इ eg् सुविद् In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३३६। दिष्य औत् । ७ । १ । ८४ ॥

विधिति प्रतिपदिकस्य औत्स्याखी ये। अन्विधित्वेन स्पष्टिपत्त्यावासाङ्ख्यमिति सुलोपो न ॥  
सुलोः । सुलोः । सुविः । सुविम् । सुविने । सुविने ॥

३३६. औ is substituted for the final of the prātipadika दिच् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note :—There is a nominal-stem दिच् which is taken here. It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root विद् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter ङ and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as विद्मः ॥ The nominal-stem derived from विद्, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is वुः as वमवुः (See VI. 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

The rule VI. 1. 68 S 252, required the elision of वु; but this is prevented, because औ is not स्यादित्त्वं to व् for the purposes of अव्ययि rule VI. 1. 68. S 252. Thus the Nom: forms are वुषोः, वुविषोः, वुदिवः. The Acc: forms are वुदिवम्, वुविषम् &c.

Before भ्यश्च and नि: the following rule applies:—

३३७ । दिव उक्त् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

विद्योऽन्तादिषु दकारः स्यात्पदान्ते । वुषुभ्यश्च । वुषुनिः । अत्वारः । अतुर्भिः । अतुर्भ्यः ॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note:—The portion व् of the word पदान् must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = वृकामः, वुमाम्, दिमवु विन्, वुभ्याम्, वुभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servik letter (anubandha) and should have been read as विद्मः ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for व् by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have वद्वुभ्याम्, वद्वुभिः ॥ The उक्त् with a न् shows that short उ is meant, and doḥarṇ ऊट (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊट substitution the form will be वुद्वाम्, वुदिः ॥ The ऊट also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada' ? Observe दिवो, दिवः ॥

Thus Instr: Dual and Pl. are वुषुभ्यश्च ; वुषुभिः.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in व् ॥

—\*—\*—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ट्.

We take up the declension of अतुर् which is always Plural. Its Nom: Pl: is अतुर् + अट् = अतुर् + भाट् + अट् (S. 331) = अत्वारः । Its Acc; Instr: Dat. and Abl: Pl: are अतुर्, अतुर्भिः, अतुर्भ्यः, अतुर्भ्यः respectively.

In forming the Gen: Pl: the following rule applies:—

३३८ । अट्चतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

अट्चतुर्भ्यश्च अत्वारो वृद्धात्मनः स्यात् । आत् । द्विर् । अतुर्भ्यश्च ॥

338. The augment व् is added before the Genitive pl. ending भाट् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after अतुर् ॥

Note:—The व् is changed व् by VIII. 4. 1. S. 235 and this व् is optionally doubled by VIII. 4. 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in ॠ is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note:—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमपञ्चमम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but विद्यपञ्चमम्, विद्यपञ्चानाम्, विद्यचतुर्णाम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जनीय taught there applies to that ॠ which is derived from इ and not to every ॠ.

३३६ । दोः सुवि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने दो शरेव विसर्जनीयो नाम्योक्तस्य । यस्य । यस्य द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the इ called ॠ (and not any other ॠ), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर्+इ=चतुर्+इ by VIII. 3. 59.S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽसि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

असि दो शरो न दो सः । चतुर्थे । विद्यपत्याः । हे विद्यपत्यः । विद्यपत्योः । विद्यपत्यारः । सौम्ये तु इद् नैव्यते । विद्यचतुर्णाम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कर्णः कर्णः । वा भाषभाषः कर्मत् । कर्मत् । कर्मत् । पर्ये । कर्मत्तु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर), when a vowel follows,

Note:—The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule VIII. 4. 46. S. 59. Thus कर्षति, वेपथि, आकर्षः, लघर्षः ॥

Why do we say असि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इद्वये ॥

Text:—Thus चतुर्थे.

Now, we take up the declension of विद्यचतुर् which may be declined in all numbers. (See Note under S. 338). विद्यचतुर्+सु=विद्यचतु+सु+ॠ+ॠ+ॠ (VII. 1. 98. S. 331)=विद्यपत्याः. In the Voc: Sing, instead of अस्य there will be अस्य by VII. 1. 99. S. 333. Thus हे विद्यपत्यः । The Nom: Dual and Pl: are विद्यपत्योः, विद्यपत्यारः. As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment इद् required by VII. 1. 55. S. 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen: Pl: Thus we have विद्यचतुर्णाम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrīhi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be चित्चतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ॠ ॥

### Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in क्.

Now we take up the declension of कम्. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कमल by passing through the चुपदिगण under the rule तत्करोति सदाच्चे, that is, when the sense is कमलं कमलं वा चक्ष्णः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamālā. Thus कमलं + विच् (of चुपदिगण). To this we add the affix विच्, when the विच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313. Thus we get कमल्. Its declension is Nom. कमल्, कमले, कमलः, Its Loc. Pl. is कमल्यु. (The ल् being changed to यु).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in क्.



There is no noun ending in झ्. Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ञ्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१। मोनो धातोः। ८। २। ६४।

धातोर्नित्य नः स्थावरशान्ते। नल्लत्वातिष्ठत्वाज्जन्तेषो न। प्रथम्यवीति प्रक्षान्। प्रक्षानौ। प्रक्षानः। प्रक्षान्-धानित्यादि॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of ॥ Pada. for the final म of ॥ root.

As प्रक्षान्, this is formed by adding विच् to the root क्षञ् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word नल्लत्वा is understood here also. So we have प्रक्षानौ, प्रक्षानः where न् is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom. forms are प्रक्षान्, प्रक्षानौ प्रक्षानः; The Instr. Dual is प्रक्षान्-धाच् &c.



Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies;—

३४२। किमः कः। ७। २। १०३॥

किमः कः स्थाव्रिभक्तौ। ञकश्चहितस्त्वप्ययमारोहः। कः। कौ। के। कम्। कौ। कान् इत्यादि चर्चन् ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment ञकश्च is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not ञ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For ञ of किम् being  
1 by न् (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by न्, had the sūtra been किञ्चिद् and the forms would have been the same ( ऋ + घ + न् = ऋ VI. 1. 97 ). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies.

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । स्वस्यस्यस्वपञ्चकः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final न् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for न् is to prevent the न् substitution of VII. 2. 102. \* At this stage applies the next sūtra.

३४४ । इदोऽयं पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम् इदोऽयं स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सौलोपः । अन्त्यम् । स्वस्यस्यलं परस्परत्वं च ॥

344. अयम् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अद्यम् ॥

The case ending यम् is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. would apply and there will be Para-rupa ( VI. 1. 97. S. 191 ) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । इदम् । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो इत्यं नः स्वादिभक्तौ । इमो । इमे । स्वस्यस्यः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्तरार्धे ॥

345. And न् is substituted for the म् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमो, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अन्त्यम् = इदम् + अन्त्यम् ( VII. 2. 102 S. 265. ) = इदम् + अन्त्यम् ( VII. 2. 109 S. 345. ) = इदम् ( VI. 1. 97. S. 191 ).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of स्वस्यस्य words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies :—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अनाकारेणैवम् इदोऽयं स्वादिभक्तौ । आभिति या इदम् + अन्त्यम् । एकत्वेण मत्वादाः । अनेन ॥

346. अन् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क् is added by V. 3. 71"? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word अण् (आणि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the ण of रा ( Ins. Sg ), and ण् of सुप् ( Loc. Pl ).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies,

३४७ । हलि खोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्वेष्टेन हने खोपः स्वांतां च एतासौ ॥ ज्ञानर्पकेऽन्तेन्यविधिरनभ्यसीयकरी ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an āp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—"The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable."

Having elided इद् of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is इ which is replaced by अ VII. 2. 102 S. 265. Thus we have only अ left. Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII. 3. 102 S. 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यच् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sūtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमाश्रयिवाऽन्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरफोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारयोस्त्रिमदसोर्भिर्ल ऐस् न स्यात् । एत्स् । एभिः । अत्स् । निरप्यत्वात् डो स्तोः । पश्चाद्भाति-  
लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्य । अनयोः । एताम् । अस्मिन् ।  
अनयोः । एतु । ककारस्वेष्टे तु अयकम् । इमको । इमके । इमकम् । इमको, इमकान् । इमकेन । इमका-  
भ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ + िभिः = एभिः ( VII. 3. 103 S 205 ) The dative forms are thus





to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two (*anayoh*) the family is illustrious and their (*anayoh*) wealth is great." The cases in this form are:—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एनम्, Instr: Sing: एतेन; Gen: & Loc: Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc: Nouns ending in न्.

—:0:—

There is no Masculine noun ending in इ. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ए, e. g. सुमन् which is formed by the affix क्त्विच् added to मन् (III. 2. 75 S. 2980). Its Nom: forms are सुमन्, सुमनौ, सुमनः; Loc. Pl. is सुमन्सु, सुमन्सु, or सुमन्सु.

If it be formed with the affix क्त्विच् (III. 2. 76 S. 2983), then by VI. 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be सुमन्, सुमनौ, सुमनः; the Loc: Pl: is सुमन्सु, सुमन्सु, or सुमन्सु.

Here ends the declension of Mas: Nouns ending in ए.

—:0:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in इ.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom: Sg. is राजन् + ह = राजान् + ह (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250) = राजान् + ० (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = राजा (the इ being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc: the following rule applies:—

३५२ । ङित्संयुद्धयोः । < । २ । < ॥

पत्य सोषो न स्वाह्नौ संयुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङी तु ऊर्ध्वत्पुद्गलम् । सुपां सुलुभिति हेतुं । निषेधसामर्थ्याश्चयनसाम् । परे व्योमन् ॥ वयुत्तरपरे प्रविषेधो वक्तव्यः \* ॥ चर्मणि लिङ्गा भस्व चर्म-  
ल्लिङ्ग । ब्रह्मणि लिङ्गा भस्व ब्रह्मनिङ्गः । राजनौ । राजानः, राजानम् । राजनौ । भोजनौ । वयुत्तरम् । न  
प्राप्तिः स्थानियम् । पूर्वप्राप्तिश्च तन्निषेधात् । अपि बहिर्गुणवाङ्मयः । यथारेवमेव पार्थ परिचर्या  
मिति वयुत्तरमसिद्धत्वात्तद्व्याप्तिर्भावेन परिचर्याया अपहृतेः । जमोर्हा । राजः । राजा ।

352. (But such इ) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debar the elision of इ, which otherwise would have taken place by the sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. The examples of non-elision of इ, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the इ is not elided; as हे राजन्, हे सधन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of इ, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication ( Jāpaka ), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using हुम्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

*Var:*—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpuruṣa, the न् is elided: as, चर्मणि तिला मस्य = चर्म तिलः, अङ्गणि निष्वात्मस्य = अङ्ग निष्ठः ॥

The Nom: Dual and Pl: are राज्ञो; राज्ञः ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम्; राजानौ ।

The Acc: Pl. is thus formed:—राजन् + सत्. Here राजन् gets the designation of *śha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231. and therefore the न् of राजन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. and the न् is changed to म् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. The elision of न् is not *Sthānivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sūtra VII. 2. 1. S. 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being *bahiranga*. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Prabhāshās* may be viewed in Pāṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देशवत् and the other is कार्यकालवत्. The former i. e. यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषय means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught;" and the latter, i. e. कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषय means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of न् into म् being *asiddha* in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S. 38, there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhāsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than *bahiranga*" finds no scope for application. Therefore न् and म् combining form झ. Thus we get the Acc. Pl. राज्ञः Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly वस्ने व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + हि = व्योमन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no *pratyaya-lakshana* (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the designation of ष (लुक्लिङ्गान्तषदे) because it has no लुक् after it, so the rule न् षे (VIII. 2. 7. S. 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sūtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sūtra is made, indicates that the rule नं लुगतादृश्य is not *mīṭha*, and so, there will be *pratyalakshana*. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes ष, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sūtra.

Although न् संज्ञा excludes and debars षसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc. pl. Thus राजन् + सत् = राज्ञ + O + न् + सत् (अङ्गोपोऽन्) Here the zero will be *sthānivat* (by अच्: परस्मिन् I. 1. 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed ■ झ: and so we could not get

the form रातः ॥ But the *lopa* rule is not *sthānivat*, because of the *vārtika* पूर्वसिद्धे च स्थानिवत् (See *Maṭābhāṣya* I. 1. 58 and *Siddhānta* VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the *lopa* rule is *Bahiranga*, because it takes place on account of the affix *सु* which is out side; and the change of *र* into *सु* is inside it, or *antaranga*; and therefore the *lopa* will be *asiddha* with regard to *सुसु*, then we reply that there is no relation of *Antaranga* and *Bahiranga* here. The *Paribhāṣā* अस्मिन् बहिरङ्गे &c. is derived from the *Jāpaka* of बाह कङ् (VI. 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth *Adhyāya* and consequently does not see the *सुसु* *vidhi* of the VIIIth *Adhyāya* (VIII. 4. 41 S. 111.) by the *sūtra* पूर्वसिद्धे, and therefore there will be no *antaranga* *Bhāva*. This proceeds on the view of *प्यादेश* *Pakṣa*.

३५३ । अलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुन्विषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुप्तिषो स्वरपिषो संज्ञातुन्विषो कृतिरुन्विषा च अलोपप्रसिद्धं मान्यम् । राज्ञश्च इत्यादौ । इत्य-  
सिद्धत्वात्तदपेक्षेनैव न । राज्ञश्चाप् । राज्ञिः । राज्ञे । राज्ञ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञो । राज्ञात् । राज्ञि ।  
राज्ञानि । इति सौमनीति प्रतियोगा । इति विधाने । इति विधानः । अस्य भविष्येऽपेक्षेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final *र* (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment *सु* before a *Kṛit*-affix.

The word *विधि* in the *sūtra* applies to all the four words preceding it : as *सुप्तिषि*, *स्वरपिषि* &c. The force of the Genitive compound in *स्वरपिषि*, *संज्ञा-विषि*, *सुप्तिषि* is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when *र* is to be added to it, ( *आवधारण* ) ॥ The compound *सुप्तिषि* means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows ( *कर्मसाधन* ) ॥

( 1 ) *सुप्तिषि*—As *राज्ञिः*, *राज्ञ्यः* ॥ Here the elision of *र* of *राज्ञ* and *राज्ञ्य* being *asiddha*, the *सिद्ध* is not changed to *इत्* by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also *राज्ञ्यात्*, *राज्ञ्यो*, *राज्ञ्य*, *राज्ञ्य* ॥ Here the finals of *राज्ञ* and *राज्ञ्य* are not lengthened before *भ्यां* by *सुप्तिष* ( VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to *र* before *सु* by ( VII. 4. 103 S. 205 ) : as in *राज्ञ्यो* and *राज्ञ्य* of the stem ending in *ञ* ॥

The elision of *र* taught by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236. would be *asiddha* by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is *asiddha* shows that it is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. That is, the elision of *र* is considered *asiddha* only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not *asiddha* in *राज्ञ्यो* ( *राज्ञ* + *स्य* + *भ्यां* = *राज्ञ* + *य* + *भ्यां* = *राज्ञ्यो* III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4. 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the क्लीब been asiddha. So also राजावते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298.) and राजाश्च there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

355. The **अ** in **अन्** is not elided when the Bha stem ends in **चन्** or **मन्** with a consonant preceding **च** or **म** ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: यज्वनः ॥ Instr: Sing and dual यज्वना, यज्वभ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणो, ब्रह्मानः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणो, ब्रह्मणः; Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभिः ॥

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of **वृषहन्** ॥ In its declension the following rule applies:—

३५६ । इन् हन् पूषार्थे णां सौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शापयोपधाया शीर्षो नान्द्वयः । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix **सि** (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in **इन्**, or **हन्**, or **पूषन्** or **अर्यमन्** and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sūtra.

३५७ । सौ ष । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इमादीनाहपधाया शीर्षः स्वार्थसंज्ञसौ सौ षे । वृषह । हे वृषहन् । एकाद्वयत्वे इति जलम् । वृषहणौ । वृषहणः । वृषहणम् । वृषहणो ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in **इन्**, **हन्**, **पूषन्** or **अर्यमन्** are lengthened before the affix **सु** of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृषह, ॥ The **ह** is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृषहन् ॥

The **अ** is changed to **वृ** by VIII. 4. 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D. वृषहणौ; N. Pl: वृषहणा, Acc: Sg. and Dual: वृषहणम् and वृषहणौ respectively.

In Acc: Pl: the **अ** of **हन्** is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the **ह** is changed to guttural by the following Sūtra.

३५८ । द्वौ हन्तेर्जिज्ञोषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भिति गिति च प्रत्यये षकारे ष परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुलं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the **ह** in **हन्** before an affix having an indicative **ञ्**, or **ष्** and before **न्** ॥

The next Sūtra इति सप्तमस्य is divided by the author into two parts, *Viz*, first, इति and then इति सप्तमस्य ॥

३५६ । हन्तेः । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थानिनितात्परस्य हन्तेःस्य णत्वं स्यात् । महन्त्यान् ॥

359. The न्, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As महन्त्यान् ॥ This requires the न् of हन् to be changed to ण् । But to this the second half of the above Sūtra makes an exception.

३५९ क । अस्पृश्यस्य । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरस्पृश्यस्य नस्य णत्वं नान्यत्वं । प्रहन्ति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिवि मयति प्रतिषेधो वेति न्यायं याधेत्वा एकाहन्तरपरे इति णत्वमपि निषर्धेते । नकारे परे कृत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादत्रापि न स्थापितम् । वृक्षज्ञः । वृक्षज्ञा इत्यादि । असु वृक्षज्ञ इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं तज्ज्ञान्यवार्तिकविरुद्धम् । एवं चार्हन् वृक्षस्त्रिप्रत्ययम् । अस्पृष्टिनिनि विष्णुस्येव इत्येवमर्थकत्वेऽपि हन्तृमित्रव्यवहारेण मयत्वं मयत्वेव । अग्निनस्त्रिप्रत्ययान्यर्थयता आनर्थक्येन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोज्यमस्तीति वचनात् । अर्थमणि । अर्थमणि । पूरिण पूरयति ।

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form ह्र or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रहन्तिः ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sūtra into two by the maxim योगविभागाद्विस्तारः १. ६. "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

*Paribhāṣā* :—"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sūtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307. ordaining णत्वं also ceases. The elision of न् is not sthānivat because otherwise the ह् will never be followed by न् and so there will be no scope for Sūtra VII. 3. 54. S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृक्षज्ञः. Instr. Sing. : वृक्षज्ञा &c.

But the optional form वृक्षज्ञः with a cerebral ण instead of dental न्, according to the opinion of Mādhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. The न् is never changed to ण.

The nouns चार्हन्, वृक्षज्ञन्, अर्थमन्, पूरन् are similarly declined.

वृक्षज्ञन् is formed with the affix ज्ञिन् and not हन्. The हन् portion in वृक्षज्ञन् has no meaning ; and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357. should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhāṣā*,

*Paribhāṣā*:—"Whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc: Sing of अर्चयन् is अर्चयिष् or अर्चयामि ॥

Loc: Sing of पूषन् is पूषिष् or पूषामि ॥

Now, we take up the declension of मयवन्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मयवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मयवत्त्वस्य वा तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्यात् । क इत् ॥

360. तु is diversely substituted for the final of मयवन् ॥

क of तु is इत्. And thus we get मयवत्.

Here applies the next Sūtra, showing the force of this indicative क्.

३६१ । उगिद्वां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

मपासीरुगितो नन्वेपिनोऽधत्तेषु गुणानाम् स्वात्सर्वनामस्थाने षरे । उपधादीर्घः । मयवात् । इति रूपं कर्तव्यं संयोगान्तलोपस्थासिद्धत्वं न भवति बहुलमहनात् । तथा च भन्तुस्तत्रिति निपातनामपशब्दमनुपायं भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रयेत्तत् त्वत्वं वत्ययथातयाकरे । इति श्रुतिरिति निःशङ्को नक्षेपु मयवानसां शिति भङ्गः । मयवन्तो । मयवन्तः । हे मयवन् । मयवन्तम् । मयवन्तौ । मयवतः । मयवता । मयवत्त्व्यादि-स्यादि । वृत्ताभावे मयवाः । छन्दसीदनिवौ चाति यमिबन्तौ नन्वोक्तं छन्दस्येव, अन्तोक्तं तु लोकेऽपी-ति विशेषः । मयवानौ । मयवानः । इति तजवत् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicative उ, क् and लृ (with the exception of a root), and the stem मच्, (मञ्चति) get the augment लृम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom: Sing. is मयवात्. The penultimate व् is lengthened by VI. 4. 14. S. 425. The affix लृ is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the त is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54.

The form being मयवन्, \* the elision of व् takes place by the Tripiḍi rule संयोगान्तस्य शेषः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pāṇini (i.e. VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The व् of वन् therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्यन् &c, where also the elision of व् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मयवन्? Because of the word बहुलं in the last Sūtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360.



In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्धेण खसाचनञः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

ममा रहितस्यावर्धन्तस्वाङ्गस्य तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्याज्ज तु सौ । उगित्त्वात्तुम् । अर्धन्तो । अर्धन्तः ।  
न्तम् । अर्धन्तो । अर्धन्तः । अर्धन्ता । अर्धन्तुभ्यामित्यादि । अनञ्जः कित् । अनर्वा ; यञ्चयत् ॥

364. ह् (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्धन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative article.

The real substitute is न्, the ह् is for the sake of making this anix an न्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have तुम् augment VII. 1 70. 361. Thus अर्धन्तो, अर्धन्तः, अर्धन्तम्, अर्धन्तौ, अर्धन्तः, अर्धन्ता, अर्धन्तुभ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe री (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यञ्चयत् ॥

In the declension of पयित्, नयित् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पयिमय्युभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे । आ आगच्छति प्रत्ययेण शुद्धाया एव स्यात्तेर्विधानामानुशासकः ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pa-in' 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending ह् ( of the Nom. Sg. )

Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (i. e. 50. 39) but to be pronounced plain for the आत् of the sūtra is really आ + आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal औ ॥

The Inst : Sg. and Dual of मधवन् are मधोना, मधवभ्यां &c. Similar is the declension of ध्वन् ॥ Thus ध्वनः ( Acc. Pl. ), ध्वना ( Instr : S. ); ध्वनाम् ( Instr: Dual ) &c.

Now we take up the declension of ध्रुवन् ॥

ध्रुवन् + वस् = ध्रु + व + व् + वस् ॥ Here the व of ध्रु would also require to be vocalised. But this is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे षष्ठः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणे न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्यम् । अतः एव ज्ञापकादन्तस्य यणः पूर्व संप्रसारणम् । ध्रुवः । ध्रुवा । ध्रुवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्थाः । हे अर्चन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So व् of ध्रुवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is ध्रुवः ; Instr : Sg. and Dual are ध्रुवा, ध्रुवभ्याम् and so on.

Note :—Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semivowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found preceding a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñāpaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word ध्रुवन्, the व् being changed to व, the व is not changed as ध्रुवा ॥ It might be objected that when व् of ध्रु, and व् the samprasārga of व् coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long व् for the two व's and this is sthānivat to the original, the व् and र् of ध्रुवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58 S. 51). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्चन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्चा, Its Voc :

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्धेण खसावनजः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

मग्ना रक्षितः स्यात्पुनस्तस्याङ्गस्य तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्थानं तु सौ । तृगिस्थान्मुः । अर्वात्तो । अर्वात्तः ।

अर्चन्तम् । अर्चन्तो । अर्चतः । अर्चता । अर्चद्भ्यामित्यादि । अनञः क्तिम् । अनर्थाः यञश्च ॥

364. **क्व** (which is changed to **न्व** in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अवेन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is क्, the क् is for the sake of making this affix an ङणिक्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have सुङ्ग augment VII. 1 70. S. 361. Thus अर्बन्तौ, अर्बन्तः, अर्बन्तम्, अर्बन्तौ, अर्बन्तः, अर्बन्तम्, अर्बन्तौ, अर्बन्तः, अर्बन्तम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe **अनर्था** (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of **यत्तन्** ॥

In the declension of पयिन्, मयिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पश्चिमव्युत्क्रममात्र । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

एवमाकारोऽन्तर्निहाः स्यात्सी परे। आ नाहिति प्रक्षेत्रेण मुद्राया एव व्यक्तेरिधामाज्ञामनासेकः ।।

365. अत् (अ) is substituted for the final of 'pa-  
thin' 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending तु (of  
the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i. e. ण), yet the substitute णा is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I. 1. 50. 39) but to be pronounced purely for the णात् of the sūtra is really णा + णात्, indicating that pure णा is to be taken and not the nasal णं ॥

३६६ । इतोऽसर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पञ्चाशैरिक्तास्स्याऽङ्कारः स्यात्सर्वव्यामस्थाने परे H

366. ■ is substituted for the ॠ of 'pathin, mathin and rbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note:—Though the anuvṛitti of अत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9.S. 3541. by which in the case of अमुखिन् we have two forms, अमखणम् and अमखणम् ॥

३६७ । धीन्यः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

अधिमयोऽस्थस्य स्थविशः स्वात् सर्वानामस्याने श्रे । पन्थाः । पन्थानौ । पन्थागतः । पन्थानम् ।  
पन्थानौ ॥

367. *य्* is substituted for the *य्* of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

३६८ । मस्य षेल्लोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भस्त्रकस्य पथ्यविटेल्लोपः स्वत् । पथः । पथा । पथिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्थाः । कमुथाः । छिदां नान्तरक्षणं ङीप् भत्वाङ्लोपः । सुपथी । सुपथी नंगरी । अनृमुत्ती सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुपन्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिषेधात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ संजुष्टौ नपुंसकानां नगोपे वा वाच्यः \* ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । मतोपः सुपथेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वास्तव्यं सुपथी न । द्विरपथे भत्वाङ्लोपः । सुपथी । श्री सर्वनामस्यापस्वान् सुपन्थानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्थानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and rbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or य (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, नथः, मथा, मथे, कमुथा, कमुथा, कमुथे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन् + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sātra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनृमुत्ती सेना.

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85. S. 365. because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1. 43. S. 319) and therefore the affix लु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263. Thus सुपथि वनम्, Thus सुपथिन् + ह = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing. of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following *Vārtika* :—

*Vārtika* :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not gunated (as it is gunated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asiddha in the case of case-endings.

In the Nom. Dual, the base being bha, the षि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix ची. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom. Pl. (चि) which is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix (I 1. 42. S. 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1. 86 and 87 S. 367 and 368. apply and so we get the form सुपन्थानि ॥

The Acc. forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी, सुपन्थानि ॥

The Instr : Sing : and Dual are सुपया, सुपयिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing : Is सुपये &c.

Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चन्. It is a षट् word by the following definition.

३६९ । ण्यस्ता षट् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

शान्ता नाम्ना च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षट्भ्यो षट् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रश्नः । पञ्चानि । शतानि सहस्रानि च संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्यानसंनिपातेन कृतस्य उमस्तद्-  
विधातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्धेवेति षट् ॥

369. The Sankhyās having ष or न् as their final are called *ṣaṭ*.

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus षट् पञ्च ॥ Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रश्नः and पञ्चानि ॥

Note :—This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group sankhyā. Those Sankhyās which end in ष or न् are called षट् ॥ The word sankhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word ण्यस्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न् are six, namely षट् 'five,' षट् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

The word षट् in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न् must be *anupadaśika* i. e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwords as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्रानि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न् is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided ; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom : Pl : of शत we have शत + चि Then we add तुम् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतन् + चि Here the word is a sankhyā and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this चि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim संनिपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of चि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्रानि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc : plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः, पञ्चानाम् respectively.

The augment न् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl: Then the following sūtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया हीनः स्यान्निति परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चानु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे ॥ न सुमुखी । म्रियपञ्चा । म्रियपञ्चानौ । म्रियपञ्चानः । म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् पञ्चन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55. S. 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम्. (न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चानु. Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N, Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen : Pl. is परमपञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लृक् of Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261. nor the जुद् augment of VII. 1. 55. S. 338. Thus म्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom : म्रियपञ्चा, म्रियपञ्चानौ, म्रियपञ्चानः ; Acc. म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and पञ्चन्. In the declension of सप्तन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्वाजलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाश्व औत् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनः परबोधश्चसोरीषं स्यात् । अष्टम् इति वक्तव्ये कृतास्वविदेशो अष्टमासौषिं कालं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेद्वनद्वयं जात्यम् । अष्टनौ हीनानिति सूत्रे हीनमद्वयं ज्ञापयत्वात् । अष्टौ परमाष्टौ । अष्टानि । अष्टान्धः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टास्तु । आत्मानि । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चपञ्च । गौणत्वात्मापेक्षजनकम् । अस्ति म्रियादौ । इह पूर्वत्वमिति विधाबलौपत्य स्थानियज्ञावात् हुत्वम् । कार्यकालपरिपूर्णासौषिं पस्यासिद्धत्वात् । म्रियादौ इत्यादि । अष्टासौषिं वृत्तमनयात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणत्वात् । तेन म्रियादौ इत्यादिव वैकल्पिकमात्रम् । म्रियादौ इत्यादि । म्रियादौ इति । म्रियादौ २ । म्रियादौ । म्रियादौ । राशमस्यै शस्त्राचारं इति ॥

मपमपः । अष्टपमपः । सुन् । सुद् । सुयौ । सुधः । सुधा । सुद्धिपम् । सुत्तु ॥

372. After the stem अष्ट (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84) औत् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्ट and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठति अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra ( अष्टम् : instead of अष्टान् ) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural ; and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jñāpaka of VI. 1. 172, S. 3718. where the word स्तुति indicates that there are two forms of अहन् ॥ This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sūtra VII. 1. 22, S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called वच् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अहपुनः, अहभार्यः ॥

**Notes :—**The use of दीर्घात् in sūtra VI. 1. 172, S. 3718 indicates that the word अहन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII. 2. 84, S. 371. thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अहन् would always end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अहान् with long आ ( VII. 2. 84 ) to get also the designation of वच् ॥ For if अहान् was not to be called a वच्, like अहन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अहान् while it would be debarred in the case of अहन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to वच् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows :—

अहौ, अहो, वत्साहौ, अहाभिः, अहाभ्यः, अहाभ्या, अहानाम्, अहासु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अहन्, that is when the base is not अहान् then we have अह, अह, इ. ए. अहन् is then declined like वङ्गवच् ॥

When अहन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like एअन् ॥ Thus the Acc. Pl. : शिष्यावः ॥ The व is not changed to ञ because the elided अ is considered as sthānivat, because of I. 1. 57, S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वत्वादिभिः ॥ And as here, because of the prior ( पूर्व ) letter ट, the subsequent letter न् requires to be changed to ञ, the elided अ becomes sthānivat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अहन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of ष्युत् ( VII. 4. 41, S. 113 ) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134 applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like वच् while the change of न् to ञ is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. शिष्याव्वा &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अहन् before अङ्ग and वच् (see above) is to take place then only when अहन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrīhi compound. As in the compound शिष्याहन् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अहन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of व in वियाएन् before क् and छ् ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As वियसहभ्यान् or वियाहभ्यां ॥

*Verse :—*This word **प्रियाहन्** resembles **एवन्** in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles **हाह**. Before consonantal cases, the base is **प्रियाह** ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in क्

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### Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in *g*.

Now we take up the declension of बुध्. It is formed by adding the affix विप् to the root बुध्. The व is changed to ब by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 then ब is changed to ध, optionally to ध्व, by अर्धस्योन्ते (VIII. 2. 39. S. 84). Thus N. S. is बुध् or बुध् Nom. D. बुधौ. N. P. बुधः Ins: S. बुधा. Ins: D. बुधभ्याः Loc. Pl. बुधवु.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in *g*.

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### Declension of Masculine nouns ending in ख #

Now we take up the declension of **युञ्**. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix **क्विप्** to the root **युञ्** by the following Sūtra.

३७३ । अष्टविन्दधृक्स्तग्दिगुणिगञ्जुयुजिकुश्चां च । ३ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यः कियं स्वात् । अत्राचारिकमपि किंपित्काभं निषातवात्प्रभते । निरुपपराशुभेः किम् ।  
प्रलापितौ ॥

373. The words कृत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent' कल्य 'a garland' दिक् 'a direction' and उणिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन्; and so also after the verbs भज् 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कृञ् 'to approach', the affix क्तिन् is employed.

The affix क्तिन् comes after the three roots धृ, मन्तु, and कृष्ण ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिन् to these verbs.

The affix **क्तिन्** comes after **लुप्तिन्** and **कृप्तिन्** when these are uncombined.

Note:—Otherwise in combination the affix would be क्त्वि (III. 2. 61. S. 2975). The difference between क्त्वि and क्त्वि is that the latter gives us the Nom. S. युक्; while the former will give us the N. S. युक् as in यययुक्. Of the affix क्त्वि, see also the note on page 10.

Of the affix **क्विन्** the **क्** and **न्** are indicative (**दन्**); the affix is really **क्वि** ॥ This is a **क्वन्** affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. **क्वन्** is defined in the following sūtra.



३७४ । कृतित्त् । ३ । १ । ६३ ॥

सन्निहिते भाव्यधिकारे विह्वलितः प्रत्ययः कृत्यंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sâtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तित् (tense-affixes), is called कृत ॥

The Kṛit affix वि is elided by the following sūtra.

३७५ । वेत्तृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वत्तृ लोपः स्यात् । कृतस्त्रिवेदि प्रातिपदिकत्वात्स्वावयः ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Notes:—The affix वि includes विवृ, विवृन्, विव् &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikṛta (I. 2. 41 S. 251), is elided. Thus प्रवृष्टा, भूवृष्टा (III. 2. 87 S. 2998). Here the affix विवृ is elided. So also वृत्तृक्, वेत्तृक् (III. 2. 58 S. 432). Here the affix विवृन् is elided. So also वर्धमाक्, पारमाक्, दुरीमाक् (III. 2. 60 S. 2976). Here the affix विव् is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprikṛta—an amx consisting of a single letter"? Observe वृषिः formed by the affix विवृ (वि being the real affix); so also जःकृदिः formed by विवृ, see Uṇādi Sâtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus विव् words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word कृत being a कृतञ्च word gets the designation of Prâtipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes ह्य &c. Thus N. S. कृत + ह्य ॥ At this stage comes the following sūtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने युञ् स्यादवभासे । युजोपः । संयोगान्नस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युञ् gets before the strong cases the augment व्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु + व् + अ + स्य = यु + व् + अ + O (the व् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = यु + व् + O (the अ being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युव् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

३७७ । क्तिन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

क्तिन्प्रत्ययो यस्याप्तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्प्रत्यये । नस्य कुत्वमनुनासिकी ङकारः । पुह् । नभापदान्तस्येति दुभोऽनुस्वारः परसवर्णः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कुत्वं न । पुञ्जो । पुञ्जः । पुञ्जम् । पुञ्जो । पुञ्जः । पुञ्जा । पुञ्ज्यामित्यादि । असमासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix क्तिन् under III. 2, 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पुह्य is understood here. The word क्तिन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As वृत्स्वक् (III. 2. 58), हत्स्वक्, मत्स्वक् ॥

The ह् being changed to guttural, we get ह् Thus पुह् becomes पुह् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the ह् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24 S. 123, and this anusvāra is changed to ऋ being the nasal letter belonging to च वर्गः. But the anusvāra as ordained by the subsequent Triṣṭupī rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123, is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvāra to be changed to guttural.

Thus पुञ्जो (N. D.), पुञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc. forms are पुञ्जम्, पुञ्जो, पुञ्जा; Instr. forms are पुञ्जा, पुञ्ज्याम् &c.

Why do we say असमासे in the sūtra VII. 1. 71. S. 376. Because in compounds like पुह्य, there is no पुह् augment. In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्यादङ्गली पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वम् । क्तिन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । पुह् । पुह्य । पुह्यो । पुह्यः । पुह्योऽपि धातुपाठ्यपठितकारविशिष्टत्वाच्चकारणं न त्विका निर्देशः । सेनेहम् । पुञ्ज्यते समापद्ये इति पुह् । पुञ्ज समापद्ये ऐवादिक् आत्मनेपदी । संयोगान्ततोपः । ह्यम् । लङ्गो । ह्यञ्जः । ह्यत्वादि । अथेति पत्वम् । अस्त्वन्त्वे । राट् । पङ् । यञो । यञः । राट् । राट् । एवं विश्वार । ऐवेद् । ऐवेजो । ऐवेजः । विश्वसृद् । विश्वसृद् । विश्वसजो । विश्वसृजः । इह सृजिष्योः कुत्वं नेति इति मक्षते । परिहृद् । पत्वविधौ समासाहपचान् दुष्माह् सीमावति कणादिरेवं मृक्षते । यस्तु एतद्धेजुभाह्नीति वित्तं कुल्येयम् । विश्वार्ह । विश्वम् । विश्वगन्धामित्यादि ॥ परी जज्ञे यः पदान्ते \* ॥ परावुपपदे प्रजः किम् एतादृशीर्षच पञ्चमविधये पत्वं च । पत्विज्य सर्वे जज्ञसीति पत्विज्य । पत्विजो । पत्विजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before *hal* letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ऋ to a guttural i. e. of क class. The कुरा ordained by VIII. 2. 62 S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sūtra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62 S. 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pāṇini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्; the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्तिन् under Sūtra VIII. 2. 62 S. 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sūtra अह् VIII. 2. 68. S. 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom. forms are सृजुक् or सृजुग्, सृजुजौ, सृजुजः ॥ In the Sūtra VII. I. 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजे; showing that that root of the Dhātupāṭha should be taken which ends in इ, *viz.* the root जुजि, योजे, the 7th root of the रुपादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root ईज्, लजायौ the 10th root of the रुपादि class and is Ātmanepadī. In the latter case, the form will be युज्.

Now we take up the declension of एज्. It is derived from एजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्तिन् ॥

The इ of एजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind एज् to which the augment सुप् is added by VII. 1. 58. S. 2262. Thus we get एज् + सुप् + इत्. Then इ is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. Thus we get एज्. In the N. S. the affix सुप् is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. Thus the N. S. remains as एज्. The N. Dual and Pl. are एज्यौ and एज्यः &c.

Now we take up the declension of एज्. By VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. the ए of एज् is changed to ए. Then the ए is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Then इ is changed to इ. Thus we get N. S. एज् or एज्. The N. D. and Pl. are एज्यौ, एज्यः ॥ Loc. Pl. is एज्यसु or एज्यसु. Similarly is declined विश्वज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेज्, देवेजा, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृज् or विश्वसृज्, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to एज् and एज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sūtra VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The N. S. of एजिज् is एजिज् ॥

The word विश्वज् given above is formed from that root ज्ञज् which belongs to कणादि subdivision of भ्रादि gaṇa, *i. e.* the root ज्ञज् 'to shine' भ्रादि 875. and not the root ज्ञज् number 20 of the भ्रादि where it is exhibited भ्राजि-योजि. This we do, because the root ज्ञज् is read along with root एज् in the कणादि subdivision; and as the VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. mentions एज् and ज्ञज् together, the ज्ञज् here should be taken as the ज्ञज् of the कणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other ज्ञज् which is shown along with एज्, ऐज् and ज्ञज्, (Dhātupāṭha भ्रादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this ज्ञज् there will be कृत् and not पठ्. Thus N. S. is विश्वज् or विश्वज्. Instr. D. विश्वज्भ्यां &c.

*Vartika.* When एज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्तिन् and the ए is lengthened and इ is changed to ए when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of एजिज् is एजिज् which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are एजिज्यौ and एजिज्यः, respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७६ । विश्वस्य वसुराजोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वराजस्य शीर्षः स्यादसौ रादृशमेव च परे । विश्वे वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । रादिति परान्तोप-  
सक्तार्थम् । चर्येयविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराद् । विश्वाराह् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराह्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राह् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वरावसुः, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राह् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राह् is taken in the Sūtra only as an illustration of its Padānta form. It does not mean that the form विश्वराह् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e.*, विश्वाराह् and विश्वराह्.

—XO—

Now, we take up the declension of स्यम्. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्योः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

परान्ते भक्ति च परे यः संयोगस्तत्तयोः सकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृद् । भृह् । सस्य द्युत्तरेण  
राः । सस्य रादृशेन राः । भृजौ । भृजः । प्राप्तिगित्यादिना क्तावपरेः यतोः क्तिप् । क्तिप्रन्तरावकुलम् ।  
प्राप्तिकृ । प्राप्तिष् । प्राप्तिमी । क्तिप्रः । रास्तस्येति नियमात् संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्ज् । ऊर्ज् । ऊर्जी ।  
ऊर्जः । त्वयाद्यर्थ परकृत्यं च ॥

380. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root सृज् we add the affix क्तिप् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the स् being elided by the present Sūtra, ऋ is changed into ॠ by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into ॡ or ॢ as in the case of राह् already shown above under VII. 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is सृज् or सृज्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This ण् is again changed to ॢ by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is सृजौ. N. Pl. is सृजः.

Now we take up the declension of कतिप्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the root कृ with the upapada (subsidiary term) क्तु in combination. (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The क्तिप् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is कतिप् or कतिप्. N. D. and Plural कतिभ्यः and कतिभ्यः ॥

Now we take up the declension of कर्तृ. By Sūtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 80. no consonant after इ is elided except ह. Therefore ह is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final ह would have been elided even after इ by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of ह after इ shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than ह following after इ will not be dropped. Thus कर्तृ from कर्तृ + त्विप् (III. 2. 177S. 3157), here ह is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to ण guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Thus N. S. is कर्तृ or कर्तृ. N. D. and Pl. are कर्तृ and कर्तृः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in इ.

There are no Masculine nouns ending in इ, इ or इ.

We take up now the declension of खट्. The इ of खट् is replaced by अ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base ख before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१ । तदोः सः साधनम्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

सदादिनां तकारकारणोऽनन्त्ययोः सः स्यात्सौ परे । खः । खी । ॥ । खम् । खौ । खान् । सः । सौ । मे । परमसः । परमसौ । परमेत । द्विषन्तानामित्येव । मेह । खम् । नभः प्रकाशोऽणोऽणान्ध्यादिति वाच्यम्, अतिस्वमिति शीले परित्यागंस्नातुम् ॥ संज्ञायां गोपत्ये चात्सत्ये न । खम् । खदी । खवः । अतिखट् । अतिखरी । अतिखट् । सः । सौ । ये । एवः । एवौ । एते । अन्नादिषु द्वु, एवम् । एवौ । एवाव । एवेन । एनयोः २ ॥

381. For the non-final इ and इ of खट् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular.

As खट् + ह = ख + अ + ह (VII. 2. 102) = ख + अ + ह (VII. 2. 106) = खः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तट्, एवः from एतट् as एतट् + ह = एत + अ + ह (VII. 2. 102) = एत + अ + ह (VII. 2. 106) = एवः (VI. 1. 97). So असौ from अखट् by the sūtra VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे स, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to खट् words, which as we have already shown, begin with खट् and end with हि in the list of sarvanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to खम् which is not included in the खट् class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the इ of सः, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching सः substitution in the place of इट् by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sūtra could have been made as खादी सो instead of खादीस for it would have been better to say at once let खम् be

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वत्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७६ । विश्वस्य वसुरात्रोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वराष्ट्रस्य सूर्यः स्वाहासौ राष्ट्रपते च परे । विश्वं यस्तु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राक्षसि पशान्तोप-  
सृज्यार्थम् । चर्येदमपि वासिष्ठम् । विश्वाराष्ट्रं । विश्वाराहं । विश्वराजो । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराह्याविनादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before घञ् and राट् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वायुः, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The षद् is taken in the Sûtra only as an illustration of its Padânta form. It does not mean that the form विद्वाषद् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e.* विद्वाषद् and विद्वाषद्.

Now, we take up the declension of भ्रूय. In its declension the following rule applies,

३८० । स्फोटः संयोगाघोरन्ते च । ८ । २ । ३६ ॥

पदान्ते माति य पर यः संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोर्व्येयः स्थान् । भृद् । भृज् । सस्य इत्येतेन  
 दाः । सस्य गदस्थेन जः । भृजोः । भृजः । भ्रातिगित्यादिषा कृताद्युपपत्तेः यमोः किम् । कित्प्रत्ययाङ्कुत्सम् ।  
 कतिरङ् । कतिपय् । कान्तिभौ । कतिपयः । रास्यस्थेति नियमान् संयोगान्तव्येयः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग । ऊर्मि ।  
 ऊर्मः । तदाद्यस्य पररूपस्य य ॥

380. The स् or ष्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root *सृ* we add the affix *सिप्* and the *॥* is vocalised into *ऋ* by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the *॥* being elided by the present Sūtra, *ऋ* is changed into *ॡ* by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into *ॢ* or *ॣ* as in the case of *सृ* already shown above under VII. 2. 30, S. 378. Thus N. S. is *सृॢ* or *सृॣ*.

In forming N. Dual, the  $\mathfrak{r}$  is changed to  $\mathfrak{r}$  by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This  $\mathfrak{r}$  is again changed to  $\mathfrak{r}$  by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is  $\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}$ . N. Pl. is  $\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{r}$ .

Now we take up the declension of कृतिम्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix कृत् to the root कृ with the upapada (subsidiary term) कृत् in combination (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The कृत् formed word is finally changed to कृत्तु by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is कृत्तिः or कृत्तिम्, N. D. and Plural कृत्तव्यम् and कृत्तव्यः n



the N. S. of सुप्, instead of first making it स्वप् and then changing the form into स्वे ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of स्वे substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अस्विस्वप्, where स्वप् is a secondary member only. In the case of स्वप् the present rule would have applied. When these words इ. & स्वप् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjñās ( संज्ञा ) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अस्व VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and स्वप् VII. 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanāmas, for see explanation under sūtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus स्वप्, स्वप्, स्वप्; अस्विस्वप्, अस्विस्वप् &c.

The pronoun अहम् is declined as अहं, मे, मे ॥ एवम् is declined ॥ एवम्, एवम्, एवम् ॥

In re-employment or अन्वये for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351. we have Acc. forms एवम्, एवम्, एवम्; Instr. Sg. एवम्; Genitive and Loc. : Dual एवम् ॥

—:—

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । हे प्रथमयोरेव । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

एवम् एवम् एवम् परस्मै हे इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोर्भावादेवः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The हे the ending of the Dative ॥ exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, हेः) प्रथमयोः means] of the first and second cases. Thus युष्मद् + हे = तुभ्यद् + हे (VII. 2. 96) = तुभ्य + हे (VII. 2. 90) = तुभ्य + अम् VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly अस्मद् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

इत्यधिक्यम् ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 9 ॥ take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sūtras in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī.

३८४ । त्वाद्दी सौ । ७ । २ । ३४ ॥

युष्मदामोर्यन्तस्य एव वाह इत्येतावदयोः सः सौ रे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular एव is substituted for युष्म and एव for अस्म ॥



३८५। शेषे लोपः। ७। २। ६० ॥

आन्वयस्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मत्स्महोरन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो युगे ॥ अग्नि पूर्वः ॥ स्वम् । अहम् । ननु स्वं स्त्री अहं स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अहं अम् इति स्थिते अग्नि पूर्व रूपं परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरित्वादाप् प्राप्नोति । सत्यम् । अतिलङ्गे युष्मत्स्मसी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावाद् दाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्यानि-मोऽधिकरणवदिवक्षया ॥ तेन मर्त्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्व लोपः । स च पतोऽभ्यन्तरेण अतो युगे कृते मर्त्यते । अदन्तत्वाभावाद् दाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + इ = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = स्वद् (VII. 2. 94. S. 384) + अम् = स्व + अम् (इ is elided by the present sūtra) = स्वम् (by VI. I. 97. S. 191. and VI. I. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not दाप् added in the feminine in 'स्वम् स्त्री' 'अहम् स्त्री' for स्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pūrvārūpa rule ordained by VI. I. 97. S. 191 and VI. I. 107. S. 194. though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining दाप् to be added to स्व and अह?

True. But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix दाप्

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or इ portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the previous sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that remains (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti, or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthāni* which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म and अस्म portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sūtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (i. e. where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor य as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. I. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मद् + अम् = स्व + अम् + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विभक्तिष्वेध then अम् should be elided first by शेषे लोपः then should apply the rule of अतो युगे if at all. Then the form will be स्व + अम् ॥ Here स्व ends with स्, and so would require यप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

again recurs. To clear up this point, we state that the rule of elision (शेष लोपः) is bahiranga, because its efficient cause lies outside in the affix अम् while the अतो गुणे rule is antaranga, because the occasion for its application or the efficient cause is *within* the very form स्व+अम्. Therefore अतो गुणं will apply first, we get स्वत्+अम्. Then अम् produces its effect *i. e.* अत् is elided, and we get स्व+अम् ॥ As there is no अ in स्व, it would not require दाप् ॥ Thus we get स्वम् ॥ the feminine also.

So also परमस्वम्, परमाहम्, अक्षिस्वम् and अस्वहम्. In forming the N. Dual, the following rules apply.

३८६। युवायौ द्विवचने । ७ । २ । ९२ ॥

इयोक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्नपर्यन्तस्य युवायौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

386. युच् is substituted for युष्म and अय् for अस्म, when the bases themselves denote duality.

३८७। प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने मायायाम् । ७ । २ । ८८ ॥

युष्मदस्मदीयकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । लौडीलेव द्विवचम् । मायायां किम् । युयं वक्ष्यामि । युवायम् । मायायम् । नपर्यन्तस्य किम् । साक्यकस्य मा भूत् । युयकायम् । आवकायम् । सदा मदेत्यम् एषा मयैति मा भूत् । युवकायामायकायामेति च न सिद्धयेत् ॥

387. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the spoken language.

As युवाय्, मायाय् ॥ It would have been better had the Sûtra been enunciated as "लौडि" only. Why in the "spoken language"? Observe युयं वक्ष्यामि वक्ष्यामि वीक्षता वक्ष्यामि in the Veda, so also आवयम् ॥

Why 'upto ह्'? Observe युवकाय्, आवकाय् ॥ The क् (V. 3. 71 S. 2026), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 S. 389. teaches that ए and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by the sôtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383. 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus एषा, वषा the एह् portion remains for which म् is substituted by VII. 2. 89. S. 392. Had the whole been replaced, then the ए of ए and म् would have been replaced by च (VII. 2. 89 S. 392), and given us undesired forms like एच and मच ॥ Similarly the forms युवकायाम् and आवकायाम् would not have been evolved.

In forming the N. Pl. the following rule applies.

३८८। यूययौ जाति । ७ । २ । ९३ ॥

यूयम् । यूयम् । ययम् । परमययम् । परमययम् । अक्षिपयम् । अक्षिपयम् । १६ वेदे लोपोऽन्त्यलोप इति वक्ष्यते । अयं योः ययम् । अह्कार्ये कृते युवयोर्ह्कार्यमिति च भवति । ई-प्रथमयोऽप्येव मकारान्तरं माभ्याम् अयं अन्ता द्वावीदृश्यते ननु (वर्तमान इति ध्यातव्यामाह ॥

388. In the Nom. Pl. युष्मद् is substituted for युष्म, and वयम् for अस्म ॥

Thus वृक्षम्, वयम्, परमयुष्मद्, परमवयम्, अविशुद्धम्, अतिशुद्धम् ॥

Now some one may object that अस् (Nom. Pl.) should be changed into वी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214); after इ in युष्मद् has been elided by शेषे लोपः in the first sense; for then the base is युष्म which ends in म् which is the efficient cause for the application of अस्: वी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity:—

*Maxim* :—If one sūtra of the Angādihikāra (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4. end) has once been applied, another sūtra of the same Adhikāra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore अस् is not replaced by वी. Or we may say that in the sūtra के प्रथमयोगम् (VII. 1. 28 S. 382) one more म् is understood, i. e. the sūtra is के प्रथमयोगम्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८६ । त्वमाद्येकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकवचनौ युष्मदस्मदोर्नपुंसकस्य त्वनौ स्तौ विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्मद् and म् for अस्म when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३८७ । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्याद् । त्वाद् । माद् । युवाद् । ज्ञावाद् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाद्, माद्, युवाद्, ज्ञावाद् ॥

३९१ । वसौ न । ७ । १ । ९६ ॥

नैवविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्मै वसौ नकारः स्याद् । वसौशब्दाः । अदिः परस्मै । लयोगा-  
न्नास्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the म् of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मद् + अस् = युष्म + अस् = युष्मा + न् (the इ is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and न् is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial म् of अस् on the maxim अदिः परस्मै I. 1. 54 S. 44. because the operation is ordained after युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३६२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्द्व्यकारादेशः स्वाद्वनोद्वेज्जासौ परतः । लया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus लया, मया, लयि, मयि, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोराकारः स्वाद्वनोद्वेज्जासौ विभक्तौ । युष्माभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33. S. 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभिः, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमहौ ऊयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्द्वयनन्तस्य तुभ्यमहौ सौ हयि । अमतेषाः । वेदे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मयाम् । परमह्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मया for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for ऊ by VII. 1. 28. S. 382, the ह् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मयाम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यसोऽभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा अदेशः स्वात् । भाषाः वेदे लोपस्तान्त्वलीपस्य एव । सप्तह्रस्वतपरिभाषया ह्रस्वे न । अभ्यम् तु पञ्चह्रस्वस्य साधुः । युष्मभ्याम् । अस्मभ्याम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asnad.'

As तुभ्यम् and अस्मभ्याम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final ह् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their ह् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases,

as ( 1 ) yushma + bhyam, ( 2 ) yushm + bhyam, ( 3 ) yushma + abhyam, ( 4 ) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मभ्यम् by VII. 3. 103. S. 205. This इ substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिं निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (य + म = ऋ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta म् of yushmā being elided by the anudātta ऋ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta ऋ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1. 159 S. 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We shall show in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां षष्पन्त्येकवचनस्य अस्मात् । एत् । यत् । ङसेवेति सुवचम् । युष्माभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As एत् and यत् ॥ For the substitution of ए and य see VII. 2. 97 ; S. 389. and ए and य + अत् = एत् and यत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेद्वय.'

Abl. Dual युष्माभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । षष्ठ्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां षष्पन्त्या षष्ठ्याऽन्त्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative ष्यत्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The इ is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 before the case ending ष्यत् and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

३९८ । त्वममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । ९६ ॥

जनयोर्मप्यन्तरस्य त्वममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥



at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment इ, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment इ; the present Sūtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make आ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97, S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that आकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rūpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of आकम् would find its scope in preventing इ substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103 S. 205).

Why has Pāṇini used the form साम् and not सान्? The objector may say there was no necessity of using सान् for the following reason:—युष्मद् + आम् as the base युष्मद् ends in a consonant, the sūtra आदि सर्वनामः इद् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of इ by द्वे लोपः, (VII. 2. 90, S. 385) the इद् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that अ, Pāṇini has stated साम् आकम् ॥

But when the sūtra द्वे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting इ in the Present sūtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sūtra सर्वनामः इद् is prevented.

—:0:—

*Verses*:—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also ए and इद् will be substituted for युष्मद् and अ and अद् for अस्मद् ॥ ( 1 )

But when they are followed by क्त ( Nom. S. ) क्त ( Nom. Pl. ), के ( Dat. S. ), क्त ( Gen. S. ), then युष्मद् will be replaced by ए, इद्, इम् and अद् and अस्मद् by अद्, इद्, मद् and मम् ॥ ( 2 )

Now these supersede इद्, and अद् by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching ए and अद् substitutions. While ए and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व विप्रतिषेध ॥ ( 3 )

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then इद्, अद्, ए and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here. ( 4 )

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### I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अतिसम् and अत्यद् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus : एतौ अति सान् = अतिसम्, अतौ अतिसान् = अतिसम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति-अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitīyā Tatpuruṣa compounds : and consequently they get Prātipadika samjñā and सु in the Nom. S. Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies : and we have अतिसत्त्वं and अत्यद्वयम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom. Dual.) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (हिं प्रथमयोः रश्च VII. 1. 28 S. 382). Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अतिसत्त्वं + अम् = अतिसत्त्वं. So also अतिद्वयम् ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + जत् ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतिद्वय + अम् = अतिद्वयम् ॥ So also अतिद्वयम् ॥

Then in Acc. Sing and Dual we have अतिसत्त्वं and अतिद्वयम् by the first verse. In Acc. Pl. we have अतिसत्त्वं and अतिद्वयम् by the same.

The Ins. forms are derived by applying the first verse : as अतिसत्त्वं, अतिसत्त्वाभ्याम्, अतिसत्त्वाभिः &c. In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply, and thus we get अतिद्वयम् and अतिद्वयम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply. as अतिसत्त्वं ( S ), अतिसत्त्वं ( D. ) अतिसत्त्वाभ्याम् ( Pl. )

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply, and so we get अतिद्वय and अतिद्वयम् ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

## II. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL.

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिप्रथमाः दुर्वा and अतिप्रथमाः अस्माद्, then :—

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतिसत्त्वं + अम् = अतिसत्त्वं and so also अत्यद्वयम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom. Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतिद्वयम् and अत्यद्वयम् ॥ In the Nom. Pl. the second verse will apply, and we have अतिद्वयम् and अतिद्वयम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc. the first verse will apply. as अतिद्वयम्, and अतिद्वयम्, and अत्यद्वयम् and अत्यद्वयम् ॥ In the plural we have अतिद्वयम् and अत्यद्वयम् ॥

In the Ins. numbers the first verse will apply : and we have अतिद्वयम् अतिद्वयम् and अतिद्वयम् ; and अत्यद्वयम्, अत्यद्वयम् and अत्यद्वयम् ॥



In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply and we have अतिसुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse : as अतिसुभ्याम् and अतिसुभ्यम् and अतिमह्याम् and अतिमह्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies : as अतिसुवत्, अतिसुवत्, and अतिसुवभ्यम् and अतिवत्, अतिवत् and अतिवभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first : and we have ; अतिवत्, अतिसुवयोः अतिसुवकम् ॥ So also अतिमत्, अतिमयोः and अतिमकम् ॥

In the Loc. Sing. Dual and Pl. the first verse will apply and so we get :—अतिसुवधि, अतिसुवयोः, अतिसुवसु ॥ So also अतिवधि, अतिवयोः and अतिवसु ॥

### III. युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural.

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural : as अतिक्रान्तः युष्माक् or अस्माक् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मत् and अति-अस्मद् will be declined as follow :—

|          | Nom.                      | Acc.                      | Ins.                              | Dat.                       | Abl.                  | Gen.                        | Loc.                   |
|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| Singular | अतिवत्<br>अत्यम्          | अतियुष्मात्<br>अत्यस्मात् | अतियुष्मथा<br>अत्यस्मथा           | अतिसुभ्यम्<br>अतिमह्यम्    | अतिसुवत्<br>अत्यस्मत् | अतिवत्<br>अतिमत्            | अतिसुवधि<br>अत्यस्माधि |
| Dual     | अतियुष्मात्<br>अत्यस्मात् | "                         | अतियुष्माभ्याम्<br>अत्यस्माभ्याम् | "                          | "                     | अतिसुवयोः<br>अत्यस्मयोः     | "                      |
| Plural   | अतियुष्मम्<br>अतिवभ्यम्   | अतियुष्मात्<br>अत्यस्मात् | अतियुष्माभिः<br>अत्यस्माभिः       | अतिसुभ्यम्<br>अत्यस्मभ्यम् | अतिसुवत्<br>अत्यस्मत् | अतियुष्माकम्<br>अत्यस्माकम् | अतिसुवसु<br>अत्यस्मासु |

४०१ । पदस्य । ८ । १ । १६ ॥

401. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase "of a word," or "to the whole of a word."

Note :—This is an adbhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55, in order of enunciation of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī.

४०२ । पदात् । ८ । १ । १७ ॥

402. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada."

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । ८ । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदोः पृष्ठीचतुर्थोद्वितीयास्थयोर्वानौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्तचोरपदादौ स्थितयोरनयोः पष्ठ्याविधिशिष्टयोर्वानादित्वादेवौ स्तः । ते चातुशसौ ॥

404. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudātta.

All the three sūtras वदस्य, पदान् and अतुशसं सर्वमपाससी are applicable here.

Note :—These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वसूनसौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयोः पष्ठ्याविधिवचनान्तयोर्वसूनसौ स्तः । वानादौरववाः ॥

405. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वसून् and नसून् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudātta)

This Sūtra debars the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sūtra.

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयोः पृष्ठीचतुर्थेकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः ॥

406. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudātta).

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एतौ स्तः ।

श्रीरास्त्वाम् अतु शमीद दत्ताने मेऽपि शर्म सः । त्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरिः । अतु त्वामावे नौ विभुः ॥१॥

तुल्यं त्वं नौ ददास्वीधः पतिर्वामेपि नौ हरिः । तौ अत्वास्तौ नः शिषे वो नौ दद्यास्तेष्वोऽप यः स नः ॥ २ ॥

पदात्तचोरः किम् । वाक्यदौ मा भूत् । त्वां पातु । मां पातु । अपाससी किम् । वेदेदोपैः संवेयोऽस्यानृपः । त्वेदोपैः ।

अथपदगाथाः । यथागुणविक्रिययोरेव । नेह । इति गुणस्तुषोऽप्यसि । इत्यम्भस्तुषोऽप्यसि ॥

तथागवाधमे निषातगुणदम्भद्वये । वक्तव्याः \* ॥ एकमिदं वाक्यम् । तेनेदं न । शीद नं पप सप भविष्यति । इह तु त्वादयः । शान्दीनां मे शीदने दम्भवर्तिनः ॥

एवं त्वामावाच्य त्वादौ च वक्तव्याः \* ॥ अन्वयेऽपि तु निशं ह्युः । पाता ते भवन्ति ॥ ३ ॥ पाता एव भवन्ति ॥ ४ ॥ त्वाम् ते वम इति ॥

407. For the Accusative Singular of *yushmad* and *asmad* are substituted *त्वा* and *मा* respectively, under the same circumstances.

*Verses*.—"May the Lord of *Śrī* preserve thee (*tvā*) and me (*mā*) also here—may He give to thee (*te*), and to me (*me*) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (*te*) Lord and mine (*me*) also.

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (*vām*) and also us two (*nau*)

May God give felicity to you two (*vām*) and to us two (*nau*).

Hari is the Lord of you two (*vām*) and also of us two (*nau*)

May He preserve you (*vaḥ*) and us (*naḥ*), may He give prosperity to you (*vaḥ*) and to us (*naḥ*)

He is the object of worship here of you (*vaḥ*) and of us (*naḥ*). "

Why do we say "वद्वाह" *i. e.* after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence. As *ह्ये वाहु* and not *ह्ये वातु*. Similarly *नां वातु* also.

Why do we say "अवाहति" *i. e.* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe *देवेक्षयेः संवेद्योऽस्मान्मह्यः सर्ववातु* || Here we have *अस्माद्* and not *वद्वाह* ||

The word *स्य* in the *sūtra* indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: *इति वृष्णमुच्यते*: though here *yushmat* is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet *स्य* substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

*Vart*.—The rules relating to *nighāta* (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII. 1. 19 and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of *yushmad* and *asmad* apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the *nighāta* or the substitution, is part of the same sentence, with the latter word. The word *वाक्य* or "sentence" means that which contains one finite verb. Therefore not here;—*भोजने वक्ष, हव भविष्यति* । *भोजने वक्ष, मम भविष्यति* ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food it will be for me." That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the *त्वे* and *मे* substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for *yushmad* and *asmad*. But the rule will apply here:—*भान्तिवां ते भोजनं शस्यामि* ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of *yushmad* and *asmad* are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim *समर्थः पदविधिः* (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

For दासीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओद्नं i. e. दासीनां ओद्नं ते दास्यमि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

*Vart*:—It should be stated, that the substitutes वा, नौ &c. are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not; but when there is anvādesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional. Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातातवभक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvādesa, we have only one form, as सर्वैते वदः ॥ Which means "Brahmā is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper." But in the sequel, "to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due," the form ते alone is admissible.

४०८ । न चवाद्वाद्देवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

प्राश्न्यन्वक्तव्ये तेने आदेशाः स्युः । हरित्वां नां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां नां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तमद्वयत्वाक्षरयोगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । इयं हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥

408. The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz :—च, 'and' वा, 'or' इ, 'oh ! अह 'wonderful', or एव 'only' .

Thus हरित्वां च नां च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां नां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms. Thus इते हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects इत and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word. Therefore the prohibition does not apply.

४०९ । वदयार्थज्ञानाद्योचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

वदयार्थज्ञानार्थानुविद्येने इति भाविता न स्युः । येतत्ता त्वां सवीर्यते । परम्परासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तवत्त रूपं प्रायति । दासीनां ते तु भक्तवत्ता वदयति चक्षुषा ॥

409. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of "seeing" when physical seeing is not denoted, but "knowing" is meant.

Thus चेतसा स्वांसगीधते, भक्तस्त्ववरुपं ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति यस्तुथा ॥

*Ishti*:— With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct: as. भक्तस्त्ववरुपं ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपुण्यात्पथनान्तात्पर्योत्तरयोस्त्वावेद्योऽप्येते भाविता वा ह्युः । भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरित्वां जायते त नाम् । स्वा मेति वा ॥

410. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvādōśa.

Thus भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिः स्वां जायते सगाम् ॥ Here the alternative forms स्वा and ना are admissible.

—————:0:—————

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pāda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आनङिस् which is defined in the next sūtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pāda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sūtra after next.

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तर्गामन्त्रितसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

411. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative.

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वप्रविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्वहृद् । अग्ने तव । देवास्तान्पाहि । अग्ने नव । अग्ने इह पश्य । इह युष्मदस्मदोरादेशस्ति कृष्णनिपात आनन्त्रितनिपातश्च न । सर्वेषां रक्षा देव न इत्यर्थे तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि नतः प्राचीनं स्त्री-लौकिकान्त्रितोक्तिः । एवम् इदं मे गच्छि वञ्चि इति कर्त्तव्यं यद्वत् इत्यादिभ्यः प्राचीनान्त्रितविधानवद्भावेऽपि नेशब्दमेवात्रितं सर्वेषां निपातः ॥

412. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, ( for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ) ॥

Thus अग्ने! तव ॥ देव! अस्ताम्पाहि ॥ अग्ने! नव ॥ अग्ने! इह! पश्य! ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्ने and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्ने नव the verb नव does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935.

In अग्र! इन्द्र! वरुण! the rule VIII. 1.19 S. 3654 does not apply.

*Note* :—Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent Vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19, S. 3654. As देवदत्त! यज्ञदत्त! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. S. 3658 (2) The accent-less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 S. 3935 is prevented: as, देवदत्त देवसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of वृष्णद् and वृष्णद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 S. 404 &c. is prevented, as देवदत्त वष (not वे) वामः स्वद्, देवदत्त वम (not वे) वामः स्वद् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37. S. 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb: as, वादद् देवदत्त वृषसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, S. 3954 though a Vocative may precede ज्ञातु, the latter is still considered as अविविचयानुवृत्ते and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त ज्ञातु वेपसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 46, S. 3950 वाहो देवदत्त वेपसि, उताहो देवदत्त वपसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50. S. 3957

In ' सर्वदा एत देव नः ' although the word देव is non-existent, yet taking एत as a preceding word नः is used.

In इम मे गच्छे यदुने सत्सवति सतुहि the first Vocative गच्छे is considered as non-existent with regard to यदुने, and, therefore, यदुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यदुने becomes anudatta, not because of गच्छे, but because of मे. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे न This nighāta or accentlessness is heard in Pāṭha-Pāṭha only, i. e. when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhita-reading. In Sanhita there will be eka-sruti of I. 2. 39 S. 3668.

४२३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिपकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विधेयं समानाधिपकरणे आधेयस्य परे आधिपत्यमवस्थानम् । हेर इत्यसौ नः वाहि । अग्ने तेजसिन् ॥

413. A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

Thus हेर इत्यसौ नः वाहि "O Hari! O Merciful! protect us" अग्ने तेजसिन् "O Agni! O powerful!" Here तेजसिन् is all anudatta by VIII. 1. 19 S. 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative.

*Note* :—Why do we say समानाधिपत्यम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonymous. Thus अग्ने देव! वि सत्सवति देव!

कौत्वे विद्महे एतानि ते अश्वन् नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1, 198). According to Pāṇini the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:—इडे रत्नेऽदिते सरस्वति मिय मेयसि महि विद्महे, एतानि ते अश्वन्वे नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus अग्ने दृष्टवने, सौम्यवक्त्रदिलकाभ्याम् ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पञ्चसि here the verb does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पञ्चदत्त यज्ञदत्त, here the word पञ्चदत्त qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Then applies Sūtra VIII. 1. 74. S. 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here.

४१३ (क) । विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यतीति । बहुवचनान्तं विशेष्ये समानाधिकरणे आत्मनिष्ठे विशेषणे परे अवशिष्टमात्रकः । द्रुपः प्रभवः । देवाः शरण्याः । द्रुपान् भजे वो भजे इति वा । इहान्वापैवोऽपि वैकल्पिका जदिताः । द्रुपाश् । द्रुपाद् । द्रुपादौ । द्रुपाः । द्रुपाश्च । द्रुपादौ ॥

413. A. When the preceding Vocative is in the plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

Here the author of the Mahābhāṣya states:—"The word *bahuvachanam* should be added to the sūtra to complete the sense." That is the sūtra should run as विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sūtra with this emendation of Pāṇini.

Thus द्रुपः प्रभवः, देवाः शरण्याः । द्रुपान् भजे or वो भजे ॥ Here even in anvādeśa there is optional substitution of वः for द्रुपान् ॥

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of द्रुपाद्. In the strong, i. e. in the first five cases it is declined as:—

|       | Sing.                 | Dual.     | Pl.     |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------|---------|
| Nom : | द्रुपाद् or द्रुपाद्, | द्रुपादौ  | द्रुपाः |
| Ac.   | द्रुपाश्च.            | द्रुपादौ. |         |

In the formation of the Acc: Pl. and the rest, the following rule applies,

४१४। पादः पत् । ६। ४। १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं दक्षु मे तद्वचस्य पाच्छब्दस्य वक्षदेवः स्यात् । सुपदः । सुपदा । सुपादभ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्यमैत्वष्टिपत् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमयौ । अग्निमयः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । कृत्स्नमित्यादिसुबेणाञ्चैः सुत्वरपे क्षिप् ।

414. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

*Note*—The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिष्टमनर्हत्वादेना भवन्ति “substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule.” ॥

Thus the Acc. Pl. is सुपद्ः ॥ Instr. Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपदभ्याम् &c.



Now we take up the declension of अग्निवत् meaning ‘kindling fire.’ It is declined as.

|                | Sing.                 | Dual.    | Pl.      |
|----------------|-----------------------|----------|----------|
| Nom.           | अग्निवत्, or अग्निमद् | अग्निमथौ | अग्निमयः |
| Instr. Dual is | अग्निमद्वृत्तम् &c.   |          |          |

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in व्



Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in व्.

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्.

According to Sūtra III. 2. 59. S. 373, the affix क्तिच् is employed after the verb वञ्च् to make it a Prātipadika, before the case terminations.

Thus, having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply.

४१५। अभिदितां ह्य उपधायाः किति । ६। ४। २४ ॥

एतन्नागार्त्तनिर्दिष्टानामुपधाया मय्य शेषः स्यात्किति किति च । अगिश्चामिति वृत् । संयोः प्राञ्चस्य शेषः । वृत्तौ नक्तस्य क्तिन्त्यत्यस्य वृत्तगति कुरेति कुरेति चकारः । प्राङ् । अनुन्दात्परत्तर्णौ । प्राङ् । प्राङ् । प्राङ् । प्राङ् । ॥

415. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by च्,—this च् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the च् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or क् follows.

By Sūtra VII. 1. 70. S. 361, the stem अच् gets the augment वृत् in the strong cases



Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54, the last consonant is dropped. By VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. which says that 'a stem formed with the affix वियन् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N. S. as ग्राह् thus:—ग्राह् + सु = ग्राच् (VI. 4. 24 S. 415) + सु = ग्रा + च् (VII. 1. 70. S. 361). + च् + सु = ग्राच् + सु + O (सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). = ग्राच् = ग्राच् (च् being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54) = ग्राह् (च् turned to ह् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).

The N. Dual &c. are formed by changing the ह् into anuswāra, and then the anuswāra into ञ् by VIII. 4. 58. S. 124.

Thus ग्राचौ, ग्राञ्; Acc. ग्राचम्, ग्राचौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. &c. the following rules apply.

४१६ । अचः । ६ । ४ । १३८ ॥

ह्रस्वकारस्याद्धन्तर्भस्वकारस्य लोपः स्वात् ॥

416. the अ of अच् (when अच् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138 : S 417.

४१७ । औ । ६ । ३ । १३८ ॥

ह्रस्वकारात्कारिण्यलोपौ वृद्धत्वात् और्ध्वः स्वात् । प्राचा । प्राचा । शम्भान्मिरादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यङ्चौ । प्रत्यङ्चम् । प्रत्यङ्चौ । अच इति लोपस्य विधेयत्वात्प्राचौ इति न मर्त्यते । अकृतव्युहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचा । प्रतीचा । अकृतव्युहा इति विधेः । अच् अच् इति स्थिते ॥

417. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अच्, when it assumes the form च्, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्राचः ; Instr : Sing or Dual are प्राचा, शम्भान् &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यङ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined ॥ प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यङ्चौ, प्रत्यङ्चम् ॥ प्रत्यङ्चम्, प्रत्यङ्चौ, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S 416. and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्युहा &c. See under Sūtra I. 3. 11 S. 46. Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतीचः, Instr : Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c. प्रति + अच् + शच् = प्रति + अच् + अच् ॥ Here two sūtras simultaneously appear for application, viz. इकोव्यञ्जि and अच् ॥ Now इकोव्यञ्जि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच् is inside that of शच्; and the efficient cause शच् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside; therefore शच् ādeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + शच् = प्रत्यङ् + अच् + शच् ॥ After this अ should be elided : as प्रत्यङ् + च् + शच् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्युहा

&c. the अन्तरङ्ग यञ् substitution is set aside. Now, we take up the declension of अञ्च् as compounded with the pronoun अद्म् meaning अमुम् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अद्म् + अञ्च् + क्तिम् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

४१८ । विष्पदेवयोश्च टेरघृञ्चनौ चप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अनयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च टेरघृदेशः स्यादप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चनौ परे । ण्विद्दि अञ्च् इति स्थिति यण् ॥

418. In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्पक् and देव, is substituted अञ्चि, when अञ्च् has no visible affix following it.

Thus अद्म् + अञ्च् = अददि + अञ्च् = अदश्च + अञ्च. At this stage, applies the following sūtra.

४१९ अदसोऽस्तेर्दादु दो मः । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽस्तस्य दापस्य उदो स्तो इत्य च मः । उ इति द्विवचनयोः समाहारश्चन्द्रः । भान्तरत्न्याचस्यञ्जगयोर्ह्रस्वो दीर्घस्य दीर्घः । अमुमुवद् । अमुमुवञ्चयी । अमुमुवञ्चयः । अमुमुवञ्चयम् । अदुमुवञ्चयी । अदुमुवञ्चयः । अदुमुवञ्चयः । अमुमुवञ्चयानिवादि । पुत्रवस्थानिदस्वाद्य यण् । अन्त्यवा धेऽन्त्यवदशब्देनि परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्मैव सुप्तं वदतां मते अदुमुवद् । अः सेः लकारस्य स्थाने यस्य सः बाधिरिति व्याख्यानात् । एकाग्रव्यतिष्य एव सुप्ते गान्धेति पक्षे अदुवद् । वक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽस्तेर्मुवद् सुप्तं कोप्यिच्छन्ति लस्यत् ॥ केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेरवकेऽतेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥ विष्पदेवयोः क्तिम् । अश्वाची । अचनी क्तिम् । विष्पद्युक् । वप्रत्यये यिम् । विष्पद्यञ्चनम् । दम्प्रत्ययमहर्ण लापयति, अन्त्यश्च धातुमहर्णे लशादिति धितिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कारः । अम् । कृत्मीति स् । उवद् । उञ्चयी । उञ्चयः । उञ्चयानिवादि ॥

419. When the pronoun अद्म् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म for स् ॥

The short उ in the sūtra is a samāhāra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ. By the rule of antartama 1. 1. 50 S. 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ; and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ. Thus अदम् + अञ्च् = अमुमुवद् + अञ्च् i. e. the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ, and the second द् and उ are also changed to म् and उ; so the declension is,

|       | Nom.        | Acc.         | Inp.              |
|-------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Sing. | अमुमुवद्    | अमुमुवञ्चयम् | अमुमुवञ्चये       |
| Dual. | अमुमुवञ्चयी | अमुमुवञ्चयी  | अमुमुवञ्चयान् &c. |
| Pl.   | अमुमुवञ्चयः | अमुमुवञ्चयः  | &c.               |

The द् being considered as aiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुवञ्चयः or

in अद्भुतं च, for the Sandhi rule इकोयणचि is contained in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini, while this ह substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyāyī. Hence the Sūtra VIII. 2. 1. S. 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अद्भुतम् ॥

*Paribhāṣit* :—“When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final.” The second class apply this maxim and make ह change only for ह which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अद्भुतम् which is obtained by explaining the अस्ते in the Sūtra as अः सेर्वस्य सोऽयमस्ति, यच्च सकारस्य अकारः कियते ॥ “The word अस्ति in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स” ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद्भुतम् derived by changing the ह into अ by VII. 2. 102. and not to any other अद्भुतम् ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sūtra :—

(1) the ह of अद्भुतं, and ह of अद्भि are both changed to ह by the present sūtra; (2), the first ह is not changed, but only ह; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्भुतम् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्भुतं, अद्भुतम् ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुतम्, अद्भुतं, अद्भुतम् ॥ (3) Lastly अद्भुतम्, अद्भुतं, अद्भुतम् ॥ The above verse summarises this :

*Verse* :—Some ordain that ह should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ह (in चलीकृत्यस्ते see sūtra VIII. 2. 18 and VII. 4. 90 S. 2644) others would have ह only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for ह); while a third class would have no where, because they explain अस्ते of the sūtra by confining it to VII. 2. 102.”

*Note* :—Thus दिव्यमस्ति=दिव्यम्, This form is thus evolved. अच् + दिव्यम् = अच् + 0 = अच् + दुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant अच्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the दिव्य affix (VIII. 2. 62), a. i. च् is changed to ह् and we have अद्भुतम् which with दिव्यम् gives the above form. देवम्, तद्म्, यद्म् ॥ अद्भि and सद्भि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (ni pātana) in order to prevent the kṛit-accent. and when ह is changed into य् the following vowel becomes avarita (VII. 2. 4).

*Note* :—Why do we say of दिव्यम् and देव ? Observe अश्वादी = अश्वमेषसि, the feminine दीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 Vārt. The अ of अश्व is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्व is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why ‘when अश्व follows’ ? Observe दिव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ‘when the affix ह follows’ ? Observe दिव्यमेषम् ॥ The ह is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अद्भुतम् (अचकारादयस्ते) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word चपलये or अचपलये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had *अप्रत्यये* not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when *अन्* followed, but when *अन्* ending in *हृत्* also followed. The maxim *धातुग्रहणं सर्वादि विधिरित्यन्ते* is illustrated in *अवस्कृते* and *अवस्कृताः*; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that *visarga* is changed into *सु* when *कृ* follows. There the *कृ* denotes not only the root *कृ* but a word derived from *कृ*, therefore which begins with *कृ* such as *कात्* and *कृतः*. Therefore the rule applies to forms like *अवस्कृन्* which is followed merely by the verb *कृ*; as well as to forms like *अवस्कृताः*.

Now we take up the declension of *उद्*. It is declined in the Nominative as *उद्* (S), *उद्भौ* (Dual), *उद्भा* (Pl).

Before the weak cases the following rule applies :—

४२० । उद् ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उत्पद्यस्वस्व लुप्तनकारस्योपसंभवाकारस्व ईत्कृत् । उदीचः । उदीचा । उद्भ्यामित्यादि ।

420. Long *ī* is substituted for the *अ* of that ( *अश्च* ) where the nasal is elided after the word *उद्*, when the stem is *Bha*.

As *उदीचः*, *उदीचा*, *उद्भ्याम्* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *सम्भ्व्* ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२१ । समः समि । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सदस्यान्तेऽप्यनौ परे । सम्यद् । सम्भ्वौ । सम्भ्वः । समीचः । समीचा ॥

421. *समि* is substituted for *सम्भ्व*, before this *अश्च* when no visible affix follows.

Thus *सम्यक्*, *सम्यद्*, *सम्भ्वौ*, *सम्भ्वः* ॥

Ac : Pl :— *समीचः* ; Inst : Sing *समीचा* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *सद्+अच्* ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२२ । सदस्य सभिः । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

सदस्यान्तेऽनौ परे । सध्वद् ॥

422. *सभिः* is the substitute of *सद्*, before *अच्* followed by no visible affix.

Thus *सध्वद्*, *सध्वौ*, *सध्वः*; and *समीचः*, *समीचा* ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

Now, we take up the declension of *विद्यच्* ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२३ । तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

अनुस्वारोऽनुचतौ वयस्यन्ति परे तिरसस्तिर्यदिहः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यङ्चौ । तिर्यचः । तिर्यचम् । तिर्यचोः । तिर्यचः । तिर्यचः । तिर्यच्यमित्यादि ॥

423. तिरि is substituted for तिरस before this अङ् when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अङ् is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यचोः, तिर्यचः ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरसा, तिर्ये ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अङ्गदे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

Now, we take up the declension of अ+अङ् when अङ् means 'to honor'. There are two roots (अङ्), both belong to the Bhvādi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move'. The declension of 'अङ्' meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above. But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule :-

४२४ । नाञ्चः पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्याचमेरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अनुस्वारकारत्वाच्च पुष् । प्राङ् । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चः । मञ्जीषामावादाकारलोपो न । प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चा । प्राङ्-आय । प्राङ्-आय । प्राङ्-आय । एवं पूजार्थे मध्यह्निके । कृष्णक्रीडित्यादिनामयोः । अयम् कश्चिदमादिना मञ्जीषामावादाय विषयस्ते । कङ् । कृञ्चौ । कृञ्चः । कृङ्-आयमित्यादि ॥ यौः कृः ॥ पयोपुङ् । पयोपुङ् । पयोपुङ्चौ । पयोपुङ्चः । अथानि पावय । लोपोऽपि सलोपः । मन्त्रचरत्वे । सुहृद् । सुहृद् । सुहृञ्चौ । सुहृञ्चः । सुहृञ्चु । सुहृञ्चु ॥ वर्तमाने पुष्पमहर्हृङ्-मच्छद्वयम् ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते अन्त्यधिया कार्यं स्यात् । उपरिवाग्युष् । सामन्महत् इति ईर्षः । महनि पूजयेते इति महान् । महन्तो । महन्तेः । हे महय । महयः । महता । महत्यामित्यादि ॥

424. The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'.

And as the nasal is not elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415 there is no पुष् augment. Thus.

|            |          |          |          |
|------------|----------|----------|----------|
|            | Singular | Dual     | Plural   |
| Nominative | प्राङ्   | प्राञ्चौ | प्राञ्चः |

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI. 4. 138. S. 416. Thus the weak forms are ँः Pl: प्राञ्चः ॥ Inst: Sing and dual are प्राञ्चा, प्राङ्-आयम् ॥ Loc. Plural is प्राङ्-आय or प्राङ्-आय ॥

Similar is the declension of अङ्च when 'अङ्' means 'to honor'. Thus Acc: Plu: is अङ्चः and not अञ्चः ॥ Similarly the Acc: Plural of अङ्-अङ्च is अङ्गुञ्चः and not अङ्गुञ्चः ॥

Similarly the Acc: plural of उदञ्च is उदञ्चः and not उञ्चः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of कृष्. This word, as already mentioned in sūtra III. 2. 59 S. 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root कृष् meaning "to curve or make crooked" or "to be or become small". Thus it is declined :—

| Sing.                       | Dual. | Pl.  |
|-----------------------------|-------|------|
| Nom. कृष्                   | कृषौ  | कृषः |
| Instr: Dual is कृष्याम् &c. |       |      |

Now, we take up the declension of पयोद्वय. In Nom: Sing. the य् is changed to the guttural, by Sūtra VIII. 2. 30 S. 378. It is declined as follows :—

| Sing.                   | Dual.    | Pl.          |
|-------------------------|----------|--------------|
| Nom. पयोद्वय or पयोद्वय | पयोद्वयौ | पयोद्वयः &c. |

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृक्ष. It is thus formed :—सु + ब्रह् + क्तिन् in the sense of सुवृक्षमिति meaning 'that which cuts well'. The र् being vocalised by VI. 1. 16 S. 2412, it becomes सु + बृक्ष + O. By VIII. 2. 36 S. 294, the य् is changed to र्. By VIII. 2. 29. S. 380, the initial सु is elided.\* Thus we get सु + बृक्ष. The र् is changed to क् and finally to र् by VIII. 2. 39 S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56 S. 206. Thus its declension is as follows :—

| Sing.                                   | Dual.    | Pl.      |
|-----------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| Nom: सुवृक्ष or सुवृक्ष                 | सुवृक्षौ | सुवृक्षः |
| The Loc. Pl. is सुवृक्षम् or सुवृक्षम्. |          |          |

\* Note:—This would be true in the view that the original root was ब्रह् with a dental र् which becomes र् by स्युमादयु VIII. 4. 40 S. 111. This र् substitution is asiddha for VIII. 2, 29.

#### *Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in क्.*

Now, we take up the declension of मरु. This word is formed by the Upādi affix क्तिन् (Upādi sūtra II. 84) which means that the words मृक्, वृक्, मरु and अमरु are irregularly formed with the affix क्तिन् with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by क्तिन् affix. Since मरु is to be treated as if it was formed by the क्तिन् affix, therefore, the rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 would cause the insertion of क्तिन् and the sūtra VI. 4. 10. S. 317 would cause the lengthening of क्. Thus.

|        | Sing.       | Dual.             | Pl.     |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|---------|
| Nom.   | महान्       | महान्तौ           | महान्तः |
| Voc.   | हे महान्    | "                 | "       |
| Acc.   | महान्तम्    | "                 | महान्तः |
| Instr. | महता<br>&c. | महद्भ्याम्<br>&c. | महद्भिः |

—10—

Now we take up the declension of धीमन्. It is formed with the affix मन्तृ.

In its declension, the following rule applies:—

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वसन्तस्योऽधाया धीयः स्यान्नाहुमित्रातन्तस्य चासंबुद्धौ सौ परे । परं तिस्र्यं च धुने वाधित्वा यचमत्तामध्यादासौ धीयः ततो हुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्तः । हे धीमन् । अत्तावी महद्भ्यम् । धातोर्व्यत्यस्तस्य धीयः । गोमन्तमिच्छति गोमनिवाचसीति वा स्वयन्तः (स्वयारक्षित्वन्ताद्वा कर्त्तरि क्तिच् । ङीत्-व्यामिति सन्नेऽशमहर्षं नियमार्थम् । धातोश्चेदुपित्कार्यं तद्व्यत्यस्तोर्वेति । तेन सत् षत् इत्यादौ न । अधा-होरिति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वत्वाय हुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्तः । इत्यादि । धातेर्ङतुः । अवान् । अवान्तौ । अवान्तः । शब्दन्तस्य स्वत्यन्तत्वाभावात्त धीयः । भवतीति भवन् ।

425. In the Nominative Singular ( with the exception of the Vocative Singular ) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant ( अस् ) does not belong to a root.

The हुम् ( ह् ) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. This is because of the force of this sūtra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subsequent and *nitya* sūtra ( VII. 1. 70 S. 361 ) ordaining हुम्, yet is not so. Thus its declension is

|            | Singular | dual    | Plural  |
|------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Nominative | धीमान्   | धीमन्तौ | धीमन्तः |
| Vocative   | हे धीमन् |         |         |

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महन्.

Note :—अस् :—as सुपदान्, सुयधान्, सुश्रोतः &c. Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhātu' ? Observe पिच्छमः where सू belongs to the root अस् ( पिच्छं प्रसृते ), so also चर्मवः ( चर्मं वस्ते ) &c. The अस् having no significance as an affix &c. is also included here on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by 1, 1. 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning." (अनिनस्यन् ग्रहानि अर्यवत्ता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अन्त whether when first enunciated ( उपदेश ), such as इवन्त, क्वन्तु &c. or which assumes the form अन्त in grammatical inflection, such as वृत्तुप्, which in upadesa ends in वृत्तुप्, but becomes-अन्तु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गौन्, हे सुपदः this rule not applying there.

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अघातोः in this sūtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus चोषन्तनिष्कृति = चोषन्तसि "He wishes to have cows." The affix वच् is added to चोषन् in forming the derivative root by III. 1. 8. or III. 1. 10. with the force of "wishing" or "behaving." The root is चोषन्. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sūtra. Now चोषन् + वच् = चोषन् (च is dropped by VI. 4. 48, and व् by VI. 4. 50). "One wishing to have cows." Here चोषन् ends with अन् (which was part of the original affix वच् added to चो) and here we will have lengthening as well as वृत् ॥

The वृत् will be added for the following reason :—

In the sūtra उगित्वा VII. 1. 70. S. 361 the root अञ्चु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root अञ्चु only, and not to any other root having an ngit. Thus in अञ्चु and अञ्च there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अञ्चु would take वृत् under that sūtra. The specific mention of अघातोः in that sūtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pāṇini has mentioned अघातोः in that sūtra, indicates that by अघातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have चोषन् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows."

Now we take up the declension of वच् not derived from च्, but fr अ meaning 'to shine'. ( see Upādi sūtra I. 63 ) with the affix इवन्तु ॥ Thus वा + इवन्तु = वच् ( the वा is elided by VI. 4. 143 and I. 4. 18 because the affix has an indicatory इ ). It is declined as

|            | Singular | Dual | Plural     |
|------------|----------|------|------------|
| Nominative | वच्      | वचौ  | वचन्तः &c. |

But when it is derived from the root च् with the affix इवन्तु, as it does not then end with the affix अन्त, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case, the Nominative Singular is वच्.

Now, we take up the declension of वच् formed from the root च् with the affix वृत् ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically



called *अभ्यस्त* as defined below, and because it is *अभ्यस्त*, it does not get the augment *नञ्*, for the *sūtra* after next prohibits it.

४२६ । उमे अङ्ग्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

वागदित्त्वमकरणे ये द्वे विशिष्टे ते चमे समुचिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः ॥

426. Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, the two which are directed, both are collectively called *Abhyasta*.

४२७ । माध्यस्ताच्छतः । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्ततात्परस्य शतवर्त्तुम् न स्यात् । वस्तु । वस्तु । दक्षिण । वस्तुः ॥

427. The Participial-affix **यत्** (अत्-मन्त्), does not take the augment **तुम्** after a reduplicate stem.

Thus: सवत्, सवत्सौ, सवत्तः ॥

Note.—This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to *anvānāsthāna* or strong cases. The *यु* is to be read into this *sūtra* from VII. 1. 70; for the negation of this *sūtra* cannot apply to *ङ* taught in the preceding *sūtra*, for *ङ* is never ordained after *सत्रि*: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet *यु* is to be read here.

Now, we take up the declension of अक्षत्, formed with the affix क्त added to the root अक्ष. Its declension is governed by the following Sūtra :—

४२८ । अक्षित्वाद्यः पद । ६ । १ । ३ ॥

एषः प्रातः। इत्येवमिति च सप्तमः एतेऽवस्तसंज्ञाः स्तुः । जघन् । जघन् । अशतौ । अशतौ ।  
एषः जघन् । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ ।  
अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ । अशतौ ।

428. So also the six roots, with *jakshi* itself as the seventh, are called *abhyasta*.

*Note* :—The word *abhyasta* is understood here. The verb *jakāhi* and the six verbs that follow it in the *Dhātupāṭha*, in all seven verbs, get this designation: These are *अभ, आम्, शिप्ति, श्वाप्, शाप्, दीधी* and *वेरी* ॥ (Pāṇini has overlooked *वेरी* and mentions only the first six.) By getting the designation of *Abhyasta*, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like *कृत्* ॥

Thus नयन् or जयन् ( N. S ) जयती ( N. Dual ) ; जयन्ति ( N. Plural ) . Similar is the declension of ज्ञायन्, वसिष्ठन्, शासन्, पकायन् ॥ वीथी and वेथी though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as वीथीङ् and वेथीङ् with an indicative इ and therefore, they ought to be ज्ञालवेथी by I. 3. 12. S. 2158, yet they are परस्मैपत्नी because of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as वीथ्यान् and वेथ्यान्.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in *a*.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ए**. Now we take up the declension of **सुप्** which is formed from the **सुपदि** root **सुप्** with the affix **क्विप्**. The **आम्** of the **सुपदि** class is optionally elided by III. 1. 31. S. 2305. It is declined as

Nom : **सुप्** or **सुक्**, **सुपौ**, **सुवः** ; Instr : Dual **सुभ्याम्** &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ए**.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **अ**.

Now, we take up the declension of **साहृ** formed according to the following Sūtra:—

४२६ । स्वदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

स्वदादिषुपदेष्वज्ञानार्थाद् दृशेर्भातोः कम् स्थापाद् क्विप् ॥

429. The affix **कञ्** as well as **क्विप्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **स्वद्** &c. which precede it, and when it does not signify perception.

Note :—The force of 'च' is that the **क्विप्** also comes under similar circumstances, **स्वद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see L. 1. 27. Thus **स्याहृ** ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

सर्वनाम् आकारोऽन्तोविद्यः स्याद्दृश्यदृशवत्सु । कुल्यस्यासिद्धत्वाद्बोति यः । तस्य जडत्वेन उः । तस्य कुल्येन यः । तस्य चत्वेन पश्चे कः । साहृक् । साहृ । साहरी । साहृषः । पस्यापवादस्याङ्कुल्येन अकार इति केयवः । दृशत्वादिनन्ते तु चत्वाभावापत्तेः स एव शुभवे बहु यः । जन्त्ये प्रति कुल्यस्यासिद्धत्वाद् । विगादिभ्यो यदिति निर्देशात्सिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । प्रथेति पत्यम् । जडत्वचत्वे । विद् । विह । विद्यौ । विद्या । विद्याम् ॥

430. **आ** is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1. 1. 27) before these words **दृक्**, **दृश्** and the affix **अवतु** ॥

Thus **सद्+वृत्+क्विप्=ता** (by the present sūtra)+**दृश्+क्विप्=ता+दृक्** (the **त** is changed to **कृ** by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377). This **क्** is not perceived (नासिद्ध) for the purposes of **वृ** change by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. Thus we have **साहृ=ताहृ** (VII. 2. 39. S. 84.)=**साहृक्** (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).=**साहृक्** [optionally by VIII. 4. 56 S. 206].

Thus Nom. forms are **साहृक्** or **साहृ**, **साहरी**, **साहृषः**—According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c. the form would be **साहृक्** but never **साहृ**, in the alternative when it is not **साहृक्**. Because they apply the **कुल्य** rule as an *apavāda* to **पत्य** rule and by **कुल्य** they get **ख** in the place of **त** (See Padamanjari p. 953): and, **क्** will never become **वृ** by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84; because **ख** obtained by **क्विप्** प्रत्ययस्य **कुः** VIII. 2. 62. is asiddha or not perceived by the **जडत्व** rule



432. The affix **किन्** comes after the verb **स्पृश्** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **उदक** 'water'.

Thus **घृतं स्पृशति** = **घृतस्पृश्**, Nominative Singular **घृतस्पृक्** he who touches clarified butter.' **स्पृश् + किन् + घृ = स्पृश् + णि + ०** (VI. 1. 68) = **स्पृकु + ०** (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 1. 62).

Nominative Dual and Plural are **घृतस्पृक्षौ**, **घृतस्पृक्षः** respectively.

—:0:—

In the sūtra **किन्मल्यस्य** कु, VIII. 2. 62, S. 377 if we take the compound **किन्मल्य** as a Bahuvrihi, meaning a root to which the affix **किन्** can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix **किन्** is added. Thus the root **स्पृश्** takes the affix **किन्** when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix **किन्**. This **किन्** will also produce the guttural change, because **स्पृश्** is a root which is *liable* to take the affix **किन्**. Thus **स्पृक्** &c. Here the **क्** is changed to **ङ** then to **ङ्**, then to **क्ष** and then optionally to **क्ष** as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **क्**

—:0:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **क्**.

Now, we take up the declension of **वधूक्**. It is formed from the root **विधू** 'to be impudent'. Thus **वधू + किन् = वधूक्** ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. (III. 2. 59. S. 373). The **क्** of **वधूक्** must be changed to **ङ** before gutturalisation. Then this **ङ** should be gutturalised to **क्ष** and then **क्ष** is optionally changed to **क्ष**. Thus **वधूक्** or **वधूङ्**, **वधूक्षौ**, **वधूक्षः** ॥ &c.

Now, we take up the declension of **स्वप्नुक्** meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

|      | Sing.                  | Dual.       | Pl.         |
|------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Nom. | स्वप्नुक् or स्वप्नुङ् | स्वप्नुक्षौ | स्वप्नुक्षः |

Now, we take up the declension of **वधू**. It is always plural. By Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261, the Nom. and Acc. Pl. terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom. Acc. Pl. are **वधू** or **वधू** ॥ Instr. Pl. **वधूभिः** ॥ Dat. and Abl. Pl. **वधूभ्यः** ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl. the augment **यु** is added by VII. 1. 55. S. 338. to the case-termination **वाक्**. Thus **वधू + वाक् = वधू + वाक्**. By the exception made in the Sūtra VIII. 4. 42. S. 114 the **क्** of **वाक्** is changed to **ङ**. Thus **वधू + वाक् = वधू + वाङ्** ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of **ङ** required by VIII. 4. 45 S. 116 is superseded



गोरक्षः । तक्षिरक्षिभ्यां ष्वन्ताभ्यां क्षिपि तु स्कोरिति न प्रवर्तते । गितोपस्य स्यान्निष्प्रभापात् । पूर्ववासिदीपि न स्थानिविति तु ॥ नास्ति । तस्य शेषः संयोगान्निष्प्रतयखर्येभ्यिति निवेद्यात् । तस्मात्संयोगान्तलोप एव । तक् । तश् । गोरक् । गोरश् । एकांरिति कनोपं प्रति कृत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् संयोगान्तलोपः । विपक् । विपग् । एवं विवक् । विवक् । विष गदो । सुहु पसकीति सुपी । सुपिसो । सुपिसः । सुपिसा । सुपीभ्याम् । सुपीःपु । सुपीःपु । एवं सुहु । हुक् खण्डने । विद्वाद् । विद्वांसो । विद्वांसः । इ विद्म् । विद्वांसम् । विद्वांसो ॥

434. The substitution of *प्* for *स्* takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment *क्* ( *हुम्* ), the visarjaniya or a sibilant occurs between the said *इण्* and *कु* letters or the *स्*.

Thus विपडिक् + सुप् = विपडीक् (the *इ* of *डि* is lengthened by the last sūtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I. 4. 17. S. 230) + पु = विपडीक् (the *स्* being changed to *प्* by the present sūtra) + पु = विपडीप्पु or विपडीः पु ॥

The *पर्व* takes place, when *हुम्* &c. intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here *किस्से*, 'thou kissest', *किस्स* 'kiss thou', from the root *किस्* 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, *हुम्* and *क्* ( III. 4. 91).

From the explanation in Mahābhāṣya in explaining *इयवरद्* we learn that the *हुप्* of this sūtra must be the anusvāra which replaces *हुम्* and not any other anusvāra. Therefore not in *सुहिन्* or *पुहु*. Here there is no *प्* change. Though anusvāra was included in the pratyāhara *क्* by the Vārtika *क्वृत्तं जडमावपसे* "the visarjaniya, anusvāra jīhvāmuliya and upadhamāntya should be included in the *क्* pratyāhara for the sake of *क्वृत्तं vidhi* and *क्वप् vidhi*"; yet the separate mention of *हुप्* in this sūtra indicates that that anusvāra is to be taken which results from *हुम्*.

Now, we take up the declension of *चिकीर्त्*: This is formed from the Desiderative root *चिकीर्त्* meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix *किर्*. This is thus formed:—*क्*+*क्* ॥ Here the augment *इ* is not added because of the sūtra VII. 2. 10 S. 2246 or VII. 2. 12. S. 2610; the affix *क्* is *किर्* by I. 2. 9. S. 2612 and therefore there is no *गुण* by I. 1. 5. S. 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 16. S. 2614. Then the *क्* is changed to *इ* by VII. 1. 100. S. 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 9. S. 2395.

Thus we get *किर् किर्* ॥ The first *र* is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179 and first *क्* changed to *प्* by VII. 4. 62. S. 2245. Thus we have *चिकिर्* ॥ Now, *चिकिर्* + *स* = *चिकिस्* ॥ Then the *क्* of *स* is elided by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308. Thus *चिकीर्त्* To this is added the N. S. case termination *सु* ॥ *चिकिस्* + *सु* ॥ The affix *सु* is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.

Then we have *चिकीर्त्* ॥ Now the final *क्* is elided by VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus we have *चिकिर्* ॥ The *इ* of *कि* is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76 S. 433. Thus we have *चिकीः* ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षो &c. is by अङ्गान् VI. 4. 16. S. 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix. We did not apply this sūtra, in Nominative S. because सन् was already dropped.

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीः, चिकीर्षो, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76, 77. S. 433. and 354.

The Loc: Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here र् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the र् of इ but it is a portion of the word itself (see sūtra VIII. 3. 16. S. 339.)

Now, we take up the declension of दोहः 'This is formed by the Upadi affix दोह् added to the root हृ (Upadi II. 69). The ह् of हृ is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory इ see VI. 4. 143 S. 316, though the base is not म. Thus दोहः ॥ Then ह् is changed to र्. But this change is asiddha for the purposes of इ and visarga change. Thus N. S. is दोहः ॥ N. Dual and Plural are दोहौ, दोहा respectively. In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, दोहन् or दोहः (Ac. Plural); दोहन् or दोहा (Inst: singular), for in these cases दोह् is replaced by दोहन् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Note:—the ह् portion of हृ is elided by VI. 4. 143. S. 316, and though the base before it is not म strictly speaking Sūtra VI. 4. 143. could not apply here, for that sūtra is confined to म bases only. But as the ह् of the affix दोह् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of हि portion of हृ by the analogy of VI. 4. 143.

Now, we take up the declension of विविहः. It is formed from the root विह् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विह्+सन् ॥ The augment इद् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII. 2. 10. S. 2246. The सन् affix is कित् by I. 2. 12. S. 2368 and therefore there is no guṇa. Thus विह्+सन्=विह् विह्+सन्=विविह्+सन् ॥ To this we add the affix कित् by which the ञ स is elided by VI. 4. 48. अवलोकोक् and we get the form विविह् ॥ Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. र् is elided and we get विविह् ॥ This ह् is changed to र् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 which again is changed to इ and then optionally to इ ॥ In other cases ह् is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41. S. 295; and स changed to ष VIII. 3. 57 S. 215. Thus N. forms are विविह् or विविह्, विविहो, विविहाः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of वस्त्र formed from the root वस् or वस्तु 'to fashion'. The क् is elided by VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. Thus the N. S. is वस् or वस्त्र formed under the same rules as विविह् or विविह्.

Nominative Dual and Plural are वस्तौ-वसाः

Similar is the declension of गोपत्र meaning 'one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोपत्र or गोपत्र, गोपत्रो गोपत्राः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots ( ण्यन्त ) तश्चि and रश्चि with the affix क्तिप्, then VIII. 2. 29. S. 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the चि which was elided by ये रश्चि ( VI. 4. 51. S. 2313 ) will be स्यानिषत् ॥ But will not the following Vārtika पूर्वधासिद्धीयेन स्यानिषत्; prevent the स्यानिषत्त्व ? "There is no stāni-vadbhāva in the last three chapters of Ashtādhyāyī."

To this we reply 'No'. Because of the following exception. Vārtika. The above Vārtika is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. (b) the rule relating to ङ change (c) the rule relating to ण्य change. S. 235.

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तशेषः i.e. the elision of the final क् and not of the initial क्. Thus the N. S. will be तृक् or तृक्; गौरक् or गौरक्.

Now we take up the declension of विषक् meaning 'desirous of cooking'. It is formed from the root पक् with the Desiderative affix क्त्. Thus we get पक् + क्त् + ण = पक्क्त्त = पक्क्. The क् of the initial क् is changed to इ by VII. 4. 79. S. 2317. Thus we have विषक् ॥

Its N. S. is विषक् or विषक्. The क् of विषक् is not elided, but the final क् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विषक् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root पक् 'to speak' and of विषक्, meaning 'desirous of burning', from the root बृक् to burn. The Nominative Singular being विषक् and विषक् respectively. Now, we take up the declension, of सुविक्: It is derived from the root विक्, 'to walk'; hence सुविक् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows:—

|            | Singular. | Dual.      | Plural.             |
|------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| Nominative | सुवीः     | सुविदी     | सुविद्य.            |
| Instr.     | सुविषा    | सुवीर्भाक् |                     |
| Loc.       |           |            | सुवीषु or सुवीषुः ॥ |

Similar is the declension of सुतृक् 'well-cutting'. Its Nominative Sing. is सुतृक् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वक् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as:—

|            | Singular   | Dual.  | Plural.  |
|------------|------------|--------|----------|
| Nominative | विद्वान्   | विद्वौ | विद्वान् |
| Voc.       | हे विद्वन् |        |          |
| Acc        | विद्वान्   | विद्वौ |          |

In the weak-case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule:—



४३५ । घसोः संप्रसारणम् । ६ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वत्पदस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं स्यात् । पूर्वकृपत्वं पत्वम् । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुसंदिवाति वसम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेविषम् । सेविषांसौ । सेविषांसः । सेविषांसम् । वन्तस्तेऽपीडागमः संप्रसारणविषय न प्रयत्ते । अकृतवृत्ता इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेद्विद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यत्र सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव सृज्यते ननु पातोः गह्वर्यसाहचर्यात् । सुष्टु हिनस्तीति सुदिन् । सुहिंसौ । सुहिंसः । सुहिन्भ्याम् । सुहिन्तु । ध्वद् । ध्वद् । ध्वसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एवं सत् ॥

435. The semi-vowel of the affix घम् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्वद् + घम् = विद् उ मत् + घम् ॥ उ and म् become व by the पूर्वकृपा rule (VI. 1. 108 S 330) = विदुस् + मत् ॥ Then स् of विदुस् is changed to द् ॥ Thus विदुस् + मत् = विदुषस् = विदुषः (Ac: Pl:). The Ins. Sing: विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्यान्, the स् of विदुस् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. Thus विद्वद्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सेविषम् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix क्तु to the root सद् by III. 2. 108 S. 3097. The root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 8. S. 2177. Thus :—सद् + सद् + क्तु = स + सद् + क्तु ॥ The first स being elided by इकादि शेषः ॥ VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then the first स is elided and the म् of the second स is changed into द् by अह एकवचनध्वे VI. 4. 120. S. 2260. Thus we get सेद् + क्तु = सेद्व + षम् ॥ To this we apply the augment इद् by VII. 2. 67. S. 3096. Thus सेद् + इद् + षम् = सेद्विषम् ॥ In strong cases there will be तुम् augment by VII. 1. 70. S. 351, and lengthening by VI. 4. 10 S. 317. Thus :—

|            | Singular.  | Dual.     | Plural.   |
|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Nominative | सेदिषाम्   | सेदिषांसौ | सेदिषांसः |
| Acc.       | सेदिषांसम् | "         | "         |

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इद् augment of VII. 2. 67, S. 3096, though it was antaranga, because it would be useless to add इद् when we are going to vocalise the व् into उ for then the efficient cause इ of षम् would be absent. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतवृत्ता &c. See under Sūtra I. 3. 11. S. 46. Because इ is added to षम् only when it has the form of षम्. But when व् is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उम् then there would be no षम् for the application of the sūtra VII. 2. 67. So we have the Acc: Pl: सेदुषः ॥ The Instr.: Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr.: Dual is सेद्विष्वभ्याम् &c.

In the sūtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317, the words ending in conjunct consonant न् must be prātipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न् ॥ This we infer because of the prātipadika नद् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with मङ्ग should be taken.

Therefore the word मुहिन् where the न् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun मुहिन् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply. Thus मुहिन् is declined as follows :—

|            | Singular. | Dual. | Plural  |
|------------|-----------|-------|---------|
| Nominative | मुहिम्    | मुहिौ | मुहिंसः |

In the Instru : Dual where मुहिन् gets the designation of pada, the ह् is elided and we get मुहिन्वाम् ॥

The Loc : Plural is मुहिन्सु or मुहिन् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of अन् formed from the root अन् with the affix क्तिन्. The न् of the root अन् is elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415. Thus it is declined ॥

|            | Singular.  | Dual.     | Plural. |
|------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| Nominative | अन् or अन् | अन्तौ     | अन्सः ॥ |
| Instr :    |            | अन्वाम् ॥ |         |

Similar is the declension of सन् from the root सन्.

Now we take up the declension of पुंस् : In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुख । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वमानस्यानि विपरितस्तुहः स्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । यदुपुंसो इत्यत्र उचितमेति द्विवचने कृतिन पुंसो द्वयमुच्यते शक्यतामिति न युक्तमेति । पुमान् । हे पुमान् । पुमांसौ । पुमांसः । पुंसः । पुंस्यान् । पुंसिः । पुंस्य । शब्दपुनरावृत्तः । उच्यता । उच्यतासौ । उच्यतसः । अस्य संपुच्छी शब्दो ननेव वा वाच्यः \* ॥ हे उच्यतम् । हे उच्यत । हे उच्यतः । उच्यतोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेका । अनेकसौ । अनेकसः । हे अनेकः । अनेकोभ्यामित्यादि । वेधाः । वेधसौ । वेधसः । हे वेधः । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अपातोऽपि युक्तोर्न रीर्यः । छद्म वस्ते छद्म । छद्मोः । छद्मसः । पिच्छं वस्ते पिच्छसः । पिच्छसः । छद्मं वस्ते वस्ते ॥

436. अङ् ( अम् ) is substituted for the final of पुंस् when the sarvanāmasthāna affixes are to be added.

The ङ in अङ् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that अम् should be added under VII. 1. 70 S. 361 because the अम् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुंस् is formed from दा ( to protect ) ४ टुम् ( Un. IV. 178 ) and as the affix टुम् is an उचित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII. 1. 70 by causing अम्. *pari passu* as it does in causing दीम् to be added to in the feminine, in forming वदुती, by the sūtra वदितम् ( IV. 1. 6 S. 455 ). Thus it is declined as follows :—

|       | Singular. | Dual.     | Plural. |
|-------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Nom.  | पुमान्    | पुमांसौ   | पुमांसः |
| Voc.  | हे पुमान् |           |         |
| Acc.  |           |           | पुंसः   |
| Inst. | पुंसा     | पुंभ्याम् | पुंसिः  |
| Loc.  |           |           | पुंसु   |

*Kāśikā* :—The word पुंस् is derived from प ( to protect ) + डम्बन् ( *Uṇ* IV. 178 ), the ण being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by ण् we get the form पुमण्, the ण of अमृण् indicates that ण् should be added in the strong cases after ज ( VII. 1. 70 ), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, ( उपदेशिपञ्चाशः ) : otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, ( VI. 1. 233 ), therefore, पामपुमन् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular पामपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus पामपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु.

Now, we take up the declension of वचनस् ॥ By VII. 1. 94.S. 276, जनह् is substituted for the final of वचनस् in the Nom. Sing : Thus Nom. forms are वचना, वचनसौ, वचनसः ॥ In forming the Voc : Sing : the following Vārtika will apply :—

*Vārt* :—जनह् is substituted for the final of वचनस् in the Voc. S. also, as हे वचन, the final ह् not being elided ( See VIII. 2. 8 ). Otherwise we have हे वचन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे वचनस्, हे वचनह्, and हे वचन !

The Instr : Dual is वचनोभ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time

|        | Singular. | Dual.           | Plural. |
|--------|-----------|-----------------|---------|
| Nom.   | अनेहा     | अनेहसौ          | अनेहसः  |
| Voc.   | हे अनेहः  |                 |         |
| Instr. |           | अनेहोभ्याम् &c. |         |

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '.

|        | Singular. | Dual.          | Plural. |
|--------|-----------|----------------|---------|
| Nom.   | वेधाः     | वेधसौ          | वेधसः   |
| Voc.   | हे वेधः   |                |         |
| Instr. |           | वेधोभ्याम् &c. |         |

Now, we take up the declension of वृषज् meaning ' one who wears well '. Here वृष् belongs to a root and so in the Nom : S. its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अघातोः in VI. 4. 14. S.

Hence its Nom. forms are सुवः, सुवसौ, सुवसः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डमस् and पिण्डमस् ॥ The verbs घस् and ग्लस् mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डमः and पिण्डमः meaning 'a lump eater'.

Now, we take up the declension of अस्. In its declension the following rules apply :—

४३७ । अस् औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अस् साकारोऽन्तरिक्षः स्वात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । सतोः सः साविति इत्य सः । असौ ॥ औत्सर्गिकं  
देवः साकृत्कथ्य वा यत्कथ्यः सादुत्वं च \* ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्नियोगविष्टसुत्वं तदभावे न भवति । असकौ ।  
अलुक् । यदायसं परकपरवम् । इष्टिः । अस्तौऽतिरिचि मत्सोत्वे । अलू । असः शी । आदुत्तः ॥

437. For the स् of अस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided.

As अस्+ह=अह+औ+O (VII. 2. 107)=अह+औ (VII. 2. 106 S. 381)=असौ ॥

*Part:*—When the augment अह् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative ह is added after स्, as अलुक् or असकौ ॥

The form अलुक् is thus evolved :—अहस्+ह, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited ; therefore, the ह substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes place, and the ह is changed to स् by VII. 2. 106, and the ह of अहस् after स् is changed to ह.

In forming अलू we observe the following process :—

अहस्+औ=अह+औ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and VI. 1. 97. S. 191)=असौ ॥  
Here ह is replaced by अ and औ by अ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाष्यार्थेन सपर्यायं अर्थं न ई. ८. "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short अ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाष्यमनोऽनुकारः सपर्यायान्तराति ई. ८. The letter अ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it," makes an exception in the case of औ only.

The rule पूर्वसाविदं (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the उ and ए of VIII. 2. 80. should be substituted: because with regard to स्वसाधितः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyāya, the sūtra अहोरे (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) which is a rule of Tripādi becomes asiddha. Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अहस् ending with स्, and the rule VIII. 2. 80. S. 419. requiring उ for अ, and ए for ह would find no scope at all.

But if in the sūtra पुर्वधाविदम्, the operations of Tripādi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms अम्, अद्, &c. For if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419. before the ञ of स् of अद्स् obtained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265, plus the ञ of the द् of अद्स् become ञ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; in other words, if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419 to the following nascent state of अद् + ञ, then we shall have this incongruity: अद् ङ + ञ. Here ण् is asiddha for the purposes of VI. 1. 97. S. 191, and ञ of अद् plus ङ would become ञ, which is not desired.

In forming the N. Dual, the rule VII. 2. 102. S. 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अद्स् by ञ and this ञ will coalesce with the final ञ of द् and become ञ by VI. 1. 97 and thus the base will be अद्. Thus अद् + औ = अदौ. The द् will be replaced by ष and औ by long ऊ and we get अम् (VI. 1. 102. S. 164).

The N. Pl. is अनी. It is thus evolved :—

अद्स् + णी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214) = अद्स् + ई = अदे (VI. 1. 87. S. 69). Then applies the following Sūtra :—

४३८। अत ईद्विद्वच्चे । ण । २ । ८१ ॥

अतो हात्स्वस्य ईत्वाहं य नो अद्वयौ । अनी । पूर्वधाविदमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् पञ्चाद्वयत्वे । अद्स् । अम् । अद्स् । इति छन्दे पिबन्तायां नाभाः ॥

438. For the द् coming after the द् of अद्स् there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to स्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom. Pl. is, अनी.

In forming the Acc. Sing, we have अद्स् + अम्. Now the sūtra एवशा-दीनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) has superior force to sūtra अद्वयोद्वे (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद् + अम् = अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sūtra अद्वयोद्वे (VIII. 2. 80.) and we get अद्म्.

When अदम् is changed to अद् it gets the designation of णि (I. 4. 7 S. 232.) So in the Inst. Sing. the substitute ण offers itself from VII. 3. 120. S. 244.

Thus अद् + ण. Here however the question might occur that the formation of द् being enunciated in VIII. 2. 80. S. 419 in the Tripādi, whether VII. 3. 120. S. 244 does not regard the द् as asiddha.

Hence the following Sūtra :—

४३६ । न सु ने । ८ । २ । ३ ॥

नाभाय कर्तव्ये कृते च सुभायो नासिद्धः स्यात् । असुना । असुभ्यम् । अमीभिः । असुने । अमीभ्यः । असुनात् । असुभ्यः । असुयोः । अमीभ्यः । असुभ्यम् । असुभ्यः । अमीभ्यः ।

439. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of सु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending न्ना .

Notes :—The existence of सु is not considered unaffected when there is to be added न्ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus सु being considered as siddha, असु gets the designation of पि by I. 4. 7. and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120. असुना ॥ Had the सु been considered as nonaffected, then the stem would not have been called ghi, and there would have been no न्ना added. But when न्ना had been added, then the सु being asiddha, असु is considered to be as अद ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुपि च VII. 3. 102: but it is not done on the maxim समिपातसङ्गो विधित्वेनिकं दक्षिणस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination". There being no long अ्ना the द of असु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) सु is siddha when न्ना is to be added, (2) सु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when न्ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is न्ने परतो यद् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् फलं ध्ये सुभायो नासिद्धः "the सु is not non-affected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when न्ना followed". From this, it would follow by implication that सु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाय itself. So सु being always siddha, न्ना is added: and there is no lengthening.

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr: and the succeeding cases is as follows :—

|        | Sing.    | Dual.    | Plural. |
|--------|----------|----------|---------|
| Instr. | असुना    | असुभ्यम् | अमीभिः  |
| Dat.   | असुने    | "        | अमीभ्यः |
| Abl.   | असुनात्  | "        | "       |
| Gen.   | असुभ्य   | असुयोः   | अमीभ्यः |
| Loc.   | असुभ्यम् | "        | अमीषु   |

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants.

# अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XII

### DECLENSION OF FEMININES.

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह् such as उपानह् ॥ The following rule applies to it.

४४० । नहो धः । ८ । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य धः स्वाकृति पदान्ते च । उपानह् । उपानह् । उपानहो । उपानहः । उपानह्-भ्याम् । उपानहसु । उपानहसि विभक्तौ मीमांसितस्मादुत्तिगदिना क्तिप् । निपातनाच्चेतिपत्त्ये । क्तिप्तस्वाकृतेन हस्य धः । अहस्यत्वे । उष्णिक् । उष्णिक् । उष्णिहो । उष्णिहः । उष्णिग्भ्याम् । उष्णिहसु । योः । विदो । विदः । उषु । मीः । मीरो । मिरः । एवं पूः । चतुरश्रतत्त्वात् । चतस्रः २ । चतसृभ्याम् । किमः कादिभ्यो वाङ् । का । के । काः । सर्वावत् ॥

440. The ह् of नह् is changed to च before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

*Note* :—As नहो, नहस्य, नहभ्याम्, उपानह्, उष्णिह् ॥ The ह् of the affixes ह् &c, is changed to च by VIII. 2. 40; and for the preceding च is substituted ह् by VIII. 4. ४३ उपानह् is formed by VIII. 2. ३९, read with VIII. 4. ५६. उष्णिह् is formed by क्तिप् as it belongs to सम्प्रदादि class, the lengthening is by VI. ३. ११६, and च-change by VIII. 4. १४. It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of च; but the ordaining of च is for the purposes of VIII. 2. ४०, by which there should be च; for the participial ह् &c, in नहस्य, and that there should not be the change of this Nishthā ह् into न् by VIII. 2. ४२. Thus नह् + स = नह् + च (VIII. 2. ४०) = नहस्य (VIII. 4. ५६). But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नह् + स = नहस by VIII. 2. ४२.

Thus उपानह् becomes उपानह् or उपानह् ॥

The Nom. S. affix झ् is elided by VI. १. ६७, and VI. १. ६८, and झ् is changed to ह् or द् by VIII. 2. ३९. The Nom. D. is उपानहो and the Plural उपानहः ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानह्-भ्याम् and the Loc. Plural उपानहसु.

Now we take up the declension of the word उष्णिह्. This word is formed with the upasarga उन् and the affix क्तिप् by III. 2. ५९, added to the root स्निह् 'to love'. The word उष्णिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre. The ह् of उन् is elided by निपातन the स् and ण् are changed to स् and ण्. (VIII. 3. ५९, and VIII. 4. ४०). The ह् is changed to च because it is a word formed with the affix क्तिप् by sūtra VIII. 2. ६२. The च् becomes ण्, then ह् by VIII. 2. ३९. Thus we have Nom. S. उष्णिक् or उष्णिक् Nom. D. उष्णिहो, Nom. Pl. उष्णिहः. Ins. D. उष्णिग्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. उष्णिहसु.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as दिव्. Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word दिव्. See Sūtra VII. 1. 84. S. 336 &c. Nom. S. द्यौः Nom. D. दिवो. Nom. Pl. दिवः; Loc. Pl. दिव्यु.

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as निव्. It is declined as the masculine word. Thus Nom. S. वीः, D. निवै, Pl. निवः. Similar is the declension of वृ. The word चतुर् is changed to चतसृ. It is always declined in the Plural. Thus Nom. and Acc. Pl. चतस्रः, Gen. Pl. चतसृणाम् ॥

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as क्तिन्. क्तिन् is substituted for क्तिन् by VII. 2. 103. Then we add the feminine affix दाप्. Thus Nom. S. is क्तिन् Nom. D. क्तिन् Nom. Pl. क्तिन्. The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of सर्व (सर्वा).

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Now, we take up the declension of इवम्. Its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४४१ । यः सौ । ७ । २ । ११० ॥

इवम् इत्ययं यः स्वास्त्यो ॥ इवम् इति ॥ इवम् । स्वस्वास्त्यं दाप् । इवेति यः । इवे । इवा । इवाम् । इवे । इवाः । अनया ॥ इति लोपः ॥ आभ्याम् १ । आभिः । अस्त्ये । अस्वाः । अनयोः २ । वासात् । अस्वात् । अन्वादेवो हु । एवाम् । एवे । एनाः । एनया । एनयोः २ । अस्तिगादिना सृजेः क्तिन् अनान्तम् निपातितः । अक् सप्त । अजौ । अजः । अज्याम् । अज्यु । अज्यास्त्यं दाप् । स्वा । सं । ता । एवं तद् दद् एतद् । वाक् । वाप् । वापौ । वापः । वाभ्याम् । वाभ्यु । अप्सव्येति निले बहुवचनान्तः । अप्सव्येति शीर्षः । वापः । अपः ॥

441. य् is substituted for the इ of इवम् in the Nominative Singular in the feminine.

The final य् of इवम् remains unchanged by VII. 2. 108. S. 343. Thus Nominative S. इवम् ॥ Then the feminine affix दाप् is added by the sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. इ is changed to य् by VII. 2. 109. S. 345. The Nominative, Dual is इवे Nominative Plural इवः ॥ Accusative S. is इवाम् ॥ Inst. S. is अनया ॥ इद् is changed to अन् by VII. 2. 112. By the rule VII. 2. 113. S. 347 there is elision of इद् so that we have in the Inst. Dat. and Abl. Dual आभ्याम् ; Inst. Plural is आभिः. We have Dat S. अस्ते by VII. 3. 114 ; Gen. S. अस्वाः and Dual अनयोः by VII. 3. 105 and Plural वासात् by VII. 1. 52 and VII. 2. 113 ; Loc. S. अस्वात्, D. अस्वाः, and Plural वास्यु ॥ But in re-employment (अन्यादेव) we have एवाम् in the Acc. S. एवे in the Dual and एनाः in Plural. In Inst. S. एनया and एनयोः in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative.





So also त्विष् : Its Nominative S. Is त्विष् or त्विष्ट by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. in the Nominative D. त्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural त्विषः ॥ Inst. D. त्विष्टभ्याम् and the Loc. Plural त्विष्टुः or त्विष्टुः with the optional augment ए by VIII. 3. 29. ॥ 131.

The word सख्, "a friend". By the rule VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. ख् is substituted for its final and by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. there is the elision of ह्; then by applying the rules VIII. 2. 76. ॥ 433. and VIII. 3. 15. S. 76. we have सख् in the Nominative S. The Nominative D. सख्यौ and Plural सख्यः; similarly in the Inst. D. सख्युभ्याम् and, Loc. Plural सख्युः or सख्युः, the change of ह् to ख् caused by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113 being not perceived by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162. causing ह् ॥

In the same way the word आशिष् for आशिष् is declined. Thus we have the Nominative S., D. and Plural आशिषीः आशिषौ and आशिषः respectively; In Inst. D. we have आशिष्युभ्याम् and Plural आशिषिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अहम् ॥

|       | Singular.                    | Dual.                       | Plural.               |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nom.  | अहौ ( VII. 2. 102. S. 265 )  | अहम् ( VII. 2. 80. S. 419 ) | अहम्                  |
| Acc.  | अहम्                         | अहम्                        | अहम्                  |
| Inst. | अहया                         | अह्युभ्याम्                 | अह्यभिः               |
| Dat.  | अह्यै (VII. 2. 114. S. 291 ) | "                           | अह्यम्                |
| Abl.  | अहयाः                        | "                           | "                     |
| Gen.  | "                            | अहयोः                       | अह्यपाद् (VII. 1. 52) |
| Loc.  | अह्यपाद्                     | "                           | अह्यु                 |

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants.

*Vārtika* :—The rule of "Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakṣaṇam" does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada". Therefore, there is no *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* : and so the word *वि* in *विमलद्वि* does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation *Bha* ; and consequently we can apply to it the *sūtra* VII. 1. 19 S. 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only. *विमलद्वि* being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the *व* is changed to *वी* ; and we get the Nominative Dual *विमलद्विवी* and not *विमलद्विवौ* ॥ The Nominative Plural is *विमलद्विवि*.

Why do we say in the above *vārtika* *अपरादिष्वेव* "when any rule not relating to the beginning of a *Pada* is to be applied"? Observe *इषिसेचौ* = *इषः* *सेचौ* a Genitive Tatpurusha, compounded from *इषः* + *सेचौ* = *इषि सेच्* Here the second term *सेच्* does get the designation of *Pada* for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* *च्* being changed to *क्* ॥ Had it not been a *Pada* then *स* would have been changed to *ष* after *इ* by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. But though *सेच्* is treated as a *पद* for the purposes of the application of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as *पद* for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter *च्* which would become guttural *क्* if it were a *Pada*.

*Note* :—*सेच्* is derived from the root *सिच्* 'to sprinkle,' with the affix *विच्* (III. 2. 75. S. 2980). The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpurusha compound.

*Obj* :—But if we form the upapada compound with the root *सिच्* and the upapada *इषि* in the Accusative, as *इषिन् सिपत्त*, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhakti, the word *सेच्* has no *pada* designation, and so *स* does not *begin* a *pada*, and it should be changed to *क्* Thus in upapada-samāsa, the *ष* change is inevitable.

*Ans* :—To this Kaiyata replies "अनादिपदानात् सेववशाद् विज्ञाया, इषिसेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात्" ॥ Or we may say that the word *अपरादि* means *पदादि* : the beginning of a subsequent (whether *pada* or not) preceded by a *pada*.

Now, we take up the declension of *पद्*. Its N. S. and Dual are *पदः* and *पदौ* respectively. In forming the N. Pl. there will be no *वृष्* ordained by VII. 1. 72 S. 314. because the base does not end in *क्त्* letters. Therefore the N. Pl. is *पदि*.

The Nominative and Acc. Pl. is *पद्वि* ॥ The rest is like the masculine.

Now we take up the declension of *क्त्*. Thus *क्त् + वृ = क्वि + वृ + O* by VII. 1. 23. S. 319. Now the affix is elided by using the word *सुप्* and so it leaves no trace behind, by I. 1. 63. S. 263, and therefore *क्त्* is not changed to *क्* as would otherwise be required by *Sūtra* VII. 2. 103. S. 342. Thus it is declined as :—





various declensions. The word **दीर्घाह** is thus evolved :—**दीर्घाहन् + सु = दीर्घाहन् + ओ** (there is lopa elision of **सु** by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of **प्रत्यया** by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the **ह** substitution for **न्** to the exclusion of **र**, because the **र** would not come, as in the **sūtra** VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. **असृपि** is used. But this **प्र** being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. § 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate **अ** ॥ Thus we have **दीर्घाह** in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have **हे दीर्घाहो निदाप ॥**

*Note:*—The word **दीर्घाहन्** is a **Bahuvrīhi** (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the **न्** changed to **र** by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to **ह** (VI. 1. 114). In **हे अहन् !** the **न्** is not elided by the option of the following **Varṭika** under VIII. 2. 8. **वा नपुंसकानाम्** which means that in the Neuters **न्** is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

|              | Singular. | Dual               | Plural.    |
|--------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| Nom. & Acc : | दीर्घाहाः | दीर्घाहावौ         | दीर्घाहानः |
| Instr.       | दीर्घाहा  | दीर्घाहेभ्याम् &c. |            |

Now, we take up the declension of **दाण्डन्** &c. Nominative and Accusative of

|          | Singular. | Dual.                | Plural.  |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|----------|
| दाण्डन्  | दाण्ड     | दाण्डयौ              | दाण्डयि  |
| सन्निवन् | सन्निव    | सन्निवयौ             | सन्निवयि |
| वन्निवन् | वन्निव    | वन्निवयौ             | वन्निवयि |
| बहुवचन्  | बहुवच     | बहुवचयौ or बहुवचयौ   | बहुवचयि  |
| बहुपूषन् | बहुपूष    | बहुपूषयौ or बहुपूषयौ | बहुपूषयि |
| बहुधेनन् | बहुधेन    | बहुधेनयौ or बहुधेनयौ | बहुधेनयि |

Now we take up the declension of **असृज्** which is a negative compound of **अ + सृज्**. The **ज्** will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix **क्लिन्** has been ordained after the root **सृज्** **क्लिन्** **प्रत्ययस्यक्लिन्**, but not so in other compounds than negative, as **विश्वसृज्** &c. The N. S. of **विश्वसृज्** is **विश्वसृज्**, because Patanjali in his **Mahābhāṣya**, in commenting on **sūtra** VI. 1. 58 S. 2405, employs the form **रज्जुसृज्** or because the **वृ** taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. for the final **ज्** of **सृज्** and **वृ** would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in **सृज्** and **क्लिन्** is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the **sūtra** III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that **असृज्** is not a negative compound of **अ + सृज्** but is a **Uṇādi** formed word derived from the root **अस्** "to throw" with the affix **क्लिन्**, then, the





various declensions. The word **दीर्घाह** is thus evolved :—**दीर्घाहन्** + **सु** = **दीर्घाहन्** + **०** (there is lopa elision of **सु** by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the **ह** substitution for **न्** to the exclusion of **र**, because the **र** would not come, as in the sūtra VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. **असुवि** is used. But this **ह** being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. § 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate **अ** || Thus we have **दीर्घाह** in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have **हे दीर्घाहे निहाप** ||

Note:—The word **दीर्घाहन्** is a Bahuvrīhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the **न्** changed to **र** by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to **ह** (VI. 1. 114). In **हे अहन्** the **न्** is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII. 2. 8. **वा ननुसकानाम्** which means that in the Neuters **न्** is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

|                       | Singular. | Dual               | Plural.    |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| Nom. & Acc : दीर्घाहः | दीर्घाहो  | दीर्घाहौ           | दीर्घाहाम् |
| Instr.                | दीर्घाहा  | दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c. |            |

Now, we take up the declension of **वाण्डन्** &c. Nominative and Accusative of

|          | Singular. | Dual.               | Plural.   |
|----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| वाण्डन्  | वाण्ड     | वाण्डनी             | वाण्डनि   |
| सन्धिन्  | सन्धि     | सन्धिणी             | सन्धिनि   |
| वाग्मिन् | वाग्मि    | वाग्मिनी            | वाग्मिनि  |
| बहुवृषद् | बहुवृष    | बहुवृषी or बहुवृषणी | बहुवृषाणि |
| बहुपुषद् | बहुपुष    | बहुपुषी or बहुपुषणी | बहुपुषाणि |
| बहुधनम्  | बहुधन     | बहुधनी or बहुधनी    | बहुधनाणि  |

Now we take up the declension of **असृज्** which is a negative compound of **अ** + **सृज्**. The **ज्** will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix **क्रिन्** has been ordained after the root **सृज्** **क्रिन्** प्रत्ययत्वत्क्रिन्, but not so in other compounds than negative, as **विश्वसृज्** &c. The N. S. of **विश्वसृज्** is **विश्वसृज्**, because Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya, in commenting on sūtra VI. 1. 58 S. 2405 employs the form **वसृज्** or because the **व** taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 for the final **ज्** of **सृज्** and **यज्** would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in **सृज्** and **क्रिन्** is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sūtra III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that **असृज्** is not a negative compound of **अ** + **सृज्** but is a Uṇādi formed word derived from the root **अस्** "to throw" with the affix **कृज्**, then the

form will be असृक् in the N. S. without any difficulty. Thus the declension of असृक् will be.

|      | Singular.      | Dual.   | Plural.   |
|------|----------------|---------|-----------|
| Nom. | असृक् or असृग् | असृक्नी | असृक्जि ॥ |
| Acc  | "              | "       |           |

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *viz.* one with असृक् ( VI. 1. 63. S. 228 ) and the other with असृज् ॥ Thus Acc : Pl : असृज्जि or असृजि ॥ Instr : Sing : Dual असृजा or अजा ; असृज्यान् or असृज्यान् &c.

Now we take up the declension of कर्ज् ॥

|              | Singular.     | Dual. | Plural. |
|--------------|---------------|-------|---------|
| Nom. & Acc : | कर्ज् or कर्ह | कर्जी | कर्जि ॥ |

In the last, the conjunct consonant is कर् and ज् ॥

*Vartik* :—There is prohibition of the augment वृत् in the case of बहुर्त्.

*Vartik* :—Or, the वृत् may be added before the final consonant, i. e. inserted between र् and ह् ॥ Thus कर्हर्त्ति or बहुर्त्ति कुलानि ॥

*Note* :—According to Mahābhāṣya the Nom. Pl. is कर्जि without any nasal. ( See sūtra VII. 1. 72 ). His reason is that the word अन्तः in नृपुंसकस्य बहुवचनः should be construed in the Ablative, the sūtra meaning " the augment वृत् should be added to a Nenter stem which ends in हर्त् consonant, provided that such हर्त् is preceded by a vowel ". In कर्ज्, the letter that follows the vowel, i. e. र् is not a jhal, nor does the Nenter stem end in r. But the jhal ह् which is final, is not preceded by a vowel but by र् ॥ So there will be no nasal here.

Now, we take up the declension of खट् &c. Nominative and Accusative.

|     | Singular.  | Dual. | Plural. |
|-----|------------|-------|---------|
| खट् | खट् or खट् | खे    | खानि ॥  |
| खट् | खट् or खट् | खे    | खानि ॥  |
| खट् | खट् or खट् | खे    | खानि ॥  |
| खट् | खट् or खट् | खे    | खानि ॥  |

But in anvādesha or reemployment, the Nom : Sing. of खट् is declined as खट् ॥

The word बहुर्त्ति is formed by adding the affix तिन् to the verbal root भृन् ( a Frequentative root ) The भ् and ण् are dropped ( भन्ते लोपः ) ॥

In N. and Ac : S. and Dual are बहुर्त्ति or बहुर्त्ति ; बहुर्त्ति ॥ In the Plural, i. e. before the affix for the augment वृत् required by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is not added, because the final elided भ् of बहुर्त्ति is considered as sthānivat

and so the base does not end in a स्त consonant \* Nor will it take रुन् on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthānivat-bhāva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self.

Thus the Plural is वेमिदि ब्राह्मणकुलनि ॥

Similarly the plural of वेच्छिद् is वेच्छिदि ॥

The root क्षच् has two meanings; (a) to go; (b) to worship (See भादि 203). When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada ग्, we get गो + क्षच् + क्तिद् ॥ Thus गां क्षयति meaning 'he drives the cow'. The nasal will be elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415. But when the meaning is 'he honors or worships the cow' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI. 4. 30. S. 424.

Thus we get two forms (1) गवाक्ष (2) गवाक्ष् ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो + क्षच् itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. (2) where गवाक्ष् is substituted for गो of गो by VI. 1. 123. S. 88.; (3) where गो + क्ष of गो and क्षच् become गोक्ष by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. Thus (1) गोक्ष (2) गवाक्ष् (3) गोक्ष् ॥

*Verse* :—In the Neuter, the word गवाक्ष meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) गोक्षच्; (2) गवाक्ष् (3) गोक्षच् (4) गोक्षच् (5) गवाक्ष् (6) गोक्ष् ॥ The case terminations छ (N. S.), अच् (Ac.S) छच् (L. Pl.) give rise to nine forms each, the जा (i. e. Instr.; Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each; the जत and राच् (i. e. Nomi: and Acc: Pl) to three forms each, the remaining ten case-terminations four forms each.

Thus when we analyse गवाक्ष् or गवाक्ष् as गान् क्षयति, we add the affix क्तिद् by III. 2. 59 S. 373. Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is 'to move'. Then there is the गवाक्ष् substitution by VII. 1. 123. S. 88. In this case we have N. S. as गवाक्ष् or गवाक्ष्; or when we apply the option of VI. 1. 122 S. 87, we have गोक्षच् or गोक्षच्; when we apply the rule of परस्मै, we have गोक्षच् or गोक्ष् ॥

When the sense is 'to honor', we have the कृत् or gutturalisation of the nasal in to ङ् as N. S. गवाङ् or गोक्षङ् or गोक्ष् ॥ In the Acc: S. we shall also get these nine forms.

In the Nom: and Acc: dual, the termination is वी, before which the base gets the designation of bha (भ) and the छ of गच् is elided by VI. 4. 138 S. 416 and thus we get the form गोवची ॥ But when the sense of the verb is 'to honor', we get the forms गवाच्ये, or गोवच्ये or गोच्ये ॥

\* The ङ् of वेमिद् was elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The *Vārtika* कौलुप् न स्यानिबन् see *autra* VI. 4. 85 S. 273 is not applied here; as that *Vārtika* is not of universal application.

The N. and Ac: Pl. affix is चि which being a Sarvanāmasthāna, we have the augment जुम् and thus we have गतांचि or गौवांचि or गौचि whether the verb means 'to go' or 'to honor'.

The Instr: Sing of गवाच is only गोचा, for the same reason as N.  
and Ac: Dual is गोची; of गवाच् is गवांचा or गोचा or गोभंचा ॥

The Instr., Dat and Abl: dual of गवाच् is गवाम्भ्याम् or गोममभ्याम् or गोमभ्याम्, of गदाच् is गदाभ्याम् or गोमदभ्याम् or गोदभ्याम् &c.  
In the Loc. Pl. the Instr. is गोमभ्याम् or गोमभ्याम् or गोमभ्याम् &c.

In the Loc. Pl.; when the base is सर्वत्र, we add the augment  
इ by VIII. 3. २४. Thus सर्वाद् इत्थु or गोमद् इत्थु or गौद् इत्थु or मवाद्विद् इत्थु or गोमद्विद् इत्थु or

But when the base is गवाह, we get L. Pl: as गवाह or गोमस  
or गोधु<sup>१</sup>।

By applying the vārtika चयोर द्वित्विहार, कं may be changed to ख and we may get six other forms, but that *Vārtika* is not applicable, since the same rule is nsiddha.

Now we take up the decension of विरहः ॥  
 Its Name is

Its Nom : forms are तिर्वक्, तिरम्भी, तिर्येधि ॥

But when श्रद्ध means 'to honor' and thus the nasal is not elided, the forms are श्रद्ध, श्रद्धी, श्रद्धि ।

Now we take up the declension of यद्म्. Its Nom : and Acc :

But before weak case terminations शकन् is optionally substituted for शक्यते as ordained by VI. 1. 63. S. 228. Thus Ac : Pl : is either शकन्ति or शक्यन्ति ॥ The Insr : Sing : is शक्यते or शक्यता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of चकृन्. Its Nom : and Acc : forms are चकृन्, चकृनो, चकृन्ति. According to VI. 1. 63. S. 228, चकृन् is optionally substituted for चकृन् before the weak case terminations. So the Acc : Pl : is optionally चकृन्ति. Similarly, the Instr : Sg. is either चक्रा or चकृन्.

Now, we take up the declension of दृक् । Its Nom : Sing : and dual are

The formation of the N. Pl. is governed by the following rule.

४४४ । या नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७६ ।

४-४- The Participial affixes are used to form participles which are used as adjectives or nouns.

4-44. The Participial-affix **रुम्** optionally takes the augment **नुम्** after a reduplicate stem, in Nenter nouns when

a sarvanāmasthāna I. 1. 42. S. 31 ), follows.

Thus Nominative Plural **इन्ति** or **इन्ति** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **तुवत्** ॥ Its N. S. is **तुवत्** ॥

In the formation of its N. Dual and Plural the following rule applies :—

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योऽनुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवयवितारङ्गस्यो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्वाच्छीनद्योः परतः । तुवन्ती । तुवन्ती  
तुवन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचन् ।

445. When the affix **शु** comes after a verbal stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, it may optionally take the augment **नुम्** before the neutral case-ending **ति** VII. 1. 19. S. 319. and before the feminine affix **ई** ( that is Nadi I. 4. 3. S. 266 ).

Thus N. D. **तुवन्ति** or **तुवन्ती** ; N. P. **तुवन्ति** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **भात्** ' shining '. Its Nominative forms are **भात्**, **भान्ती** or **भाती**, **भान्ति** ॥

Now we take up the declension of **पचन्** ॥ ( ' cooking ' ). Its N. S. is **पचन्** ॥ Its N. D. Pl. are governed by the following rule :—

४४६ । शपद्वयनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपद्वयनोरात्यरो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्वाच्छीनद्योः परतः । पचन्ती । पचन्ति ।  
क्षिप्त्वा । क्षिप्वन्ती । क्षिप्वन्ति । स्वप् । स्वप् । स्वपी । निष्पात्यरादपि नुम् प्राक् भवति नित्यं ईर्षः । प्रतिपद्यो-  
क्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाप्ति । निरवकाशत्वं प्रतिपद्योक्तत्वात् नित्यं नुम् प्रकृते सङ्घट्टान्मुनेषः स्वाप्ति । स्वपा ॥ अयो-  
भि ॥ स्वङ्गवान् । स्वङ्गमिः । अङ्गिपिबन्तीत्यादिना पनेरुत् । रुन्वम् । धनुः । धनुषी । तान्तेति ईर्षः । नु-  
वितर्जनीयेति पचन् । धनुषि । धनुषा । धनुष्याम् । एव पचुर्वादीरादयः । पिपडिपदेः द्विप् । वीरिति ईर्षः ।  
पिपडीः । पिपडिपी । अर्द्धपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वात्तदन्तत्वात् नुम् न । स्वापिपी स्थानिवत्त्वाभावात्तदन्तत्वा-  
त्तदपि नुम् न । पिपडिदि । पिपडीर्ध्यामित्यादि । पयः । पयसी । पयसि । पयसा । पयोऽद्यादित्यादि ।  
क्षुपुम् । क्षुपुसी । क्षुपुर्मांसि नदः । विनक्तिकार्षम् । उत्तमत्वं । आहू । अहूति । शेरपे पुंस्त्वम् ॥

446. When the affix **शु** comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikarāṇas **क्षप्** and **द्व्यप्**, it invariably takes the augment **नुम्** before the neutral case-ending **स्ति** ( ई ), and the feminine ending **ई** ( Nadi ).

Thus N. D. **पचन्ती**, N. Pl. **पचन्ति** ॥ The word **नित्य** stops the anuvṛitti of **वा** ( VII. 1. 79 S. 444 ).

Similarly, the Nominative forms **वा क्षिप्वन्** are **क्षिप्वन्**, **क्षिप्वन्ती**, **क्षिप्वन्ति** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of **स्वप्** meaning ' a tank containing good water,

*Note* :—In forming the compound सु+अप्, sūtra V. 4. 74. S. 910 required the addition of अ to the final स in the case of द्वि+अप्=द्वीप; but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V. 4. 69. S. 954. Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI. 3.97. S. 941 because the word;अप् in that sūtra means that अप् which has taken the समासान्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वप्.

Its N. S. and Dual are स्वप् or स्वप् and स्वप् respectively. In the N. Plural the अ of स्वप् will be *first* lengthened by VI. 4. 11 S. 277. and then तुप् is to be added. This is because the word अप् is *specifically* mentioned in the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment तुप् taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is *nitya* and subsequent in order of Ashtādhyāyī to the sūtra VI. 4. 11. and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वप्ति ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a *nitya* and a subsequent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise; then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like माप् लिखति; while in स्वप्+ति, the तुप् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वप्ति ॥

*Note* :—This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manoranjan.

The Instr: Sing is स्वप् ॥ The Instr: Dual is स्वप्+भ्याम्; the ए being changed to ऐ by VII. 4. 48. S. 442. The Instr: Plural is स्वप्तेः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पतुप् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Upādi affix उप् to the root पत् (Upādi II. 117). The उ is changed to ए (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162) and then changed to Visarga; thus Nominative Sing is पतुः; Nominative Dual पतुवौ ॥

In the Nominative Plural the उ of पतुप् is lengthened by VI. 4. 10. S. 317. The ए is changed to ऐ by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. Thus Nominative Plural is पतुर्वै ॥ The Instr: S. and Dual are पतुवाम्, पतुवाम् respectively. Similar is the declension of पशुप् and हविस् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of विपदिप् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root विपदिप् with the affix क्तिप् before which the final ण is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308 and in the N. S. the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. Thus N. S. विपदीः; N. Dual विपदिवौ ॥

In the Plural, i. e. before the affix क्ति, the augment तुप् required by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. is not added, because the lopa elided ण is considered as *sthānivat* and so the base does not end in a द्रष्टव्य consonant.

Nor will it take तुप् by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided ण can not be considered as *sthānivat* in applying the rule to its own self. { compare sūtra 443 }. Thus N. Pl. is विपदिवै ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as विपुलीभ्याम् &c. are similar to those of the Masculine.

Now, we take up the declension of पयम् &c.

Nom : and Acc :

|        | Singular. | Dual.   | Plural. Instr : S. Dual. |
|--------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|
| पयम्   | पयः       | पयसी    | पयसि ॥ पयसा, पयोभ्यां    |
| सुपुंस | सुपुंस    | सुपुंसी | सुपुंससि ॥               |
| अहम्   | अहः       |         |                          |

In the Dual and Pl: all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the ह and म substitution mentioned under VII. 2. 107. S. 437. and VIII. 2. 81. S. 438. should take place. Thus N, and Acc: D. and Pl. are अहम् and अमुनि ॥

Note :—The N. D. of अहम् is thus formed :—

अहम् + सी = अह + ई ( The म् is elided by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 ) = अहे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्तिः ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII. 2. 80. S. 491 : The ह् is thus changed to म् and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अहम् ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अहम्, we get the N. Pl: अहानि, to which applying VIII. 2. 80. S. 491, we get अमुनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines.

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants.

## अथाव्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XIV.

#### THE INDECLINABLES.

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमन्यम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वराद्यो विभावाद्यव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वर, अन्तर, प्रातर, पुनर, सतुतर, उच्यते, नीचैस्, शनैस् कथेक, अत्र, युगपन्, आसन्, पृथक्, व्यस्, अस्, दिवा, रात्रौ, सायम्, त्रिम्, मनाक्, ईदम्, ज्ञापम्, तूष्णीम्, बहिस्, अग्रम्, समवा, निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा, नक्तम्, नम्, हतौ, इद्वा, अद्वा, सावि, वत्, आश्रयणम्, अधिव्यम्, सना, सवत्, समान्, वषथा, निरध, अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, उद्यैक, कम्, क्षम्, सहसा, विना, माता, स्वस्ति, स्वधा, अन्तम्, अपद्, आषट्, वाषट्, अन्यम्, अस्ति, उपांशु, क्षमा, विहायता, वीदा, वृथा, निश्चा, वृथा, पुरा, मिथा, मिथस्, प्रायस्, दुष्टम्, प्रकाष्टकम्, प्रकाष्टका, आर्धहतम्, जमीक्षम्, साकम्, सार्धम्, नमस्, हिरक्, धिक्, मय अय, भान्, प्रतान्, प्रशान्, प्रक्षान्, मा, माद्, आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ अ, वा, इ, अह, एव, एवम्, नूनम्, धाम्, युगपन्, भूयम्, कृपन्, श्रुपन्, क्रुदिन्, मेत्, पत्, पशु, कथिन्, किपिन्, यथ, नह, हन्त, माकि, माकिम्, मक्ति, आकिम्, माद्, नम्, यावन्, तावन्, खि, हे, गे, दे, आषट्, वाषट्, स्वाहा, स्वधा, हुम्, तपोहि, खलु, किल, अथो, अथ, सुधु, स्व, आवह, उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर-प्रतिपत्ताश्च । अयत्तम्, अहत्तु, अस्तिमीमा, अ, मा, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, पशु, हुकम्, यथा-कथाय, वाट्, प्वाट्, अह, हे, हे भ्रा, जय, अ, विपु, एकर्षद्, पुन्, अतः । यद्विद्व्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. Their list is given below :—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सतुतर 'in concealment,' उच्यते 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' कथेक 'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' अत्र 'except, without,' युगपन् 'at the sametime, at once,' आसन् 'near, far from, directly,' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यम् 'yesterday,' अस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' त्रिम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईदम् 'slightly, a little' ज्ञापम् 'gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अग्रम् 'below, without, outside,' समवा 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नम् negative particle, not, 'हतौ' 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्वा 'truly, really' अद्वा 'exactly, truly,' मयि 'half,' यत् 'enclitic like, as Brāhmagaval, Kāṭhīyavat warrior 'like, समद् समान् 'perpetually,' उपसा 'division,' तदम् 'crowdedly, away, over' अन्तः अन्तरेण 'except, without' उद्यैक 'long,' कम् explosive particle, 'मय' 'sudden, hastily,' विना 'without,' माता 'a ritously,' माता 'direction, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' कथम् 'energy,' अपद् 'exclamation,' वाषट्, वाषट् (interjection) 'oblation of



better, 'अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise'. जस्ति 'being present,' पंडित् 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विश्वाम्सा 'aloft in the air,' शोषा 'at night or in the evening,' दृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' दृषा 'in vain' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मयस्मिन् 'mutually, together,' प्राक्स 'frequently, almost,' सुदुस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकुस् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्द्विलम् 'violently' अर्भक्षम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिहम् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' गम् 'quickly' शम् "indeed" प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रसात् 'alike,' प्रसान् 'widely,' ना, नाह् 'do not'.

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिह् (V. 3. 7 S 1953) and ending with वाहप् (V. 3. 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with हाह् (V. 4. 42 S 3109) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68 S 676), by the affixes कृषह्वप्, सुषह्वप् आह्वप् and याह्वप् by the affixes having the sense of the affix विह्, or by the affixes अन् or जाम्, तस्ति or वस्ति, न or नाह् are also indeclinables.

This class is known as 'awayaya' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class.

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," व् an expletive, अह vocative particle एव 'only,' एवम् 'thus,' वृत्तम् 'certainly' सप्तम् 'continually,' दुग्धम् 'at once' भूषम् 'repeatedly,' कृषम् 'excellently,' सुषम् 'excellently' कुक्षिम् 'abundantly,' नेन् or येन् "if," यम् 'if,' कश्चित् "what if" यत्र 'where' नह् 'no,' हन्त ah! 'वाकिम्, नाकिः, नाकिः or नकिम् "do not," नाह् "do not" नम् 'not' वावम् 'as much as,' तावम् 'so much,' एव, हे, or एवे perhaps, ऐ disrespectful interjection, औषह्, औषह- or एषाह् "oblation to the gods" वाषह् "oblation to the Gods" हुम् "thouing," तथाहि "thus". खलु certainly, किल 'indeed,' अथ now, सुवृ 'excellent' स (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs ), आहह 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I. 4. 59 S. 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवहत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवहत्त by VII. 4. 47. S. 3073 In the example अहंयुः 'egoistic' the ahan 'is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound.

In the example अस्तिक्षीर, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or "is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing. अ, आ, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पञ्च 'well,' शुकम् 'quickly,' अथक्यथा "any how" वाह्, प्याह्, अह्, हे, हे, ओः (vocative particles) अये 'ah!' ए in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, विद् "on all sides," एकपदे 'at the same moment' दुष् 'blame' ज्ञात् 'hence'.

This list also from च &c. is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before:

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः । १ । १ । ३८ ॥

यस्यान्वर्त्ता विभक्तिर्नोत्पद्यते स तद्धितान्वोऽन्यथं स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । तसिमादयः प्राक् प्राग्वः । शस्त्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्वेभ्यः । जम् । आम् । कृत्वोर्षाः । वसिष्ठी । नानाधाविति । तेनेह न । पञ्चतिक्त्वम् । पञ्चतिक्त्वम् ॥

448. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76. S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तद्धि (V. 3. 7. S 1953) and ending with प्राक् (V. 3. 47. S 1993); by the affixes beginning with चत् (V. 4. 42. S. 2109) and ending with समासान् (V. 4. 68 S 676) by the affixes जम्, आम्, where meaning कृत्वत्तुम्; by the affixes वसि and वति and न or नाम् ॥

Hence पञ्चतिक्त्वम् and पञ्चतिक्त्वम् are not indeclinables.

Note:—Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from वसु we have वसवः, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb वतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As वतः 'thence,' वत 'there'. Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also वत्तः, वत्, वत्त, वत्तः, वत्तः, वत्तः, &c

४४९ । कृन्मेलन्तः । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

इत्येव मान्त्वं दृग्मादयः तद्धितमन्यथं स्यात् । स्वरत्नादयः । वीर्ये । विवर्धे ॥

449. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93 S 374) which end with म् or in य, ओ, ऐ and औ are also Indeclinables.

Note:—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots; Primary affixes. 2 Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; Secondary affixes. The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita.

Note:—Words formed by krit affixes which end in म् or य, वा, ए, ओ, औ are not declined by the pratyahara दृग् (२९) are avyayas. Thus the affix दृग्

(technically वृत्त) and क्त्वा (technically कृत्वा, III. 3. 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in क्त्वा. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मरन् स्मरन् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवते to live, पिबत्यै: 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in क्त्वा, &c.

४५० । कृत्वातोसुनकसुनः । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तगन्धर्वं स्वान् । कृत्वा । उदेतोः । विस्तृपः ॥

450. The words, ending with क्त्वा (III. 4. 18. S. 3316) tosun (III. 4. 16. S. 3443) and kasun (III. 4. 9. S. 3436) are Indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विस्तृपः 'having spread'.

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अविहरी ॥

451. (The compound called) Avyayibhāva (II. 1. 5. S. 651.) is also Indeclinable.

Thus अविहरी 'upon Hari or Viṣṇu'.

*Note* :—The Avyayibhāva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable; and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary termination of the nominative or accusative neuter.

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhāva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i. e., sūtra II. 4. 82. S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word saśābhāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्निं प्रत्यग्निं क्षतनाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i. e., sūtras VI. 2. 167. & 168. S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपाग्निं मुखं, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga: into रु, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपद्यः कार, उपपद्यः कानः, as compared with अव्यक्ताः. Here, the compound उपपद्यः being treated as avyaya, sūtra VIII. 3. 46, S 160, applies and prevents the change of: into रु ॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुपः । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापः सुपश्च 'लुक्' स्यात् । तत्र स्यात्तायाम् । विहितविशेषणान्नित् । अस्त्युच्चैसी ।  
अव्ययसंज्ञायां यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आदेशप्रकृतेः अव्ययमतिदूरात् ॥

तदसं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वांसु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु खल्वप्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति भुक्तिर्निष्कारकसंख्याऽभावपरा ।

यदि मासुरिहोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयोः । अपरं चैव हतन्तानां यथा वाचा निश्चा निश्चा ॥

यगाहः । अवगाहः । विधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452. There is *luk-elision* of *आप्* (the feminine termination) and *सुप्* (the case-affixes) ordained after an *Avyaya* or *Indeclinable*.

Thus, *तत्र स्यात्तायाम्* 'in that hall'. Here the *Indeclinable* *तत्र* 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to *तस्याम्* 'in that'.

By using the word "ordained" in the *sūtra* we mean that the case-affixes must come after the *Avyaya* as such, and not after a *pratipādika* compound, in which an *Avyaya* may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound *भक्ति + इदं* though the word *इदं* separately is an *Avyaya*, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case-affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus *Nominative Dual अस्त्युच्चैसी* ॥ Though *tadanta vidhi* applies to *avyayas* also, and so a compound word ending with an *avyaya* will also be an *avyaya*, yet when such an *avyaya* is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the *tadanta vidhi* will not apply.

The word *एप्* (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the *sūtra*, because an *Avyaya* has no gender.

*Verse* :—"What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an *indeclinable* or *avyaya*."

Thus according to *Śruti*, *avyayas* have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

"The grammarian *Bhaguri* wishes that there shall be elision of *न* of *एप्* and *वाप्* and that *आप्* shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e. g. *वाप्ता* (instead of *वात्प*), *निष्ठा* (instead of *निष्त्*), *दिष्ठा* (instead of *दिष्त्*)".

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. For either *अवगाहः* or *यगाहः* ॥ *विधानम्* or *अपिधानम्* ॥

Here the *Indeclinables*,

## अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XV.

#### FORMATION OF FEMININES.

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । सनयानामेति खण्ड् ॥

453. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed.

*Note* :—This is an *adhikāra sūtra* pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated,' must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV. 1. 81 inclusive. The *anuvṛtti* of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the sūtra, IV. 1. 1. S 182, not so, however the *anuvṛtti* of the words 'ङीष्वाप्'; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and ण्वाप् affixes.

४५४ । अजायतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजासीतानकारान्तस्य ञ् वाच्ये ऋत् स्त्रीत्वं तत्र ऋत्वे ङाप् स्यात् । राजाद्युक्तिर्वापि स्त्रीष्व बाधनाय । अजा । अतः, अरुहा । अजादिभिः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणमिह । पश्याजी । 'त्रिवोः' (४७९) इति ङीप् । अत्र हि सनासार्थसमाश्रयमिह कृत्स्नम् । अजा । एडका । अभा । अदका । भुषिका । एड् जातिप्रसर्गा ङीष् प्राप्तः । बालः । वल्ता । शोका । मन्वा । विलाता । एड् वसति प्रथम इति ङीष् प्राप्तः ॥ \* संनखजिनकविविधेभ्यः कलात् \* संकला । भस्त्रकला । ऊपापोरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ \* सव्यकाण्डमास्तकतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् \* ॥ सस्युष्या । मासपुष्या । मासकपुष्या । \* गुहा प्यानदस्युर्वा जातिः \* ॥ पुंस्त्वमे तु पुंस्त्री । अनहस्युर्वा किम् । कशपुंस्त्री । सुपुंस्त्री । दण्डिहा । देवविद्या । उदेहा । कनिष्ठा । नन्दनेति-पुंस्त्रीत्येव । कोकिलः । आलावपि । \* मृलाभयः \* । भद्रुला कनयो ङीप् ॥ कर्षी । शृङ्गिणी ॥

454. The affix ङाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms 'aja' &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ ।

This debarb ङीष् and ङीप् ।

The words अज् &c. are given below. Thus अज् a 'he goat,' अजा 'a she goat.' The words ending in short अ are such as, अद् whose feminine will be अडा ।

*Note* :—The word सद् is formed by adding the *Upādi* affix ऋत् to the root अद् meaning "to desire." (*Upādi* I. 151).

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e. g. नदः,

सती, वृद्ध ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines, such as सपथ ॥

The words वज्र &c. must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix चप्, therefore not in वज्राञ्जी meaning "a collection of five goats." Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of वज्र and वज्र. Therefore this feminine वज्राञ्जी is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479)

Following are the words belonging to the ज्ञादि class :

- |         |       |          |        |           |         |
|---------|-------|----------|--------|-----------|---------|
| 1. वज्र | वज्रा | 2. वृद्ध | वृद्धा | (3. कौकिल | कौकिला) |
| 4. चटका | चटका  | 5. बन्ध  | बन्धा  | 6. मूषिक  | मूषिका  |

Note:—The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short ऋ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nīṣa' (IV. 2. 63 S. 518) in the feminine.

- |            |         |          |       |           |        |
|------------|---------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल     | बाला    | 8. शैव   | शैवा  | (9. पाक   | पाका)  |
| 10. वस्त्र | वस्त्रा | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलास | विलासा |

Note:—The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short ऋ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20. S. 478.) in the feminine.

- |                 |              |               |            |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण, | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|

Note:—These two words are formed by the affix लुट्, and being द्वि, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for this Sūtra.

Vārtika:—The words सम्, भस्त्र, अजिन्, घण and विष्ट when followed by फल form the feminines with चप् :

- |              |           |               |            |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| 15. संफल     | संफला     | 16. भस्त्रफल, | भस्त्रफला; |
| 17. अजिन्फल, | अजिन्फला; | 18. घणफल,     | घणफला;     |
| 19. विष्टफल, | विष्टफला; | (20. विफल,    | विफला;)    |

In भस्त्रफला, the long ऋ of भस्त्रा is changed to short ऋ by the sūtra VI. 3. S. 1001.

Note:—The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix ङीप् (IV. 1. 61 S. 419) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'विफला' when a Dviga Compound forms its feminine as विफला; when a Bahuvrīhi Compound, its feminine is विफली ॥

Vārtika:—The word पुन preceded by सम्, बाष्, कण्ठ, मान्न and घन takes the affix चप् ॥

- |              |           |               |                             |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 21. सम्पुन,  | सम्पुना;  | 22. बाष्पुन,  | बाष्पुना; So also बाष्कपुना |
| 23. कण्ठपुन, | कण्ठपुना; | 24. मान्नपुन, | मान्नपुना;                  |
| 25. घनपुन,   | घनपुना;   | 26. एरुपुन,   | एरुपुना;                    |

The above words ending in पुन would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1.

*Vārtik* :—शुद्र forms its feminine शुद्रा when not preceded by महन् and when it denotes a caste.

27. शुद्र शुद्रा

*Note* :—But the feminine of शुद्र is शुद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शुद्र is compounded with the word महन् as, महाशुद्री 'a woman of 'महाशुद्र' class.'

*Note* :—The term 'महाशुद्र' is applied to the caste of Abbiras; and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, § 26, but for the vārtika, viz 'शुद्रा नामहतं पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—'That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself.' Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra.' This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिपीपी अतिपीपी and अतिमपती ॥

28. कुप् कुपा 29. उन्निह उन्निहा 30. ऐवविष् ऐवविहा

*Note* :—The above words end in consonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'अमावि' class.

31. उद्येष्ट उद्येष्टा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

*Note* :—The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'न्ति' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

The word कौकिल्य takes टाप् even when denoting a class.

*Vārtik* :—When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by टाप् ॥

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle ना, would have otherwise taken 'न्ति' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

४५४ A। शृङ्गेष्मोडीप्। ४। १। ५ ॥ (See S. 306.)

454 A. The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in ॠ ।

*Note* :—Of the affix डीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with डीव and डीव्; and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes; the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्त्तुः—f. कर्त्तवी; हर्षः—f. हर्षा; क्षण्डित्—f. क्षण्डिनी;

४५५। उगितञ्च। ४। १। ६ ॥

उगितन्ताद्यातिपत्तिकाले स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । मचन्ती । सीञ्चन्ती । सप्तमनोरिति तुम् । उगित्वातिनि स्त्रीऽहमहमव धातोश्चोत्पत्तिकाले तर्ह्यञ्चोत्पत्तिरिति नियम्यते । सेविह न । दद्यामत् । क्षिप् । अग्निदित्वातिनि वतीपः । पण्यञ्चत् । संस्पृष्टिष्ठ स्वादेव । प्राणी । प्रवीची ॥

455. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

*Note:*—The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ङ and ण ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prātipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् = the affixes कवत् and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित्, as ह् meaning त् in VI. 4. 127 ॥ 364.; ("त् is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in सर्वत् &c")

Thus, भवत् 'honored sir,—/ भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have मतिभवत्—मतिभवती 'most exalted lady.' Similarly पचत् (formed by adding चत् III. 2. 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती; the ह्रस्व comes by VII. 1 82. S. 446. So also शिष्यत् and शिष्यन्ती ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk.' Thus the roots ऋत् 'to fall down' षृत् 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots the prātipadikas like वृत्तावत् and 'वर्णवत्, (III. 2. 76 S 2983). The वृत्तावत् आठ्याणी, 'वर्णवत् आठ्याणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ॥

The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् ॥ As, मात्री, प्रतीची;

४५६। घनो र च । ४ । १ । ७ ॥

यदन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । रदन्तान्तरेणः । यन्निति श्रुतिरुक्तमिदं निषेधाच्च । प्रत्ययप्रत्यये यस्यास्य निहितस्तदन्तस्तदन्तस्य महत्तम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषाच्चान्तान्तमपि लभ्यते । मुख्यमन्तिकांता अतिमुखरी । अतिधीवरी । धारी । \* यने न ददा इति यत्तदन्तम् \* ॥ ददन्ताद्दन्तोर्द्विहो यो वत् तदन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् रथ नेत्यर्थः । \* योय् यदनयोर् यनिव । विदुर्गौरित्यावत् । यथावा आठ्याणी । राजयुष्म ॥ \* पटुग्रीहो यः \* ॥ गृहीवरी । गृहीवरी । वधो गृह्य पश्यति ॥

456. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable चत्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवत् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; ग्रीवत् f. ग्रीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman,' रात्रिं f. रात्रिणी 'night' (श्रु + वनिच् III. 2. 75 S 2980, lit. that which destroys light.)

पतिग्रीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)



Words ending in वृ are formed by the affixes ह्यनिप्, (III. 2. 103 S. 3091) वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74 S. 3418). These words end in वृ and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5 S. 306; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of वृ into र् in case of words ending in वृ ॥

*Paribhāṣā* :—“An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself.” Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वृ as qualifying the prātipadika, we apply the affix डीप् to the prātipadika ending in वृ ॥ Thus वसिष्ठवरी meaning = woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma-juice, वसिष्ठवरी and वर्यरी ॥

*Vartika* :—After a crude form that ends in वृ as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix डीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the वृ changed to र्, provided that the affix वृ has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals.

To the root वृ meaning ‘to remove’ we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus वृ + वृ = वृ वा (the long वा being substituted for वृ by VI. 4. 41. S. 2982.) + वृ = वृवा ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine. Thus the Feminine is वृवा वृवाणी ॥ The Masculine is वृवा वृवाणः ॥ So also राजवृवा meaning राजानं वृधितवती “she who has incited the king to fight.” It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III. 2. 95. S. 3005.

*Vartika* :—It is optionally so in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधीवा नगरी “a city that contains many artisans.”

In the third alternative, the affix वृ will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवानौ or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवृ or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७ । पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८ ॥

पाच्छब्दः कृतसमासान्तस्त्वन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् लीप्ता स्यात् । द्विवरी । द्विपात् ॥

457. The affix ‘डीप्’ is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word ‘pāda’ when it assumes the samāśānta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पात् becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140 S. 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414 (as read with I. 4. 18 S. 231). Similarly चिपदात् or चिपदी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८ । टाडुचि । ४ । १ । ९ ॥

अथि वाच्यार्था पावन्ताहाप् स्यात् । द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ऋ न पदस्वभाविभ्यः ॥ पञ्च पदसः । पञ्चपदस्य नलोपे कृतेऽपि ष्यान्ता पदिति षट्संज्ञां शवि नन्वेपः सुप्त्वेऽपि नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् षट्संज्ञाविभ्य इति न टाडु ॥

458. The affix टाडु is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda.

This debars ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly एकपदा or चिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८ । A. न पद् स्वज्ञादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A. 'The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'पद्' (I. 1, 24 S. 369), and 'स्वस्व' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मणः 'the five Brāhmaṇ ladies' पञ्चदशः So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine.

Note:—In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I. 1, 24 S. 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII. 2. 2, S. 358 and there is no टाडु after पञ्च by the present Sūtra.

संज्ञाविधिः—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words दश and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (यान्ता षट् I. 1, 24). Being called षट्, they do not take टाडु in the feminine (IV. 1. 10 S. 308).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra VII. 2. 2. S. 2330 संज्ञा महान्वयस्य च सन्निविचेरपस्य, because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as पद्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of पद् there would be no elision of ऋन् and हार्, without such elision there is no pada sanjñā of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. S. 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when ऋन् and न् are elided, the words end in ष् and require टाडु for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regards definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषय 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāṣās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषय "Sanjñās and Paribhāṣas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations" In the first view, the यद् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and हस् and for prohibiting वस्. Hence this sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that यद् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and हस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५६ । मनः । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मनन्तात् ङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c.

४६० । मनौ बहुव्रीहिः । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

मनन्ताद्बहुव्रीहिर्न ङीप् । बहुवच्चा । बहुवच्चानौ ॥

460. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in मन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. S. 462 Thus बहुवच्च् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N. s. बहुवच्चा, N. d. बहुवच्चानौ &c. The penultimate व् of वच् is not elided because of the prohibition of न संयोगात् &c. (VI. 4: 137 S. 355).

४६१ । दाबुभाभ्यामन्वतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

सुप् द्वयोपात्त भ्यां दात् वा स्वात् ॥ सीत् । सीने । सीनानौ । दाया । दावे । दानानौ । बहुव्रीहिसम्बन्धः । बहुवच्चा । बहुवच्चे । बहुवच्चानौ ॥

461. The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi

compound ending in **अन्**, as mentioned in the preceding two Sūtras.

Of the affix **ङाप्**, the letter **ङ्** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **लि** (I. 1. 64 S. 79) of the base. Thus **शमन् + ङाप् = शमन् + आ = शमा** ॥ This being an optional rule we have 1. *शमन्* *d.* *शम* or *शमनी*, *pl.* *शमानः* or *शमानः*; similarly with **सीमा**, as, *सीमा*, *सीमे* or *सीमनी*, *सीमाः* or *सीमानः* ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in **अन्** ॥ As :—

|           |                         |                           |
|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| बहुराजा,  | बहुराजे or बहुराजानी,   | बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥   |
| बहुतक्षा, | बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षानी, | बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षानः ॥ |
| बहुयज्वा  | बहुयज्वे or बहुयज्वानी  |                           |

Why do we say "optionally"? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 S. 456 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in **अन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of **अ** into **इ** and the application of **ङीप्** are optional: we may apply the affix **ङाप्** instead. As :—**बहुधीवा** or **बहुधीवी**; **बहुनीवा** or **बहुनीवी** ॥

By IV. 1. 5, S. 306 prātipadikas ending in **अन्** would have taken the affix **ङीप्**, in as much as they end in **अन्**; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus **शमन्** 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—**1. शम** ; *d.* *शमनी*, *pl.* *शमानः* ॥ Similarly **जवा**, *पञ्चनी*, *पञ्चनः* ॥ The word **शमन्** is never masculine according to Amarkosha.

४६१ । अन् उपधातोपिनीअन्तरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अन्तान्बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञातोपिनी वा ङीप् स्यात् । एते ङाप् ङीप् निषेधे । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञी । बहुयज्वे । बहुयज्वानी ॥

462. The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

Thus **बहुराजन्** is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in **अन्**; in applying **ङीप्**, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 (अलोपेक्षः there is elision of **अ** of **अन्** when a *धा* affix follows). Thus **बहुराज्ञी** 'having many king'. In the alternative, when **ङीप्** is not added, we may add the affix **ङाप्** by IV. 1. 12 S. 461. Thus **बहुराज्ञे**, **बहुराज्ञे**, **बहुराज्ञाः** ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 S. 460 and have **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजानी**, **बहुराजानः** ॥

Note :—When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix **ङीप्** at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वे**, **सुपर्वाः** or **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वाणी**, **सुपर्वाणः** ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 12 and 12 only; for in the case of **सुपर्वा** &c. rule VI. 4. 137 S. 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate व्; सयोगादुपनन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व् or न्) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in अच् the affix दाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sūtra.

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यमुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्यात्कात्स्वकारः स्थासपि परे स आप् सुपः परे न चित् । सर्विका । कारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्यात्किम् । सक्तेतीति सक्ता । मनुष्यः किम् । बहुप्राज्ञाजका नगरी । कारिका । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य मा भूत् । कटुका । सपरः किम् । यका । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ नामकनरकयोरेवसंज्ञाचन \* ॥ मारिका । मयन् काचयति मरिका ॥ स्वकृत्योच \* ॥ दक्षिणाश्विका इवस्थिका ॥

463. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending अ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i. e. when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrihi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say अतः? The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belonging to an affix? The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in सक्ता from सक्त सक्तेति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क् ॥ Why do we say अमुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहुपः पवित्राजका गत्वा नगरी नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुप्राज्ञाजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of अ् is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II. 4. 71, S. 650 and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62 S. 272 Why do we say after क? The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as कटुका, बहुका ॥ Why do we say short अ? Observe सक्ता? Why do we say when आप् follows? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when मा follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥

*Vārt* :—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix : as मारिका, मरिका ॥ Here मयक् is substituted for मय before the affix अच् (IV. 3. 3. S. 1372), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word नयक् takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30 S. 488) : therefore though नामक ends in अण, it does not take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), नयन् काचयि = नरक formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3 S. 2915).

*Vart*:—The rule applies to the words ending in लृक् (IV. 2. 98 and लृक्, (IV. 2. 104 S. 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. S. 2915 As दाक्षिणात्यिका, दक्ष्यिका ॥

*Note*:—The word in the sūtra is क्त्वा the fifth case of क् ending in व ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क् and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एत्तिका ॥ Because here the augment is अक्च् (अक् with क्; the final अ in अक्च् is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in मिश्र्यक्, क्षिप्र्यक्, रुण्यक् ॥ The word क्त्वा therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant क् ॥

४६४ । न यास्योः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यस्यदारैवेन स्यात् । यका । यका । यकाम् । सकाम् । त्यक्त्वा निरर्थः \* ॥ अथित्यका । उपयका । आभित्ति युज्य न \* ॥ औपका । भवका ॥ उत्तपदमपि न \* ॥ देववृत्तिका देवका ॥ सिपका दीना य \* ॥ सिपका । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ वारका इवमित्ति \* ॥ भग्न्य वारिका ॥ वर्णका ताम्रदे \* ॥ अम्यय वारिका ॥ चतका यजुर्वेदो माचय \* ॥ उदीचा तु धत्तिका ॥ अटका वितृदेव्ये \* ॥ अटिकाम्या ॥ सूतकापुष्टिकावृक्षरकायां येति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ इह वा अ इति चङेदः । आगूर्वत्याकागर्देणो देशार्थः । तेन पुष्टिकाशब्दे ङीष् ईवर्णस्य पक्षेऽकारः । अन्वयेऽथार्थार्थनकारस्यैव पक्षेऽकारः । सूतका सूतिकेत्यादि ॥

464. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क्, when the feminine अ follows.

As यका, सका, यकाम्, सकाम् ॥

*Note*:—The या and सा simply stand for यद् and सद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यद् सद्: would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीमहे, सकां वचाग्ने ॥ Or यकां वकामधीमहे (i. e. यकां वायां य), and सकां तकां वचाग्ने (i. e. औषधीं सावित्रीं वा) ॥

*Vart*:—Prohibition with regard to the affix लृक् (V. 3. 34 S. 1983) should be stated also:—As अथित्यका, उपयका ॥

*Vart*:—So also in the affix लृक् used in benediction: as जीवताद् जीवका and भवताद् भवका See III. 1. 150 S. 2912.

*Note*:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Yeda does not take इ for अ ॥ As इहलभर्जः शुचयः पावकाः, यमु अ लोपकाः वक्षकाः &c. But पाविका, अलोपिका in secular literature.

*Vart*:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound: ॥ देवका, यज्ञका, the second member इत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देववृत्तिका, यज्ञवृत्तिका (अम्ययस्यै य विनाया लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 Vart. S. 2035.

*Vart*:—सिपक् &c should be enumerated in this prohibition: as सिपका ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका, कन्यका ॥

*Vart* :—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

*Vart* :—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder': as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāgurī is a comemntary of Lokāyata'

*Vart* :—वर्तिका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वरिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

*Vart* :—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदेव्य ceremony, but अष्टिका जारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root अष् with affix तकन् (अदनाति ब्राह्मणा योऽनवस्थां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V. 1, 22 S. 1687).

*Vart* :—Optionally सूयका, पुषका and वृषारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुषिका, and वृषारिका ॥ \*

\* The word वेति of this vārtika should be analysed वा ष ह्रि and not वा इति; and it means that ष is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes ह्रि ॥ Therefore in पुषिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sūtra, but इ of लीङ् of पुषी shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by ष ॥ In other examples ष is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीच्यामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीपलयाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य काल्पूर्वस्येहा स्वावपि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । आदेशका आदेशिका चरकका चरकिका ॥ आतः किम् ॥ सांकाश्ये मरा सांकादिवका ॥ यवेति किम् । मन्त्रिका ॥ स्त्रीमलयेति किम् ॥ शुभे वारतांति शुभेयाः ॥ अज्ञासा शुभेयाः ॥ शुभंविता ॥ धात्वन्तश्चोस्तु नित्यम् \* ॥ शुभयिका; शुभयिका ॥

465. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII. 4. 13 S. 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or अ क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As आदेशका or आदेशिका, चरकका or चरकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाश्ये मरा=सांकादिवका ॥ The word संकाद्य is formed from संकाय by the affix य् (सकादि निवृत्तं) ॥ Then is added the affix क् (IV. 2. 131 S. 1345). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe ययक अश्विका only (from अश्व) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभयिका from शुभेका ( शुभं याति ) ॥ So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where या is part of the root या ( see III. 2. 74 S. 3418 ).

*Vārt*:—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root. When the य or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply : as शुभयिका, शुभयिकिका ॥

४६६ मल्लैवाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नमपूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ७७ ॥

स्वैयम्भं लुप्तपरीकं पक्षम्, एषमत्र इहा स्वात् ॥ सङ्गतोऽपि नैव सिद्धे नमपूर्वाणामपि स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ मल्लायज्ञमुपसर्जनार्थम्, अन्वयेन लुप्तरस्येव सिद्धम् ॥ एषा हा एमवांस्तु सपूर्वयोर्निवृत्तम् । अन्तर्धर्तिर्ना विनाक्तमस्त्व्याऽमुष इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेयका वरमेयका अनेके परमनेके ॥ स्वशब्दमहणे संज्ञोपसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आतः स्थाने इत्युपसर्जनं स्वशब्दस्यातो विशेषणम् ननु, द्वितीयसंभवाद् । नाप्यस्य दामपयिष्यात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्त्वमुपसर्जनमास्वीयवाची अकजहः ॥ अर्थाग्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनी भूतस्तु कर्मव्याप्तत्वाद्भवत्युदाहरणम् ॥ एवं आस्वीयायां स्विक्का ॥ परमस्विकेन निवृत्त्येव स्वम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ दयका दयिका ॥ कृतपर्यागिर्देशानेह विकल्पः ॥ एविके एविकाम् अजका अजिका । रुका रुकिका ॥ इके इके ॥ निस्वका निस्विका ॥

466. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क् by VII. 4. 13 S. 834), of मल्ल, एषा, अजा, या, हा (VII. 2. 102 S. 265), and स्वा; even not then, when the negative particle precedes them.

The word मल्लैवाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा of the Sūtra has no case affix, but we must interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it; the word नमपूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sūtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle preceded; because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vidhi* applies here. The word मल्ल is mentioned in the Sūtra to indicate that the rule would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjana. When it is not an upasarjana, the form would be evolved by the next Sūtra.

*Note*:—मल्ल is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here; as अविलग्नान् मल्लायज्ञा = इमल्लाय, the Diminutive of which is इमल्लिका or इमल्लिका ॥ Here first the मल्ल is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made, the feminine affix टाय् is added to this आपितयुक्क word, then this आ is shortened before क् by VII. 4. 13. This short अ (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine,

But of the two words एषा and हा, the addition of इ would be prohibited, when they are preceded by another word; because in a compound the elided case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of नमपूर्वाणामपि



Sūtra VII. 3. 44 S. 463 would have applied to these. Thus अनेपका, परनेपका, अहक, परमहके ।

*Note:*—The mention of these two words in the Sūtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, सत्ता, अज्ञा ज्ञा, and स्वा, there would be हृत्, by the option allowed by this Sūtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of अनुपः ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words अज्ञः स्वाने qualify स्व only. For this word alone is ambiguous. For when स्वा is a Sarvanāma meaning one's own, i. e., when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V. 3. 71. S. 2026. Thus स्वा + अकच् = स्व् अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an अ in the room of a कङ् चा; and so the present sūtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII. 3. 44 ante, and it will be स्विका always. So also परमस्विका.

But when स्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally. Therefore, it must be either a sānjā (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sūtra. For then it can become feminine in long वा, which can take the affix क. Thus when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sūtra.

So also निर्देखिका or निर्देखका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, शक्ता or शिका, हृत् or हिके, निर्देखका or निर्देखिका ॥

The word स्वा is read in the sūtra with a व and it shows that the option of this sūtra does not apply when the त् is not changed to व, as एतिके and एतिका, for in the dual and plural there is not व substitution.

*Note:*—Of एषा and हि there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with the वाच् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the वाच् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine वाच् can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and वाच्, comes after हृत्, and therefore by the prohibition of अनुपः in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेपका and अहके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेपका may mean अज्ञात्ता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेप ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sūtra not as a Sarvanāma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a संज्ञा, (i. e. when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note:—compare I. 1. 27. S. 213 for the Sarvanāma स्त्री ॥

The anuvṛtṭi of “आतः स्थाने,” which we read in to this aphorism from the last sūtra, qualifies the long आ of स्त्री only and not of the ‘sarvanāman’ हा and एवा ॥ Because the sarvanāmanā take the affix ञक् (V. 3. 71. where other words would have taken कप् or अनात क् or कुस्ति क &c.

Thus ॥ + अक् = ह् + ञक् + आ (because this ञक् comes always before the ṛi portion of a word). = ह्का ॥ Here the ह् of ह् before क् is not a substitute in the place of long आ of हा, but it is a portion of the affix ञक् ॥ Therefore the words आतः स्थाने can not qualify it.

As regards the other words भक्षा, मजा and स्त्रा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आतः स्थाने because they being invariably feminine, will always shorten their आ before क् ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काद्य । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यातः स्थानेन इहा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गा गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्भाषितपुंस्काद्यान्तो विहितस्थ निवन् ॥ भङ्गात्ता भङ्गद्वा भङ्गद्विका ॥ धेविके कवि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for au अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. When a short अ is ordained to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally ॥ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine. Thus गङ्गा is such a word. It has no corresponding masculine form. When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क् before which आ is shortened by VII. 4. 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional, but compulsory, after a Bahuvrīhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word. The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrīhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i. e. it has always a corresponding masculine form. Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional. Thus the word खट्व is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. We can form a Bahuvrīhi compound from it such as भखट्व meaning ‘a man who has no bedstead’. The Feminine of this will be भखट्वी ‘a woman who has no bedstead.’ This need not take the Samāsānta affix कप् as V. 4. 154 S. 891. is optional. Now, this

word अखड़ा may take the affix क by V. 3. 73. S. 2028 when the sense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाना खड़ा will be अखड़ा + क् ॥ Before this क the long आ will be shortened to अ by VII. 4. 13 S. 834 Here the option of the present sūtra will not apply. Thus we shall have only one form. अखड़िका by VII. 3. 44. S. 463. meaning 'who is this woman without a bedstead?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead.' But when the samāsānta affix क् of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891 is added then the option of the present sūtra will apply. For when क् is added, we have the Bahuvrīhi compounds as अखड़ाकः or अखड़कः (VII. 4. 15 S. 892) 'a man who has no bedstead.' The Feminine of the second form अखड़कः will be अखड़का or अखड़िका ॥

४६८ । आदान्धार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वतुल्यविषये आदा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुंस्त्वानु लुप्तिका ॥

468. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form.

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as लुप्तिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं दृष्टस्तिस्त्रिभिश्चान्व ॥ अन्वयेन स्त्रीप्रत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not ■ subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77 : S. 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas.' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or ■ subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2 43 S. 653).

Note :—As ■ general rule, tadānta-vidhi (I, 1, 72 S. 26) does not apply to compounds; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadānta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate- (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadānta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

४७० । दिङ्हाणञ्ङ्यसज्झञ्मात्रचतुष्टयपठकुठञ्कञ्चरपः । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

अनुपसर्जनं यदिसादि वरन्तं चरन्तं प्रातिपदिकं ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जन-  
स्यान्नेह बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नवद्, नवी ॥ यक्ष्यमाणेयञ् दिङ्मातुगिस्त्रायञ् ङीप् प्राप्ता ॥ यामुद्यो हिन्येन  
साभ्यननुबन्धकार्ये नदिद्यानामिति ज्ञापनात् भवति ॥ श्वः श्वानचः श्वित्वेन कश्चिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यन-  
स्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्ही । औखी । ऊरुह्यसी । ऊरुह्यंती । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी ।  
आक्षिपी । लावणिकी । सार्ध्वी । इत्थरी ॥ "वाच्योक्तिर्लोकप्रचिता" ॥ यौरी नम्रस्त्रयकिङ्कणुस्तस्मिन्तुलानाहु-  
पसंख्यानम् \* ॥ स्वेणी । पैस्वी । शाक्तीकी । आरचनाङ्गणी । वरुणी । तनुनी ॥

470. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after  
a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which  
it ends has an indicatory ट्, or if the affix be द् or ञच्, or अञ्  
or ह्यसञ्, or द्वाञ्, or मात्रच्, or त्वञ्, or ठञ्, or डञ्, or कञ्  
or क्वरप् ॥

The word अहः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti  
from IV. 1. 4 S. 454 and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever  
necessary. This debars the affix एप् of IV. 1. 4 S. 454. We shall give example  
of each *serjatin*. (1) Thus, म., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., नवद्वर f., नवद्वरी (चर + ई =  
चर् + ई; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) The word kuru-chara is  
formed by ट् (III. 2. 16 S. 2930), of which द् is indicatory.

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are  
treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप्  
in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members  
are upasarjana, (II. 2. 35 S. 898); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will  
not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नवद् is read with an indi-  
catory द् in the पञ्चादि class of Ganapāṭha under sūtra III. 1. 134 S. 2896, it  
forms its feminine as नवी, because it has an indicatory द् ॥

The word यक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix श्वनच् (III. 3. 14. S.  
3107), where the affix is the substitute of लृच् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an  
indicatory ट् as well as an indicatory ण् and, therefore, its feminine ought to  
be formed by the present sūtra, and so the Feminine ought to be यक्ष्यमाणी ॥  
This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhāṣā.

*Paribhāṣā* :—"The substitutes of लृ do not produce the effect  
which depends on the indicatory letters of लृ ॥" This paribhāṣā is derived  
from the ज्ञापक of sūtra III. 4. 103 S. 2209 where the यामुद् the substitute of लिङ्  
is made expressly दिङ् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition वनदिद्यो  
of sūtra I. 1. 56. S. 49 So though in some places, the substitute सः श्वानचः may  
produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an  
indicatory ट्, yet it will not be so always.

(2) Of words ending in द् we have, म., सौपर्णेय f., सौपर्णेयी so also f.

पैननेयी ॥ The इ stands for the affix इक्; and it is replaced by एक् (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Thus सुपर्णा + इक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) = सुपर्णा + एक् = सीपण्य (VII. 2. 118 S. 1076).

*Note:*—There is no affix which is merely इ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix = said above is इक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it," and we cannot say that the इ of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less इ of V. 3. 102 S. 2057 which is always Nenter.

(3) So also इन् + अण् = ऐन् ॥ Here अण् may have the force of साड्य इवता (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) or अस्वेत् (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500). Its feminine will be ऐन्नी ॥

(4) Words formed by अच् as चीत्स् f. चीत्सी, औत्पाद् f. औत्पानी, (IV. 1. 86 S. 1078).

*Note:*—Though by IV. 1. 73 S. 527 the affix इन् would have come after the words ending in अच्, the re-employment of this affix, in the present sūtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix इन् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 68 S. 518 that is, even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'nisk' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes द्यत्, द्यत्, and माद्यत् are added by V. 2. 37 S. 1838 as, ऊहृद्यसी, ऊहृद्यी, ऊहृद्यी, 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly काहृद्यसी, काहृद्यी, काहृद्यी ॥

(6) So also with words formed by पञ्च (V. 2. 42 S. 1843). As पञ्चत्सी 'of which the parts are five,' so also पञ्चत्सी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in इक् (IV. 4. 1. S. 1546) as, मात्सी 'a female dicer'. मात्सी ॥ The इ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170).

(8) Similarly with words ending in इक् (V. 1. 18 S. 1680): as, मात्सी 'elegant'.

*Note:*—The affixes इक् and इक् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix इक् &c. For had the word इ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes इक्, इक् and इक्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कच् (III. 2. 60 S. 429) as, मात्सी, मात्सी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in कच् (III. 2. 163 S. 3143) as, इत्सी 'swift', इत्सी ॥

*Vartika:*—The words formed by the addition of the affix न् having the force of "whose habit is this," are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चीत्सी, मात्सी are the feminine of चीत् and मात् (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612),

*Part:*—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नच् (IV. 1. 87 S. 1079) and ईक् (IV. 4. 59 S. 1609) and इक् (III. 2. 56 S. 2973) and of the words इत् and इत्

'a youth'. Thus स्त्री 'a female', पुरुष 'a male', शस्त्री 'a female spear bearer', भाव्यकरण 'enriching, ; तरुणी or तरुणी 'a young woman'.

४७१ । यञश्च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तास्त्रियोऽङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after ■ Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्.' (IV. 1. 105 S.1107).

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvṛtti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

Thus माय्य-ङीप् = माय्य-ङी (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) by which अ is elided.

At this stage, applies the following Sūtra:—

४७२ । ह्रस्वतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

एतत्तद्धितस्य ह्रस्वतद्धितस्य औपः स्यादतीति परे ॥ तार्गी ॥ अतपत्याधिकारस्यात्र ङीप् ॥ द्विषे भया द्वेषा ॥ अधिकारमहणामेऽ देवस्यापत्यं देव्या देवाद्यममाविति हि यञ् माग्शीव्यतीत्यो न तपत्याधिकारपठितः ॥

472. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

Thus तार्ग्य + ई = तार्ग्य + ई = तार्गी.

Vart:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष of द्वेष-ङीप् (IV. 3. 10 S. 1380). Its feminine will be द्वेष्या 'living on or relating to an island.'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyādhikāra. Therefore, the य् ordained after द्वेष by the Vārtika under IV. 1. 85 S. 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule. Thus देव्या the feminine of देव्य, where यञ् is prāgdivyatiya affix, pure and simple, and not an affix read in the apatyādhikāra.

In the evolution of the feminine form माय्याद्यङी, the following rules apply.

४७३ । प्राचां षः तद्धितः । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्तास्त्रियोऽङीप् स्यात् ङिष्यो न च तद्धितः ॥

473. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

४७४ । षः प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६॥

प्रत्ययस्याविः ष इत्यच्चात् ॥

474. The initial ष् of an affix is indicative.

४७५ । आयनेयीनीयिषः फट्सकृष्ठां प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां कृष्ठाश्रयादयः अदिषाः स्युः । तद्धितान्तत्वाध्यानिपदिकत्वम् ।  
दित्युत्पत्तिर्वात् षेणोक्तेऽपि स्त्रीले विदुर्गोचरेत् इत्येवमापो ङीष् ॥ गार्ग्यायणी ॥

475. आयन्, for फ् एच् for ह्, ईच् for ख्, ईच् for छ्, and ईच् for ष्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

गार्ग्येय, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prātipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes.

Of this affix ष् the letter ष् is indicative (I. 3. 6 S. 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'fish' (IV. 1. 41. S. 498). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *vis.*, by 'shpha' and 'fish.' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46 S. 179). The affix क् is replaced by the substitute आयन् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्यं + क् + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वाक्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वाक्सी ॥

*Note* :—The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sūtra IV. 1. 18 S. 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of *anuvṛtti*, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 S. 529 says :—'the affix चाच् comes after चाक्' ॥ Here चाक् ends in दम् and by IV. 1. 16, S. 471 the word चाक् would have taken the affix निप् IV. 1. 75 S. 529 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus 'आव्यायनी' ॥

४७६ । सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतश्चान्तेभ्यो यमन्तेभ्यो नित्यं षः स्वात् । लोहितायनी । कात्यायनी ॥

476. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यच् ॥

Thus लोहितायनी and कात्यायनी ॥

*Note* :—The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105).

The present sūtra makes the application of the affix क्, compulsory while it was optional in the IV. 1. 17. S. 473.

४७७। कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

अथवां प्लः स्यात् । दाड्डीपोरपवाः । कुवादिभ्योः । कौरव्यावर्षी । दह च मण्डूकारित्यप् ।  
माण्डूकावर्षी ॥ \* आसुरेणसंख्यनम् \* ॥ आसुरवर्षी ॥

477. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ।

The word कौस्तुभ is formed by adding the affix *व्य* to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175); this word, ending in *व्य*, would have formed its feminine by *वाप्* (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, S. 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by *जप्* added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of माण्डूका would have been formed by *स्तिप्* (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौस्तुभायणी, माण्डूकायणी ॥

*Vart* :—The word **कासुरि** should be enumerated along with **kauravya** and **māpḍūkyā**. Thus **कासुरावली** : The word **कासुरि** is formed by the affix **इन्** added to the word **कासुर**; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix **इन्** in forming the further derivative ( IV, 2, 112 S. 1333 ).

४७८१ वयसि प्रथमे । ४ । १ । २० ॥

प्रथमपद्योवाचिनोऽहम्नाम् सिद्धं ह्रीं स्यात् । कुमारी ॥ \* वयंस्त्यज्रम् इति वाच्यम् \* ॥ वधूटी ।  
चिरण्डी । वधूटचिरण्णहृदौ योवनवाचिनौ । अत्रः सिद्धः । सिद्धः । कम्ब्याय ॥ कम्ब्यायः कनीन येति  
निर्वैशान् ॥

478. The affix 'अङ्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word **वयः** means the condition of the body as dependent upon time ; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by **ई**, though ending in **वयः** . Thus, **कृषावती** 'a girl'. **किटीवती** 'a young girl', **बाली** 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say ending in ए? Observe पुंग, which is both masculine and feminine.

*Yat:*—The sūtra should have been *जयति ययति* 'words expressive of not old age'. Thus *ययती* 'a young woman', *ययति* 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्य 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116. §. 111 q.

४७६ । द्विगोः । ४ । १ । २१ ॥

अपन्तादुहिभेर्द्वि स्यात् । भिलोपी । णञ्जाद्विषाभिकृत्य । अमनीका रेणुम् ॥



479. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus द्रिदोकी ॥ But we find चिकना 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). Also त्र्यनीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणविस्तारितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितङीप् । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्विस्तारित्वाच्च द्विगोर्ङीप् न तद्धितङीप् सति । पञ्चभिर्घैः क्रीता पञ्चाभा ॥  
आर्धविस्तार । अर्धघर्षे लुक् । द्वौ विस्तौ पचति द्विविस्तार । द्वापचिता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्ताच्च  
द्व्यादकी । तद्धितङीप् किम् । समाहारे पञ्चाभी ॥

480. The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

Thus पञ्चाभा is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix इम् (V. 1. 37 S. 1703) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by ङाप्, thus, पञ्चाभा 'a female purchased for five horses'. So also with the words विस्तार &c. As द्विविस्तार 'purchased for two bistas', द्विविस्तार, द्व्यापचितौ, द्वापचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and चिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वादकी, त्र्यादकी "a female purchased for two or three āḍhakas". Here āḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ङीप्' will apply. Thus पञ्चाभी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also द्वापची ॥

Note:—This debars 'नप' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तार 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', द्वापचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolas'; and कम्बल्या 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्तेने । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

तेने या काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्ततो न ङीप् । तद्धितङीप् । हे काण्डे प्रमाणत्वात् सा द्विगुश्च

क्षेत्रभक्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसंज्ञिति विहितस्य माद्यचः प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्द्विस्थिति लुक् । क्षेत्रे कियः ।  
द्विकाण्डी रञ्जुः ॥

481. The affix *क्षीप्* is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kāṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kāṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes द्वयसच् &c. denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्द्विस्थ' 'The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure'. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'क्षीप्' but by द्यप्; so also द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डी रञ्जुः 'a rope two kāṇḍas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तस्माद्विगोर्द्वीप् वा त्याज्यसिक्त्वर्थः । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्याः सा विपुर्वी विपुर्व्या वा परिष्ठा ॥

482. The affix 'क्षीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'puruṣa', referring to measure.

Thus विपुर्व्या or विपुर्वी परिष्ठा 'a mote two *paruṣa* wide' so also विपुर्वी or विपुर्व्या &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनञ् । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेश्चयस्यः त्याज्यं क्षियाच् । इत्यनञि कृते दाप्रीङ्निधेयेषु मातृषु ॥

483. The syllable *anāṇ* is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in = Babuvrihi.

Note.—As कुण्डमिव ऊधोऽस्याः = कुण्डोऽप्री, पदोऽप्री ॥ The feminine is formed by adding क्षीप् ॥ (IV. 1. 25); and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only; no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोपाः पदोऽप्री; पदोऽप्री पदुः ॥ ऊधस् + अच् = ऊधस् (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). ऊधस् + क्षीप् = ऊधस् + ई (अ being elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234) = ऊधी ॥

When *anāṇ* is substituted, there arises the prohibition of दाप् and क्षीप्, when the following sūtra comes up.

४८४ । वहुव्रीहेरुधसो ङीप् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

रुधोऽन्तद्विव्रीहेर्ङीप् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोष्णी । स्त्रियां किव् । कुण्डोषो धेनुकम् । इहा-  
5नछवि न । तद्विधो स्त्रियामित्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

484. 'The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and रुधन् will be कुण्डोष्णम्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute वनह् (V. 4. 131 S. 483); thus we have कुण्डोषन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. S. 460 & 461 *ante*; the present sūtra enjoins ङीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (V. 4. 134 S. 872) 'a woman with udders like fars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe दाप्ता रुध-  
दाप्ताधान् (II. 2. 4 S. 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of वनह् for the final of रुधन् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोषो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no वनह् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ । संख्याऽव्ययादेर्ङीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

डीयोऽव्ययाः । द्वयुष्णी । अष्टयुष्णी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊयोऽविक्रान्ता अष्टयुष्णा ॥

485. 'The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 'ūdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'alp', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'nīsh'. Thus द्वी + रुधन् + वनह् + ङीप् (V. 4. 131 S. 483) = द्वयुष्णी 'having two udders'; so also त्रयुष्णी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrīhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अष्टयुष्णी 'many-uddered'; निष्कयुष्णी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrīhi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrīhi we have अष्टयुष्णा-  
रुधोऽविक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामदायनान्ताद्य ङीप् स्यात् । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यादेर्वहुव्रीहेर्ङीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते दाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्तेर्द्वयोऽन्तं दामि प्राप्ते यचनम् । द्विदानी । अत्रयमव्ययाऽन्तद्विव्रीहेरुधसो ङीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते दाप्प्रतिषेधायि पक्षे स्तः । द्विदानी प्राप्ता ॥ \* निचतुर्थो दायनस्य अल्पं वाच्यम् \* ॥ अतीवाचकत्वेन दायनस्य ङीप् अल्पं वेच्यते \* ॥ द्विदानी । अतर्ह्यव्ययी । वयसोऽयम् निहायवा ॥ अतर्ह्यव्यया दायना ॥

486. 'The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words *dāman* 'a rope', and *hāyana* 'a year'.

The word *समन्* was liable to be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining *डाप्* and by IV. 1. 11 S. 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of *ह्रीप्*; while *हायन्* would have taken long *मा* by IV. 1. 4, S. 454; the present sūtra ordains *ऌप्* to the exclusion of all those. As *द्विसात्री* 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. *विश्वाम्नी* ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of *अन्वय* from the last sūtra into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as *इन्* precedes *हायन्*, then the affix *डाप्* of IV. 1. 13 S. 46 and the prohibition of IV. 1. 11 S. 459 will apply, as *उदाया इडाया* ॥ *द्विसायनी बाला* 'two years (old girl)', *विश्वाम्नी चतुर्हायनी* ॥

*Vart* :—The word '*hāyana*' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sūtra. Therefore we have no *ऌप्* here :—*द्विसायन बाला* 'a half of two years existence.'

*Ishtī* :—After *त्रि* and *चतुर* the *व* of *हायन्* is changed into *ण*; when *हायन्* denotes 'age', and not otherwise. *द्विसायन* and *चतुर्हायन* when referring to a hall.

४८७ । नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

आन्त्याहट्टरीरेकपदान्तेपिनी डीप् स्वान् संज्ञाछन्दसोः । सुपत्नी नाम रमणी । शब्दश्च पूर्वेषु विकल्प एव । देहे तु चतुर्धा ॥

487. The affix *ह्रीप्* necessarily comes in the *Chhandas*, and in forming Names, after that *Bahuvrīhi* compound which ending in the syllable *अन्* loses its penultimate *व* ॥

This is an exception to IV. 1. 28 S. 462; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix *ह्रीप्*. Thus *सुपत्नी* 'the city called *Surājñi*'; *अतिरज्ज्ञी* 'the city of *Atirājñi*'. When not a name, the option of IV. 1. 28 S. 462 will hold good. Similarly in the *Chhandas* we have *छन्दोः* ॥

४८८ । केवलमामकभागेयपापावरममानार्थकृतमुमङ्गलभेजश । ४ । १ । २७ ॥  
एवम् । सुपत्नी । नित्यं डीप् स्वान्छान्दस्यम् । अर्थात्छन्दोः केवलमिति । पापार्थः । मान्पिनी । चतुर । चतुर । चतुर । सुपत्नी । भेजश । अन्वयः केवलं इत्यर्थः । नाम रूपान्तरं विवक्ष्यम् ॥

488. The affix *ह्रीप्* necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the *Chhandas* :—*एवम्* *मान्*, *भागेय*, *पाप*, *अवर*, *ममान*, *भावश्च*, *मुमङ्गल* and *भेजश* ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसां of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी तद् in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature. मामधेयी as मित्रावधेयशेतामधेयी in the Vedas and मामध्या in Bhāṣhā, तन्वा सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhāṣhā; अपरी as वताऽपरीभ्योऽपरा दिशिग्वे; (Rig-veda I. 1. 13) otherwise अपरा; समन्ती व जाकृतिः (Rigved.) otherwise समाना; शार्यकृती and शार्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; शिवारुदस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. I. 41. S. 498 as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86. The word मामस्त is read in the sūtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it; for it would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 even, because it is a word formed by मण् affix (IV. 3. 3 S. 1372). in the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII. 3. 44 S. 463)

४८६ । अन्तर्वत्पतिवत्तोडुक् । ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयोः स्त्रियां डुक् स्यात् ॥ ऋतोभ्यो डीप् ॥ गर्भिण्यां जीवद्धर्तृकायां च प्रकृतिभानौ निपात्यते । तन्मात्रस्यैवार्थं गर्भ इति विमर्शे अन्तःप्राप्त्याधिकरणत्वात्किमप्यनन्तयाऽस्ति सामानाधिकरण्याभावात्प्राप्तौ ननु निपात्यते । पतिवत्स्त्रीत्यत्र तु यत्नं निपात्यमे । अन्तर्वत्स्वी । पतिवती । मत्सुधारणे तु । अन्तःप्राप्त्यां प्राप्तायां च । पतिवती वृत्तिर्वा ॥

489. The augment डुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix डीप् follows.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment डुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end, by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take śtip by virtue of IV. 1. 5, S. 306 if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वती and पतिवती ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following:—मयते स्या पतिवती वृत्तिः; here the word पतिवती qualifies the word वृत्ति and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वती; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मत्) ॥ Because मत् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, S. 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of वसि "having" as required by V. 2. 94. S. 1894. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मत् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 2 S. 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म् to व् in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment डुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्त्वती or सान्त्वती वृत्तिः ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती वृत्तिः ॥



formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI. 4. 77 S. 271 as पत्नियो 'two wives of a Sūdra' and पत्न्युः "many wives of a Sūdra" and not पत्न्या and पत्न्यः as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sūdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वदिक्प्रादशाब्ः । समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यते । समानः पतिर्यस्याः सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी भीष्मकी ॥

492. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न. in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix ङीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here सपत्न्य is replaced by स by this sūtra.

४९३ । पूतकतोरे च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

पत्युः स्त्रियां भावेषु ङीप् च । इयं भिक्षुः पुंवोऽयं एवेत्यते ॥ पूतकतोः स्त्री पूतकतायी । यथा तु मत्तवः पूतः स्यात्पूतकतुरेवसा ॥

493. In forming the feminine, the letter दे is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकतु, when the affix ङीप् is added.

Thus पूतकतायी 'this wife of Pūtakratu', *Ishti* :—According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sūtras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sūtras will not apply. see IV. 1. 48 S. 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (मत्तवः) are sanctified (पूतः).'

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषादुदात्त ए भावेषुः स्यात् ङीप् च । वृषाकपेः स्त्री वृषाकपायी । इतिपिप्पु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः । वृषाकपायी श्रीगीर्द्योतिदि च । अग्न्यायी । कुसितायी । कुसितायी । कुसितशब्दे इत्यनयो न तु वीर्यमध्यः ॥

494. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the letter दे having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकर्पायी ( Rig Veda X. 86. 13 ) 'the wife of Vṛṣhākapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3. 139 and 155) namely Lakshmi or Gauri अग्नी-यी. ( Rig Ved. I. 22. 12 ) the wife of Agni', कुसितायी the wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी

'the wife of Kusida'. In the above the udātta falls on the syllables कौ, प्रा, तौ and कौ respectively. The last word is कुसिद and not कुसीद as in some texts.

४६५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुष्यस्योकारोत्तः स्वादुवाच ऐकारश्च वा । तार्था संनियोगक्षिप्तो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनायी । मनादी । मनुः ॥

495. औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udātta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine.

The phrases ऐ and उवाच are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'.

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तौपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्नस्तोपधत्तवन्तावदुपसर्जनात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीप् स्यात्पकारस्य नकारश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां वर्णतिनिशान्तागमिति किद्वृत्त्येवाशुवाचः । इवेण्या च शाल्येति पृथग्वचम् । शीघ्रेकानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । अनुदात्तात्किम् । वेता । वृतादीनां वेत्यन्तोश्च औऽयम् । अत इत्येष । शितिः स्त्री ।\* पिचङ्गादुपसर्जनात्\* ॥ पिचङ्गी । पिचङ्गा ॥ किदु\* भसितपलितयोर्न\* भविता । पलिता ॥\* छन्दसि ऋग्वेके\* ॥ अतिस्त्री । पलिकी ॥ अथवातश्चस्त न वर्णवाची । विद्युज्जवाची मेन अवशाता इत्येव ॥

496. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter न् as its penultimate letter : and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated.' रोहिणी or रोहिता, so इवेता or इवेनी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent, on the first vowel, by the 1<sup>st</sup> sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां वर्णतिनिशान्तागम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in वर्ण, or ति or नि or त्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel') as they are formed by त् ३८ (U<sup>n</sup> III. 36). Thus इवेण्या च समत्या (Grihya Sūtra). The word trycnyā is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning "she who has three variegated".

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of Phi<sup>1</sup> sūtra I. 21 पृतादीनां च "the words ghṛita &c., have udātta on the final").

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter न् in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिः स्त्री 'a black woman.' Here शङ्गः is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate न्,



has anudatta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिप्; but as it does not end in ङ, its feminine is not formed with ङीप्.

*Part:*—The affix ङीप् comes also after the word विशङ्ग; as, विशङ्गी or विशङ्गा 'of tawny color.'

*Part:*—There is prohibition in the case of the words अक्षित and पक्षित; ■ अक्षिता 'black' and पक्षिता 'grey.'

*Part:*—According to some, the substitute क्वप् replaces the final of these two words अक्षित and पक्षित in the Vedic literature. As अक्षिकी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पक्षिकी R. Veda V. 2. 4. The word अवक्षतः does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवक्षता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवक्षतः means white clear,"

४६७ । अन्यतो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

सोपधभिराङ्गर्वाधिनोऽनुशासान्ताध्यातिपक्राद् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । कल्पायी । सारङ्गी ।  
मपाश्चेद्द्वयोश्च बहुषोऽहोति मन्त्रोद्गातयेतो । अनुशासान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497. The affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudatta accent, and which has no ङ as penultimate.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word क्वप् means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* ङ as penultimate. The difference between ङीप् and ङिष् affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पायी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phiṭ Sūtra II. 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be).

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा. कपिला ॥

४६८ । विद्वौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

विद्वौ गोरादिभ्यश्च ङीप् स्यात् । नर्वकी । योरी । अनङ्गुली । अनङ्गुली ॥ विप्लव्यादयश्च ° ॥  
वाकृतिभ्योऽयम् ॥

498. The affix ङीप् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 S. 2907 the affix ङुप् is added to ■

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take *nish*. As, नर्तकी 'an actress.' So also the words गौर &c; ॥ गौरि, अनङ्गुरी अनङ्गुरी ॥

In the Gaurādi class is to be included the Pippalādi words also (see Gaṇapāṭha at the end.) This is an Ākritigana, no complete list being given any where.

४६९ । सूर्येतिप्यागस्त्यमस्त्यानां च उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

गङ्गास्थोपधाया सूर्य सोपः स्यात्स चेत्यः सूर्योपधायः ॥ \*मस्त्यस्य उपधाया \* ॥ \*सूर्यागस्त्ययोः छे  
च छेपा च \* ॥ \* तिष्ठदुप्ययोर्बलपाणि यलोप इति वाच्यम् \* ॥ मल्ली । मातरि दिद्येति दिद्योद्वेदि तिष्ठे  
गौरादिषु मानामहीशब्दपाठादनिव्यः । विनां छेपः । इष्टा ॥

499. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्ठ, अगस्त्य and मस्त्य (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate *य* is also elided before the long *ई* and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येतिपाणिक्=सौरी (सूर्य+अण् under IV. 3. 112 S. 1492=सौर्ष, then ई of छेप=सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्ठ=तिष्ठमहः, तिष्ठी रादिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यपते=सौ=आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117). आगस्तीयः; So also मस्त्य=मल्ली with छेप, as it belongs to the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41 S. 498).

Vart:—The *य* of मस्त्य is elided before the feminine *ई* only: therefore not here मस्त्यस्तेदे मांस=मांसमय, &c.

Vart:—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ् and ई (of the feminine): as सौरियः, सौरि, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्षे चहं निर्वेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. 1. 114).

Vart:—Of तिष्ठ and दुप्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्ठेन मङ्गलं युक्तः कालः=तैपः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3 S. 1204).

By the *vaśīka* गतारि विद्य given under IV. 2. 36, S. 1242 the affix गतमह in गतमह is treated as having an indicative *य* ॥ The word गतमह will take टीप् because it is पितृ: its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of छेप application, because a word = पितृ, is not universal (अनिलः दिह हतलो टीप्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like गङ्गा &c.

५०० । जनपदकुण्डमोणस्यलभाजभागकालनीलकुदाकामुककवराद्वृत्त्यम-  
प्रापपनाह्रिमाध्यानास्थीत्यवर्णानाच्छादनायां विकारमैथुनेच्छाकंशचेष्टेषु । ४ ।  
२ । ४२ ॥

पदम पदप्रकाशः मानिषमिकेभ्यः कषादवृत्त्यादिपदेषु टीप्स्यात् । जनपदी वृत्तिभेदः । मन्त्रा तु  
जोतपदी । उष्मादिपदमन्त्रास्तेन टिटटेनि टीप्यानुष्ठम्भः । कुण्डी अवयवे चेतुः । कुण्डाम्भः । कुटि दधि ।  
पुष्पं च हत इति आशयः । यन्तु वाच्यं आशयः कुण्ड इति मनुष्यमानिषमन्त्रयोः प्रमितप्रमाणे टीप् भव-  
ति । अनेन हि टीप्पदमन्त्राभावादभावां टीप् निर्धारितं ननु नियम्यते । योषी आपवनं शतः । गोशान्या ।

स्थली चक्रधिया चेत् । स्थलाङ्ग्या । माजी श्राणा चेत् । माजाङ्ग्या । नागी म्यूला चेत् । नागाङ्ग्या । राजराची नामशब्दः स्थूलयुगयोमाङ्ग्यव प्रयुक्त उग्रहरणम् । सर्पराची तु वैदर्भयुगलोमाङ्ग्यव प्रयुक्तः प्रयुक्ताहरणम् । काली वर्णधेत् । कालाङ्ग्या । नीली शनाच्छादनं चेत् । नीलाङ्ग्या । नील्या रक्ता शादित्यर्थः । नील्या शम्भक्तस्य इत्यन् । शनाच्छादनं न सर्वत्र कित् ॥ \* नीलाशपथो \* ॥ नीली ॥ प्राणिनि च \* ॥ नीली गोः ॥ संज्ञायां वा \* ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोधिनारधेत् । कुशाङ्ग्या । कापुशी मैथुनेच्छा चेत् । कापुकाङ्ग्या । कवरी केशानां संनिवेशधेत् । कवराङ्ग्या विशेष्यर्थः ॥

500. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jānapada &c, in the sense of profession &c. respectively ; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल, 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. फाल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10 कामुक, and 11 कवर; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female' 11. 'a fellel or braid of hair'; respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise ज्ञानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix णप् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsādi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीष् will be added in this latter case by IV. 1. 13 S. 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'. To the root कुण्डिहे the affix ण is added by III. 3. 103. S. 3280. The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicative इ in the Dīātupāṭha. The कुण्डः when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take ङीष् in the feminine by IV. 1. 63, S. 518. and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no ङीष् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had ॥ been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'.

(3) गोणी 'sack' शब्द शब्दार्थे प्रसिद्ध नीचे otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलशब्दोक्तं परिसुहृति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा. (6) नागी 'a stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she-serpent". When नाग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be **नाम्नी** under the present sūtra. But when **नाम** denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is **नामा** ॥

(7) **काली** 'a-black female', otherwise **काला** '■ name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning.

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have **नीली** ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be **नीला** which means 'a blue colored cloth.' This word is formed by adding the affix **ङ्** denoting 'colored' by the *Vārtika* under sūtra IV. 2, 2. S. 1203 and thus the base is **नीलम्** to which **ङाप्** is added in forming the feminine.

The word **अनाच्छादन** in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'.

*Vārtika* :—**ङीप्** is added in forming the feminine of **माक्ष** when a medicinal plant is meant, as **नीली** 'an indigo plant'.

*Vārtika* :—So also when an animal is meant ■ **नीलीगौः** The **Nilgāi**.

*Vārtika* :—Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as **नीली** or **नीला** ॥

(9) **कुशी** 'a plough share', otherwise **कुशा** 'a rope or a kind of grass'  
(10) **कादुकी** 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise **कादुका** 'a woman desirous of wealth', (11) **कषरी** 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise **कषण** 'mixed, variegated'.

५०१ । शोणाम्नाच्चात् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

**शोणी** । **शोणा** ॥

501. The affix **ङीप्** is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word **शोण** ॥

Thus **शोणी** or **शोणा** **वदवा** 'a red or bay mare'.

५०२ । कोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

उदन्ताद्गुणवचिनो वा ङीप् स्थान् ॥ **हृदी** । **हृदुः** । उतः **किन्** ॥ **शुषिः** । **शुषेति** **किन्** । **आद्यः** ॥

\* **सदस्येति** गोपभाज \* ॥ **खरः** पर्वतराज **कन्धा** । **पाण्डुः** ॥

502. The affix **ङीप्** is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus **हृदुः** or **हृदी** 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe **शुषिर्विषे** **आद्यनी** 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say

\* expressive of a quality ? \* Observe *मासुः* 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated after the word *सुहृ*, and after words ending in short *उ*, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate. As *सुहृत्* *ब्राह्मणी* 'a Brahmani who chooses her own husband'. Similarly *पण्डु* is common gender, as *उ* is a conjunct consonant. As *पण्डुत्वे ब्राह्मणी* ॥

५०३ । यद्वादिज्यञ्च । ४ । १ । ४५ ॥

एषो वाडीष्ट स्यात् । यद्वादि बहुः ॥ \* छविकारात्किञ्च \* इ राधिः । राधी ॥ सर्वतोऽन्तिज्यां हि ह्येके ॥ राकदिः । राकदी । अन्तिज्यात्किञ्च । मज्जननिः । किञ्चत्वात्प्राप्तिं विधाय पञ्चमिदृशी मजे प्रपद्यते । द्विकारादिद्वित्युपेत पञ्चादः । पञ्चतिः पञ्चती ॥

503. And the affix *स्त्री* is optionally employed in the feminine after the words *बहु* and the rest.

As *बहुः* or *बह्वी* ॥

*Vartika* :—So also after the vowel *इ* of a *kṛit* affix, not *किञ्* (III. 3. 94), as *राधिः* or *राधी* ॥

*Vartika* :—Some say that the feminine affix *nīś* may come after any word ending in *इ*, if it has not the force of the affix *किञ्* ॥ As *राकदिः* or *राकदी* ॥

Why do we say 'not *किञ्*' ? Observe *भञ्जयति* ॥

The word *पञ्चति* is read in the *Gaṇapāṭha*, to make it a *vidhi*, although it is formed with the affix *किञ्* ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI. 3. 54. S. 992. Thus :—*पञ्च* + *हति* + *किञ्* = *पञ्चति* ॥ Its Feminine is either *पञ्चतिः* or *पञ्चती* ॥

५०४ । पुंयोगादाण्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ४८

ए प्रमायया पुंयोगान् स्त्रियां दर्शने ततो इति स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ \* पातकाग्नात् \* ॥ गोपालिका । गोपपालिका ॥ \* सूर्यदेवतायां वापु वाच्यः \* ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या । देवतायां किञ् । सूरि कुन्ती । मातृवीर्यम् ॥

504. The feminine affix *स्त्री* comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Thus the wife of *Gopa* is *गोपी*.

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in *पातक* ॥ Thus *गोपालिका* 'the wife of a cow-herd'; also *गोपपालिका* ॥

*Vart* :—The affix *वापु* comes after *सूर्य* in denoting the wife of *Sūrya*, when she is a celestial being. As *सूर्या* 'the celestial wife of the god *Sūrya*'. Why do we say 'a celestial being' ? Observe *सूरी* denoting the human wife of *Sūrya*, such as, *Kuntī*.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृदाहिमारण्ययन्त्रयवनमातुलान्नाचार्याणामानुक् ।

४।१।५९॥

एषामनुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णां मातुलान्नाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग इत्येवमेते । सप्त ङीप्ति सिद्धे आनुगागमभावं विधीयते । इत्येषां चतुर्णांभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ \* हिमारण्ययोर्महस्ये \* ॥ महद्दिन हिमानी । महारण्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ \* यवादीपे \* ॥ इत्येयवौ, यवानौ । \* यवनान्निष्पन्नम् । यवनानां निविर्देशनानी ॥ \* मातुलोपाध्याययोराभुन्वा \* ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥ उपाध्यायी ॥ \* या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र या ङीष् पाठ्यः \* ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया । आचार्यादण्यत्वं च \* ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या हर्य व्याख्यात्री ॥ आर्यशत्रिधात्र्यां च स्वार्ये \* ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वाभिनी वैश्व वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रिदाणी । क्षत्रिदा । पुंयोगे तु । ऋषी । क्षत्रिदी । ऋषं ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माभ्यामन्यति क्षत्रियमीति कर्मण्यश्च ॥

505. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृद, and to the words हिम 'snow,' अरण्य 'a forest,' यव 'barley,' यवन 'a Yavana,' मातुल 'maternal uncle,' and आचार्य 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns upto मृद, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra.'

*Vart:*—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great forest.' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

*Vart:*—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley. In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat."

*Vart:*—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas.'

*Vart:*—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मातुलान्ना or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor.'

*Pāṭika*:—But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of स्त्री is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया.

*Pāṭi*:—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आहुक् (VIII. 4. 2 S. 197), after the word आचार्य. Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor.'

*Pāṭi*:—After the words वर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus वर्यानी or वर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only स्त्री is added. As वर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya.'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्मणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्मण by adding स्त्री. The word ब्रह्मण is formed by adding the affix अण् to the root ब्रन् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III. 2. 1. S. 2913, ब्रह्म + ब्रन् + अण् = ब्रह्मणः । ब्रह्मणी.

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्तात्करणेऽस्त्री स्त्री स्यात् । वस्त्रकीर्ता । क्रीतकीर्ता । धनकीर्ता ॥

506. The affix स्त्री is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रकीर्ता 'a female bought in exchange for cloth.' The word धनकीर्ता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

५०७ । कादल्पाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणेऽस्त्री स्त्री स्यात् । कादल्पाख्यायाम् । अल्पाख्यायाम् । किम्बन्धनलिप्ताख्यायाम् ॥

507. The affix स्त्री is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

Thus अश्विर्दिल्ली चैः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दन-लिप्ताख्यायाम् "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

*Note:*—The word कण पूर्वत् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sūtra governs this also. The participle in क् must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क् to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with. The अल्पाययाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word.

५०८ । बहुविद्विद्भ्रान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहे स्तान्तावन्तोदात्तावन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ \* जातिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ तेन बहु-  
मह्यकान्तस्यादिपूर्वम् । कर्मिणी । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ \* जातान्तम् \* ॥ इत्यजाता । \* पाणिगृहीती  
भार्यायाम् \* ॥ पाणिगृहीतस्या ॥

508. The affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

*Note:*—The word स्यात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional.

*Vart:*—It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jāti (class-name) as first member. As

कर्मिणी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vārtika* :—

*Vart:*—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words :—बह, नम, ह, words denoting time, ह्यस &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

*Vart:*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus इत्यजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'.

*Vart:*—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अधिकाधिकं यस्यापाणिगृहीते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

*Note:*—Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

५०९ । अस्वप्नपूर्वपदात् । ४ । १ । ५३ ॥

पूर्वेन निरपे माते विकल्पोऽयम् । ह्युपसीती । ह्युपसीता । अन्तोदात्तात्किञ्च । दक्षपठन्ता । नवा-  
पञ्चानादिभुक्तपदिषेयः । अत एव पूर्वेषामपि न ङीप् ॥

509. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed in the



feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तर्गोपधात् and अन्तर्गोपधात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus सुतपस्वि or सुतपस्विता ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svadnya* word'? Observe संख्यभिन्नी, कर्मभिन्नी which admit of only one form,

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe बह्वच्युता which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI. 2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170; and therefore it will not take ङीप् even by the preceding sūtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंगोपधात् । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

असंगोपधपञ्चमर्जने अस्वाङ्गे सदन्तावन्ताद्यादिपदिकाया ङीप् । केशान्तिकान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेशा । अन्तर्गुणी । अन्तर्गुणा । संयोगोपधात् सुसुक्ता । उपसर्जनादिकम् । शिखा । त्वाङ्गे विधा ।

अङ्गे नृतिगत्वाङ्गे प्रागित्यनविकारजम् \* ॥

सुसुक्ता ब्रह्मत्वात् । सुसुक्ता अमूर्तत्वात् । सुसुक्ता कात्या अत्रापित्वात् । सुसुक्ता विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतस्ये तम इदं च \* ॥

सुकेरी सुकेसा वा रध्या । अत्रापित्वात् प्रागिति दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन अत्रापित्वात् पुनश्च \* ॥

सुसुक्ता सुसुक्ता वा अत्रापित्वात् प्रागित्वात् अत्रापित्वात् स्थित्वात् ॥

510. And the feminine affix ङीप् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant.)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशः ; अन्तर्गुणी or अन्तर्गुणः ॥ The word अतिकेश is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान् and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Note:—The *anuvṛtti* of the words अङ्गी इ, अन्तर्गोपधात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛtti* of the word च 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra.

Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अङ्गिरा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुष्ठुका, सुष्ठादर्थः ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse :—

अद्वयं सूतिमस्याङ्गं प्राणिनामविकारजम् ।  
अवस्थं तत्तद्वत् च तेन येन तच्चयावुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not-being-a-fluid (अद्वयं) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having-a-form (सूतिमम्) is svāṅga; it must exist-in-a-living-being, (प्राणित्व), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अविकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अवस्थ, lit. not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तत्तद्वत् lit. was seen in the body); (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being (येन येन तच्चयावुतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svāṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat:" here "sweat" is "liquid" and so it is not a svāṅga; सुज्ञाता "who has good knowledge"; here "knowledge" has no form, and so it is not a svāṅga, सुमुखी वाता "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit. "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svāṅga; so that the following is wrong कनकुली वातमुकुली वातवत्परा; similarly सुस्थोका "she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours." Here "swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrecences; and hence it is not a svāṅga.

Of the second kind of svāṅga words, the example is सुकेरी सुकेरा वा रथा "A chariot well-cushioned with hair." Though chariot is a non-living being yet hair is always found in a living being.

Of the third kind of svāṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts." Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being.

५११ । नासिकोदभैर्गुजसुन्दन्तकणैश्चन्द्राद्यः । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

एभ्यो वा ङीप् स्यात् । आश्वत्थार्धवृक्षस्यो निविधौ वाच्यते । पुस्तकादपवादस्याद्यात् । भोग्यादीनां पञ्चानां तु अक्षरानामपवादोऽपि वर्तुमक्षरं वाच्यं कथनम् । मेघप्रसङ्गवद्भावात् । यदनमूलगतस्तु मनिर्धनः परस्वादस्य वाचकः । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । मेघ । सदननासिका । अनासिका । शत्रु हृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गनासिकाऽप्येव वाच्यम् \* ॥ स्त्रीषु च्छुत्वादि । एतदनुक्ततुल्यकार्येण चकारेण सेमस्यमित्ति केचित् ॥ भूषणप्रसङ्गादप्यपवादोऽपि वाच्यः । यत्र चार्थिकानि ॥ एच्छाद्य \* ॥ सुपुच्छो । सुपुच्छा ॥ कनकाद्य-निविधौ च्छुत्वादि \* ॥ कपरं चिन्तयन्तु यथाः वा कपरपुच्छी मल्ली इत्यादि ॥ उपमानात्तथा पुच्छ-द्य \* ॥ विलगितोऽपि । उदकस्य च्छाया । उदकपुच्छी चेत् ॥

511. And the feminine ङीप् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' अङ्ग 'lip,'  
जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sūtra. This sūtra debar the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त  
"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words अङ्ग &c. were excluded from the operation of the preceding sūtra by the incidental negation (paryudāsa) of अङ्गयोगोपपन्नम् ॥ This present sūtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim : मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्त नान्तरान्  
"Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE, not those that follow them." Therefore though the sūtras IV. 1. 54 and 56, are superseded by the present sūtra, not so the sūtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being subsequent but one.

Thus हुङ्गनासिकी or हुङ्गनासिका; &c; but we have only one form as अङ्गनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kātyāyana, the affix ङीप् optionally comes after अङ्ग, नाच, कण्ठ &c. Thus अङ्गी or अङ्गा &c.

According to others, all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sūtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Baḍaya*. Hence the following *Vartikas* :—

*Virt* :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail.' As सुपुच्छा or सुपुच्छी ॥

*Virt* :—The affix ङीष् comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कर्त्र meaning variegated, picturesque नदि, दिग् and घर ॥ As, कर्त्रपुच्छी 'a peashen' मणपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and घरपुच्छी ॥

*Virt* :—So also the feminine affix ङीष् is necessarily employed after the words पद्म and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उदकपद्मी सेना. उदकपुच्छी ज्ञाना ।

५१२ । न कोडादिवह्वचः । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

कोडादिवह्वचः स्वाङ्गाङ् ङीप् । कल्याणकोडा । मन्वानाङ्गः कोडा । मातृसिगमोदप ।  
सुगपना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीप् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रीडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

क्रीडा means 'the breast of a horse.' The krodādi class is ākritigana. So is also सुजपन्ना which is a word of more than two syllables.

*Note:*—According to Ganaratnamahodadhi the word क्रीडा without any gender is read in the Ganapāṭha: implying that examples can be given with all the three genders. Mādhava derives it from krod with पञ्; krodā meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रीडा is read in Ganapāṭha: and it forms Bahuvrīhi when it has the sense above given. Otherwise as a general svānga word we have क्रीड् = कल्याणक्रीडी मयूरी ॥

*Note:*—The class क्रीड् &c. is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रीडा, कल्याणसुव, कल्याणोष्ठा, कल्याण शला, कल्याण शक्ता, कल्याण पाणा ॥ So also सुजपन्ना, सुजपन्ना, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजपन्ना, पदुजपन्ना, महा-सुजपन्ना ॥ The word क्रीडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pangvad-bhāva, and क्रीडा is shortened to क्रीड् because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 46).

५१३ । सहजम् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सौत्वारिषिकपूर्वार्त्त क्रीड् । सकृदा । भक्रेषा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513. The affix क्रीड् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकृदा, भक्रेषा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

*Note:*—The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54.

५१४ । मय्य सुखात्संशयायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

क्रीड् नं स्यात् । शर्पणस्या । गौरमुखा । सप्तार्यां क्रिय । वयस्युली कन्या ॥

514. The feminine affix क्रीड् is not employed after नञ्, and सुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शर्प + मय्य = शर्पणस्या, 'Śarpapakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa'. The व is changed to न् by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञास्यमयः) ॥ So also गौरमुखा, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness वयस्युली कन्या = copper-faced damsel'.

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदोक्तवाहान्ताव्यातिषदिकात्परस्य ङीपो ङीवादेशः स्यात् । आहृषुली । आसुनात् ॥ ५१५ ॥

515. The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

Thus पूर्वपदस्य ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable.

Note:—This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 510 to 514. Wherever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent; the affix ङीप् being anudatta ( III.1. 4. S. 3709 ). Thus पूर्वपदस्य ॥

५१६ । आहः । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

वाहन्ताव्यातिषदिकात् ङीप् स्यात् । ङीप्वाहुवर्गे न ङीष् ॥ दिक्वाह च मे दिवौही च मे ॥

516. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word आह ॥

The anuvṛtti of ङीप् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीष्, though the latter was nearer. Thus दिक्वाह च मे दिवौही च मे ॥

Note:—The word वाह is formed from the root वह् with the affix वि ( III. 2, 64 ). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *śānta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vāh." Thus दिवौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved:—दिक् + वाह + ङीप् = दिक् + ऊह + आह + ङीप् ( VI. 4, 132 वाह ऊह, Uth is the samprasāraṇa of vāh, when this is a bha ) = दिक् + ऊह + ङीप् ( VI. 1. 108 ) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasāraṇa if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = दिवौही ( VI. I. S. 9 S. 73 एतेष्वुद्भूतं vridhī is the single substitute when *ci*, *edhat* or *ūth* follow ). Similarly प्रवौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

५१७ । सख्यशिश्वीति माषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे माषायामित्यनन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः । ऊन्देश्यपि कृत्वि । सखी । शिश्वी । पशिनयो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ॥

517. The form सखी 'a female companion' and शिश्वी 'a childless woman,' are irregular forms ending in ङीप् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit.

The word इति in the sūtra has the force of प्रकार "thus" its syntacti-

cal position is after वाचायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also.

*Note:—*Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and मास्याः शिगुरस्तीति=अशिन्धी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिगुमित्र नामयं शिशुरभिमुख्ये ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिन्धी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरश्रीविषयादयोषभात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

आनिवापि यत् न किञ्चिं निवसन्मयोपधं ततः किञ्चिं ङीप् स्यात् ।

आ कुलपहणा जातिः \* ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानस्वप्नेत्यर्थः । तदी ॥

किङ्कानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सङ्ग्राह्यान्निर्माणा \* ॥

असर्वनिष्ठस्य सत्यंकरणां व्यक्तेः कथनाद्यन्तर्गते कथनं विनापि सुपदा आतिरिचि लङ्गात्तत्पे. वृषती । सत्यं किम् । सुहृत् । सकृद्विद्यादि किम् । त्वेदशा ॥

गोषं च चरति सः \* ॥

अपत्यमत्स्यान्तः शाखाधेतृवापी च शब्दो आतिशय्ये लभत इत्यर्थः । भीषगदी । करी । अहङ्गरी । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरपाशपाशान् ङीमीं ङीष् बाध्यते । आतेः किष् । वृण्वा । अक्षीविषया- रिकम् । प्रजाता । अयावभारिकम् । शार्ङ्गिया ॥ योपधमसिद्धे इत्यावबुक्तवमदुभ्यनत्स्यामानमसिद्धेय. \* ॥ वृषी । गवधी । वृषयी । हस्तक्षितस्त्विति यज्ञावः । मातुषी । मत्स्यस्य क्त्वात्. \* ॥ वरती ।

518. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a word denoting ■ jāti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word आति is thus defined:—

आहतं पदवा आनिर्निहानां च न सर्वभाक् ।

सङ्ग्राह्यान् निर्माणा गोषं च चरति सः ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained): आकुलपहणाजातिः whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jāti. Or a jāti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature. Thus तदी 'a bank, a place near the river.' But:—(2) किङ्कानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सहस्रक्यान् निर्माणा, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being



519. And the feminine affix **ङीप्** comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of *jāti*, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पत्र्य 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and बाल 'youth.'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus शोणशकी, शङ्कुपर्णी, शालपर्णी, सस्यपुष्पी, दासीकली, रत्नमूली, and गोवल्ली all these are *rūdhī* words expressing medicinal herbs.

When, however, the affix **ङीप्** is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under *Ajādi* class (IV. 1. 4 S. 454; such as संकला, मल्लकला, सस्यपुष्पा, कमला &c.

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजातेः । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीप् स्यात् । दासी । गोपधरणि । रत्नमूलस्यापहं षीदयेयी । मनुष्येति किम् । तितितरि ॥

520. 'The feminine affix **ङीप्** comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short **इ** denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kuntī,' दासी 'Dāsī,' Thus अवन्ति + ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 17 S. 1189) 'अवन्त्यः men of Avanti.' In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 is elided. दासी "the female descendant of Dakṣha." Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness दिद 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat.' Why do we say "of men"? Witness तितितरि: 'part-ridge.'

Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, S. 518 its repetition here indicates that **ङीप्** is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ. Thus षीदयेयी ॥

*Vart:*—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इम् (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292) though they do not denote a *jāti*. Thus सौतंगमी, गोवधिली ॥ The affix इम् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 and ordained to come after सुतंगम् &c, and does not denote a *jāti*.

५२१ । ऊङुतः । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उक्तान्नाम्यापधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियामूल स्यात् । ऊङुः ॥ ऊङुनादिभ्यो ण्यः । सस्य स्त्रियामन्तीत्यादिना लुङ् । मयोपधात्किम् । मपर्युः ॥ अभाषिण्योश्चरज्ज्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् । रज्ज्यादिपुंसाणादुपसंख्येय एव । अभाष्यवा । कर्कश्या । अनयोर्विधोन्तत्वेऽप गोवधालीति किं मत्पुंसात्तरातिरूप ऊङुः फलम् । प्राणिनामेव कृत्वाङुः । रज्ज्योदत्त उङुः । इतुः ॥

521. After a nominal-stem ending in short **उ** not having the letter **य** as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is **ऊङ्**.



The anuvṛtti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus ऊङ् : 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मवन्धू : "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmins so called," जिवबन्धू : "a woman of the Jivabandhu class."

Thus ऊङ् + ण्य=कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 in the feminine.

Notes:—The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short क would have also given the form ककु (कृ+क=ककु) ■ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, S. 891 in Behuvrīhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sūtras like ऋङ् धात्वोः ( VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 ), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sūtra VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 would have run as ऋ धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मवन्धूः we could not have known the accent.

Why do we say "not having the letter ह as its penultimate"? Witness अय्यर्द्धाङ्गिणी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart :—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाङ् : 'the bottlegourd'; कर्कशः 'the jujube tree.' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाङ्गा and कर्कशा are svarita accented on the final by VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकु 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c." Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c. The example अलाङ्गा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative.

५२२ । आह्वन्तात्सेज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियाःसुह् रयान् । भद्रबाहुः । संनार्यां किम् । वृत्तबाहुः ॥

522. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting ■ Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhū'. Why do we say in "expressing ■ Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.



*Vart*:—So also with the words सहित् and सह ॥ As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness though it literally means mere existence.

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकम् लोः संज्ञायाम् चिन्मासूह् स्थात् । कद्रुः । कम्पङ्कः । संज्ञायाम् किम् । कद्रुः । कम्पङ्कः । अष्टान्दोषं वचनम् ॥

526. The feminine affix कङ् comes in denoting Name, after the word कद्रु and कम्पङ्क ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms. Thus कद्रुः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa,' कम्पङ्कः 'Kamaṇḍalû.' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रुः 'the tawny color.' कम्पङ्कः 'a water-gourd.'

५२७ । सार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीर् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

सार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो षोऽङ्कारस्तदन्ताच्च जातिवत्पठितो ङीर् स्थात् । सार्ङ्गरी । षीरी । जाति-रित्यनुवृत्ते । पुंशोने ङीर्देव । वृत्तयेर्षुलिखेति वगन्तुमन् । गति ॥

527. The feminine affix ङीर् comes after the words सार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus सार्ङ्गरी 'a Sârṅgrava woman.' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, षीरी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sūtra-applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीर्, of IV. 1. 63 S. 518. &c., where it came after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीर् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीर् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504.

The नृ would have taken ङीर् by IV. 1. 5 S. 306 and नर would have taken ङीर् as it denotes a jāti. These words take वृद्धि before ङीर्, the form being णीरी in both cases. This is by force of the sūtra वृत्तयेर् &c. read in the following list. Such sūtras are called gaṇa-sūtras.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravādi class words :—

1 सार्ङ्गरव, २ कापटव, ३ गोम्युलव, ४ ब्रह्मण, ५ वैद, ६ गोतन ॥ These words are formed by the affix अञ्, the first four being formed by the अञ् of (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) from शृगार, कापट, गुम्युल and ब्रह्मण; the word गोतन is formed from गोतन by the अञ् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41. S. 498 7 कान्पङ्केय, ८ ब्रह्मणकृतेय, ९ जातिपेय, १० जातिपेय, ११ जातिपेय ॥ These are formed by ङङ् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) except kamaṇḍaleya which is formed by ङङ् (IV. 1. 135 S. 1141.) १२ वाक्प्रायन, १३ वीरप्रायन ॥ These are formed by कङ् of IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. and IV. 1. 99,

S. 1101. and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेव is also formed by इन् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126.) 15 काव्य, 16 वैव्य are formed by व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189.) 17 एहि, 18 पयैहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह 'to try', and परि+आ+इह (Up IV. 117 सर्वधातुश्च इह) 19 आस सन् is formed by सम् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107).

○ औदयान is formed by अन् (IV. 3. 76 S. 1455). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वनपुण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिवत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently ङीन्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङ्गुष्ठाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङ्गुष्ठात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ् इति व्यङ्ग्यलोः सामान्यप्रत्ययः । आङ्गुष्ठा । कारीर-  
गङ्गा ॥ पाद्यमङ्गाप् वाच्यः \* ॥ पौतिगङ्गा ॥

528. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix व्यङ् or स्यङ् (with final acute VI. 1. 163.)

The affix सङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes सङ् (as taught in IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 and चङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) 'as it is common element of both. Thus आङ्गुष्ठार्थी 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya.'

Similarly स्यङ् formed words, as, कारीरगङ्गा, &c.

*Vart* :—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix सङ् when the letter ङ immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराङ्गार्थी 'a female descendant of Śārkarakṣha,' पौतिगङ्गार्थी 'a female descendant of Pōti-māshya.'

५२९ । आवट्याच्च । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

आवट्याच् स्यात् । यमथेति । ङीपेऽवपादः । अवट्याच्चो यमार्थि । यमव्या ॥

529. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word अवट्य ॥

The word अवट्य belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) which after taking सङ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16 S. 471.) Thus आवट्यार्थी 'are female descendant of Avāṭa.'

५३० । तद्धिताः । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चपञ्चमेषुपेकारोऽवप् ॥

530. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pāṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

*Note:*—Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्ययः (III, 1. 1. S. 180) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य जायो ॥ अथति पश्चाद् दिगन् ॥ As पार्थिव, क्षमिन्, आदिन्. पश्चिन् ॥ See Vart IV. 3. 28. The word Taddhita ॥ used in Sūtras like कृतद्वित्वतनासादृष्य I. 2. 46.

५३१ । यूनस्तिः । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवन्शब्दात्तिप्रत्ययः स्यात्स च तद्धितः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार इत्यपर्यः । युवतिः । अनुपसर्जनविशेषः । बहवो युवानो यस्यां सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौतेः शब्दन्ताद् ङीप् बोध्यम् ॥

581. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid.' By IV. 1. 5. S. 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, S. 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita : or the word युवन् may be regarded as ॥ non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 S. 520 would not apply. But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths." The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवद् ॥ and is a different word altogether.

# अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE KĀRAKAS.

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिक प्रातिपदिकार्थः । याचसकस्य प्रत्येक क्षेत्रः । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रं लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यं परिमाणमात्रं संख्यामात्रं च प्रथमा स्वाम् । उच्चैः । नीचैः । कृष्णः । श्वः । ज्ञानम् । समिद्धा नियतलिङ्गात् प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रं इत्यस्योदाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तदः । सदी । तदम् । परिमायनाच्चे, द्वेष्टा त्रीणि । द्वेष्टारूपं यत्पारिभाष्यं तत्पारिच्छत्रो त्रीणिदित्यर्थः । प्रत्ययार्थं परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽप्येव संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु परिच्छेद्यपरिच्छेदकनावेन त्रीणि विशेषणमिति विवेकः । वचनं संख्या । एकः । द्वौ । त्रयः । इति लिङ्गार्थस्वादिभिरेकमाप्ती वचनम् ॥

532. Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I. 2. 45 S. 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

By the word "prātipadikārtha" (sense-of-the-crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word. The word mātra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sūtra.

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prātipadika—उच्चैः "aloft," नीचैः "below," कृष्णः Krishna, श्वीः Śrī, ज्ञानम् "knowledge".

These words have either no gender (as uchchals &c.) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Krishna &c.

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also. As तट, तदी or तटम् "the (river) bank".

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्वेष्टा त्रीणि "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Drona" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a general sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure. The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the base (Drona) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su). But though the force of the affix सु after त्रीणि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda-sansarga, as it was in the case of drona and su: but on the

contrary, in the case of *vr̥thi* and *su*, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base *vr̥thi*, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of *parichchhedaka* (‘measurer’) and *parichchhedyā* (‘measurable’).

The word ‘*vachana*’ means number; as एकः one, द्वौ two, बहवः many.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of झृष्ट् अङिष्ठा-कदं करोति ‘he makes the mat,’ गामं गच्छति ‘he goes to the village’.

५३३ । संबोधने च । १ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह प्रथमं स्थानं । हे राम ॥

533. And when the sense is that of addressing the first case-affix is employed.

Thus हे राम O Rama.

————— १०१ —————

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534. The phrase ‘*kāraka*’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

*Note*.—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a *kāraka*. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent *kāraka*; ‘food’ is object *kāraka*; ‘vessel’ is a locative *kāraka*, fire is an instrumental *kāraka*, ‘furnace’ is the ablative *kāraka* and ‘master’ is the dative *kāraka*.

The word ‘*kāraka*’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (*hetu*) and occasion (*nimitta*). <All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be *kārakas*.> Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a *kāraka* to a verb.

५३५ । कर्तुंरिति तत्तमं कर्म । १ । ४ । ४९ ॥

कर्तुः कियथा आप्तुमिष्टमर्थं कारकं कर्मवेदं स्थान् । कर्तुः किय । मापेत्स्थाने पठति । कर्तुं रिति ता नापा नतु कर्तुः । त्वमहमहर्षि किय । पयसा गोद्वयं मुह्यन्त । कर्मत्वमुक्त्वा पुनः कर्मपदस्य तादात्म्यं रिति प्रत्ययम् । अन्यथा गृहं प्रविशन्तस्मिन् स्थान् ॥

535. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कृत् करोति "He makes the mat", गामं गच्छति "he goes to the village". Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe गावामक्षेत्रे बन्धाति "he ties the horse in the gram field." Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word गाव takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसोदधे भुङ्क्ते "he eats the food along with the milk." Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛtti from the sūtra I. 4. 46 S. 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛtti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because we do not take the anuvṛtti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvṛtti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गृहं प्रविशति "he enters the house," we could not say भोजनं पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तुं पिबति "he drinks saktu." By repeating the word in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix.

५३६ । अनभिहिते । २ । ३ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word in the following sūtras.

Note:—Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c, are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned by the voice of the verb, or by a Taddhita affix &c

५३७ । धर्मणि द्वितीया । २ । ३ । २ ॥

गृहं कर्मणि द्वितीया गच्छत् । हरे भवति । अभिहिते न कर्मणि द्वितीयाऽप्यत्र इति प्रमेयं । नानिधाय न वाच्यं विरुद्धात्प्रत्ययवाच्यं । विर. हरे रेभ्यश्च । कृन् प्रथमा वसित । गर्हितः, वनः मेषः इत्ये । गच्छत्, वाच्यं वाच्येन न वा वाच्यम् । धर्मणि द्वितीयाऽप्यत्र इति । विरुद्धात्प्रत्ययवाच्यं । वनः मेषः इत्ये । गच्छत्प्रत्ययश्च द्वितीयः इत्यर्थः ॥



537. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. i. e. when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari," But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c., then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II. 3. 64.

(The force of a case-affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes लिङ्; *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or क्त, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes सङ्गित; or *lastly* by compounds.) (Thus this sūtra declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, = कहे करोति 'he makes the mat' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village,') But the object can be denoted otherwise. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिं सेव्यते "Hari is served." Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. S. 2679 and 2152. So also by the kṛt affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवितः "served by Lakshmi" sūtra III. 4. 70. S. 2833. So also by a Taddhita affix as स्रवः or स्रविकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन ख्रीतः Similarly, by samāsa, as प्राप्ता आनन्दस्य प्राप्तावनः "Whom happiness has reached."

Sometime the case-relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipāta: विषवृक्षोऽपि स्वच्छस्य स्वघ्नं छेत्तुमसाम्यतम् ॥ Here विषवृक्षः is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ साम्यतम् means, "is proper." It is not proper to cut himself the poison-tree that one has grown.

५३८ । तयायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

इति तत्तदधिक्यम् युक्तानीप्सिततयापि कारकं कर्मसहं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् ग्रामं स्पर्शति । भोजनं भुङ्क्ष्यतीति भुङ्क्षते ॥

538. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion. Thus भोजनं भुङ्क्षुः विषं युक्तं "he eats poison while he was hungry for rice" ग्रामं गच्छन् ग्रामं स्पर्शति "going to the village, he touches the grass."

Here विषं and ग्रामं are in the Accusative case or karma-kāraka, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent: but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case.

५३९ । अक्षयितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपादानाद्विरोधैराविवक्षितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

दुह्यात्पच्येन्दुरधिप्रच्छिन्नं कृशासुनिमः ६६५५ ।

कर्मदुक् स्यात्कार्यसं चया स्थानीदिकृन्वहोमे ।

दुहादीनां दावदानां सया नामधेवानां चतुर्थो कर्मयावद्व्ययते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । यां दोग्धि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधाय । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तदुत्तमानोदनं पचति । गर्गांश् चतुर्दशयति । ब्रजधरुणद्वि गाम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवधिनोति कलानि । माणवकं धर्मं हृते चारुति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । क्षुधां क्षीरनिर्धं मध्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं दुह्नाति । पानमज्ञं भयति हरति कर्षति वहरति वा ।

अर्थनिष्पन्नमेव सेत्त । बलिं विधत्ते वसुधाय । माणवकं धर्मं याचते अविनीतं वक्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्नोते वेदाः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति याचयम् \* ॥ कृत्वा रूपिति । नासनास्ते । गोदोहमास्ते । कोद्यमास्ते ॥

539. And that *kāraka* which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called *karma*.

'Kārikā:—In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' मच्छ् 'to ask,' वि 'to collect' हू 'to tell,' प्राप् 'to instruct' वि 'to win' (as = prize of wager) मन्द् 'to churn' हृप् 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs गी, ह, कृष्, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case;

As, मां दोग्धि पयः 'he milks the cow': बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali'; अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant," similarly संदुत्तमानोदनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice." गर्गांश् चतुर्दशयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money." ब्रजधरुणद्वि गाम् "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow-pen." माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road." वृक्षमवधिनोति कलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree." माणवकं धर्मं हृते चारुति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma." शतं जयति देवदत्तं, "He wins hundred from Devadatta." क्षुधां क्षीरनिर्धं मध्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk." देवदत्तं शतं दुह्नाति, "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." पानमज्ञं भयति-हरति-कर्षति-वहरति "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them," are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corollary that other verbs also, though not mentioned in the above list, but being synonym-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects. > Thus बलिं निक्षते बभूवुः or नाणवकं धर्मं भाषते, अभिषत्ते or व्यक्तं &c.

Why do we say "a kāraka?" Observe नाणवकस्य पित्रं पन्थानं पृच्छति "He asks the father of the boy which is the road." Here नाणवकस्य not being a kāraka retains the Genitive.

*Vārtika.* The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over. As कुकुरं स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus." मासमास्ते "He stays for a month." गोदोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow." कोषमास्ते "He goes over one Krośa (two miles)."

५४० । मतिबुद्धिमत्यवसानार्थयष्टकर्मोक्तमकाणामणि कर्ता स्रगौ । १।४।५२॥

यस्याधर्माणां कृष्णकर्मणां कर्मकाणां चाणौ वः कर्ता स औ कर्म स्यात् ॥

स पूनममयास्वने देशये स्वानेववत् ।

आवाचयापुत्रं देवान्देवभ्यापयद्विधिः ॥ १ ॥

आसवस्तिलिने पृथ्वीं वा स मे श्रीहरिर्नतिः ॥

मतीत्यादि किञ्चित् पाचयत्योक्तं देवदेवेन । अप्यन्तानां किञ्चित् । मनसि देवदेवो यद्वत्तं तमपरः प्रयुक्तो । मनसि देवदेवेन यद्वत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ औपह्वानं \* । नाचयति वाचयति वा भारं धृतिम् ॥ मिदन्तु-  
कर्तृकस्य चरेति विधिः ॥ यद्वत्तं इत्यं वादान् सतः ॥ आतिस्त्रायोर्न \* । आचयति प्लावयति वा  
बहुना ॥ भवेत्तद्विधायकं स \* ॥ भवत्ययं बहुना । वाहिसाधेत्य किञ्चित् । असयति वलीयर्हात् सत्यम् ॥  
अप्यतिप्रयत्नीनां पृथक् पृथक् ॥ अचयति माचयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदेवः । हृद्ये \* । वर्चयति हर्ति  
भक्तान् । हृद्ये ज्ञानसमान्यायां नान्ये प्रयत्नं न ॥ तद्विधेयार्थानां विद्यनेन स्थाप्यते । तेन स्वरतिनिप्र-  
सीत्यादीनां न । स्मारयति प्रापयति वा देवदेवेन । ॥ शान्तायतेन \* । अक्षययति देवदेवेन । धाव-  
यत्तुर्देवदेवेन नाकर्मकरवात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिर्न कर्म न संभवति तेऽप्यकर्मकाः । न स्वाविष-  
क्षितकर्माणोऽपि ॥ तेन नास्मासयति देवदेवमित्यादी कर्मत्वं भवेत्तुः । देवदेवेन पाचयतीत्यादी ॥ न ॥

540. That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g. >

Thus in the verse above given :—

Causal.

Non-Causal

वापून-आगमयत् स्वर्गम्

वाचयः स्वर्गम् अगच्छत्

He sent the enemies to Heaven.

The enemies went to Heaven.

वैवार्थं स्थान् अवैक्यत्

He explained the sense of the Vedas  
to His own.

आशब्दन् च आशुतं देवान्

He made the Devas drink ambrosia.

देवम् अध्यापयह विधिम्

He taught the Veda to Brahmā.

भ्रातृयन् सलिले पृथ्वीम्

He fixed the Earth in Water.

स्वे (स्वीयाः) वेदार्थमविदुः

His own understood the sense of  
the Vedas.

देवा वष्टुतम् आशुतम्

The Devas drank ambrosia.

विधिं वेदमध्येत

Brahmā learnt the Vedas.

सलीले पृथ्वीं भास्य

The Earth floated on water.

Why do we say 'verbs of motion &c.'? Observe पाचयति भोजनं देवदत्तेन  
"He gets the food cooked by Devadatta."

Why do we say "of the Non-Causal"? Observe that in गमयति  
देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं Devadatta makes Yajnadatta go) if some body else  
(विष्णु मित्र) prompts Devadatta to do this, we shall have to say  
विष्णुमित्रो देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं गमयति 'Vishnumitra prompts Devadatta to cause  
Yajnadatta to go.' Here Devadatta is not put in the Accusative case, because  
it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

*Part:*—The causals of ली 'to lead' and वह 'to carry,' do not govern  
the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. पालो भारं नयति वहति वा "A servant  
carries a load" becomes in causal पालेन भारं नययति वाहयति वा (He) causes a  
servant to carry a load.

*Part:*—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word  
signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as वाहयति रथं वाहान् सत्तः "The  
driver drives the chariot and the horses."

*Part:*—The causals of the roots कृद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern  
the Instrumental case, e. g. बटुः खादति त्यागति वा "The boy eats his food,"  
becomes in the causal, बटुना खादयति त्यागयति वा " (He) causes the boy to eat  
his food".

*Part:*—अशु, when it has not the sense of हिंस्र 'injury to a sentient  
thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, अशुयति अन्नं बटुना Why do we say  
"not in the sense of injury"? Observe अशुयति वनां यज्ञं सख्यम् "He makes  
the bullocks to injure the crops".

*Part:*—Enumeration should be made of आपयति &c. as आपयति  
आपयति वा पयं पृथु देवदत्तः 'Devadatta teaches his son the dharma'.

*Part:*—So also with दर्शयति; as दर्शयति हरिं भगवान् "He shows Hari  
to the devotes".

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रसि 'he smells' &c. As स्मरयति चापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell".

*Part*:—Not so with the verb मञ्जयति ॥ मञ्जयति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound".

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as. क्लिक्कः पचरः पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence क्लिक्केण पाचयति and not क्लिक्करं ॥ Thus in नासनात्तदति देवदत्ते, the word नासन् is in the accusative case; but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c.

*Note*:—Patanjali, in his Mahabhasyas, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word सङ्कर्म्म in the सूत्रे सतिबुद्धि &c. सङ्कर्म्म may be either शब्दे शेषा क्रिया or शब्दे शेषा कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots हवति (ह्व) कंसति (कं) and चक्षयति (denom. of चक्ष) have to be excluded from the rule; as, हवति देवदत्तं हवयति देवदत्तेन; कंसति-चक्षयति-देवदत्तः; कंसयति-चक्षयति-देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots यु, हा with वि and लृ with उप must be included in the rule; as, भृगोति विनामाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः आचयति-विनापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जप्, भष् with अ and लृ with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलसति-आनापते-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आनापयति-देवदत्तं ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged e. g.

| Primitive.                                         | Causal Active.                                                  | Causal Passive.                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥<br>Rama goes to a village.    | रामं ग्रामं गमयति ॥<br>(He) causes Rama to go to a village.     | रामो ग्रामगम्यते ॥<br>Rama is caused to go &c.           |
| पुत्रः कटं करोति ॥<br>"The servant prepares a mat. | पुत्रेन कटं करोति ॥<br>(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat | पुत्रः कटं करोते ॥<br>The servant is made to prepare &c. |
| गोविंदो मासमासते ॥<br>Govind sits for one month.   | गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥<br>(He) makes Govind sit &c.                | गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥<br>Govind is made to sit &c.        |

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge,' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa

c. द. नाखवन्कं धर्मे बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty'; माखवन्को धर्मे बोध्यते or माखवन्कं धर्मे बोध्यते. 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy'; बटुमोदन् भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food'; बटुमोदन् भोजयते or बटुमोदन् भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i. e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधांवाचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधां वाचयति ' (God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth'. गोपाम्नां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपे गोपेन वाङ्गो नगरं हरयति ॥ ' (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

५४१ । हृकोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृकोरणौ यः कर्ता स णौ वा कर्म स्थात् । हरयति कारयति या भूयं भूयेन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवाहयति एतन्नेपे वेति वाच्यम् \* ॥ अभिवाहयते दशयते देव भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541. The agent of the verb in its non-causal form, in the case of हृज् "to lose" and कृज् "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal.

Primitive.

Causal.

आ हरति भारं भूयः ॥

हरयति भारं भूयं or भूयेन ॥

The servant takes the load.

He causes the servant to take the load.

करोति कटं भूयः ॥

कारयति कटं भूयः or भूयेन ॥

The servant makes the mat.

He causes the servant to make the mat.

*Var:*—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवाह् and हृज् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal; as,

Primitive.

Causal.

अभिवाहयति देव भक्तः ॥

अभिवाहयते देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥

The devotee bows down to the Deity. He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity.

पश्यन्ति भूया राजानम् ॥

दर्शयते भूया राजानं or दर्शयते भूयेः ॥

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king.

५४२ । अधिशोडस्यासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपृथ्वाधियाप्राधारः कर्म स्थात् । अधिशति अधिविशति अप्याहते वा शिकुण्डं हरिः ॥

542. That which is the site of the verbs शि 'to lie down,' स्था 'to stand,' आस 'to sit,' when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kāraka or object.

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As अधिपते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा दे कुण्डं हरिः ॥ "Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuṇṭha.

५४३ । अभिनिविशस्व । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्संपातपूर्वस्य विसतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सम्मार्गम् । पतिक्रयये स्त्रीपदानिति सूत्रादिह मन्त्रकण्ठ्याऽन्यतरस्यां महाननुवर्षे अवस्थितविभाकाश्रयणात्कृत्त । पापेऽभिनिवेशः ॥

543. That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश् 'to enter,' is also called karma-kāraka.

As अभिनिविशते सम्मार्गम् 'he resorts to the good path'. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra I. 4. 44. S. 580 should be read into it, though between I. 4. 44 S. 580 and the present sūtra I. 4. 47 S. 543 two other sūtras intervene, in which the anuvṛitti of option is not read. This leaping over intermediate sūtras and exerting its influence on a remote sūtra is based on the maxim of "frog-leap." The option however, will be a settled option—"vyavasthita vibhāṣā".

Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to sin." कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to good". The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāṣa.

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्त्वत्तः । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वतनेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति-अधिवसति आवसति वा देकुण्डं हरिः ॥ अनुत्तम्यस्य न \* ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उमसर्वततोः कार्यं धिगुपयोदिगु त्रिषु ॥

क्षितौयाऽऽवेदितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यथापि दृश्यते \* ॥

उपवसतः कृण्वं गोषाः । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक् कृष्णामक्षम् । उपर्युपति लोके हरिः । अध्वधि लोकम् । वायोऽपो लोकम् ॥

अभिः परितः समयातिक्रमात्पतितोनेऽपि \* ॥ अभिः कृष्णम् । परितः कृष्णम् । आनं समया । निकषा लक्ष्मम् । हा कृष्णामक्षम् । तस्य औप्यत इत्यर्थः अनुभूतिं न मनिभार्ति किंचित् ॥

544. That which is the site of the verb वस् 'to dwell,' when preceded by upa, anu, adbi, and ān, is called karma-kāraka.

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति देकुण्डं हरिः 'Hari dwells in Heaven'.

**Vart :—**Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote "lying in a locality". As वने उपवसति "he fasts in the forest". Here the verb "upavasati" governs the locative case and not the accusative.

**Pārtika :—**The words दमयन्तः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधः, अधोऽधो, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative; sometimes other cases also. As दमयन्तः कृष्णगोपाः 'on both sides of Krishna are the gopas' सर्वतः कृष्ण 'on all sides of Krishna'; धिक् कृष्णामन्त्र 'fie to non-devotee of Krishna'. उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः 'just over the lokas is Hari, अधोऽधः or अधोऽधो लोकम् 'just below the loka'.

**Vart :—**The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round,' समया, निकषा both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern, the accusative case; as, अभितः or परितः कृष्णम् 'round Krishna' परं समया 'near the village' निकषा लङ्काम् "near the Lankā". हा कृष्णामन्त्रम् 'woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, ब्रुक्षितस्य न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind'.

५४५ । अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

आभ्यां यामे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा स्वां मां हरिः । अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम् ॥

545. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarā, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix.

**Note :—**The anvriti of dvitīya is understood here and not that of tritīya. Both these words antara and antareṇa are Nipataḥ. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antara means 'between,' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding'.

As, अन्तरं हरिं न सुखं 'there can be no happiness 'without Hari' अन्तरा स्वां मां हरिः 'Hari is between thee and me'.

Why do we say 'when joined with?'. Observe अन्तरा तत्पदानां पदानिपुनं सुप्रत्यय प्राकारः ॥

### KARMAPRAVACHANĪYAS.

५४६ । कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

546. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya.



*Note* :—These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati*. As सुस्तुतं भवता "well praised by you." सु सिक्कं भवता "you have sprinkled well." Here सु is a *karma-pravachaniya* and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an *upasarga*, for had it been so, it would have changed the सु into वृ (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2370). The word *karma-pravachaniya* is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, दि, वि, पु, &c, which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word *karmapravachaniya* is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. (It means that which qualifies or speaks about (शेक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.)

५४७ । अनुसंज्ञणे । १ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अथ ये घोराऽनुसंज्ञः स्यात् । अनुसंज्ञसंज्ञायात् ॥

547. The word *anu* when it denotes a sign, is called *karma-pravachaniya*.

The word *lakshana* means a sign; an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of,' or 'being indicated by'.

This debars the designation of *gati* and *upasarga* with regard to *anu* meaning *lakshana*.

५४८ । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ८ ॥

एतेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । अनुसंज्ञायात् । हेतुद्वयवचोपलक्षितं दर्शयति । एतान् द्वयवचो द्वितीयादेन बाधयेत् । लक्षणेन मूलत्वादिना सिद्धिं पुनः संज्ञाविधानसाधयति ॥

548. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a *karmapravachaniya* (I. 4. 83).

As अनुसंज्ञायात् 'it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers'. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachaniya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

The third case affix ordained by the subsequent *sūtra* II. 3. 23. S. 568 even is debarred by the present *sūtra*, so far as अनु is concerned. This is because, though अनु would have been a *karmapravachaniya* by I. 4. 90 S. 552 it has been read again in I. 4. 84 S. 547.

*Note* :—Why make unnecessarily this *sūtra*, when अनु would have been *karma-pravachaniya* even by force of *sūtra* 552 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachaniya* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8 S. 548) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23. S. 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 i. e. the

present sūtra, by the maxim of वस्तु I. 4. 2. S. 175 and would have caused a karma pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of help.

So also शाकलस्य संहिताम्नु प्रावर्षत्=शाकल्येन अनुक्तां संहिताम्नुनिशाम्य देवः प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śakalya". The force of a karmapravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशाम्य understood.

५४९ । तृतीयायै । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् सोमेऽनुक्ततस्तः स्यात् । महीनन्ववसिता सेना । यथा सह संबदेत्यर्थः ॥ विम् 'वन्धनेका' ॥

549. The word *anu* is karma-pravachaniya, when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with'. As महीनन्ववसिता सप्त "the army lying along side the river".

The word अवसिता is derived from विम् meaning 'to bind', with the past participial affix क्त ॥

५५० । हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीनेऽप्यस्य प्राग्वत् । अनु हरी ह्यतः । हरीनाश्चर्यः ॥

550. The word *anu* is karma pravachaniya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

As अनुहरीह्यतः 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note :—The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. (In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case.) As अनुशाकल्येन देवाकारणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śakalya'.

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, न सोमेऽप्येतदप्येव प्रावर्षत् इत्यात् । अधिके सप्तमी चरते । हीने, ह्य हरी ह्यतः ॥

551. The word *उप* when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as हरिं सुराः "The gods are inferior to Hari." In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

When उप means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior; examples of this will be given hereafter.

५५२ । लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सास्तु प्रतिपर्यवः । १ । ४ । ६० ॥

इत्यर्थेण विषयभूतेषु प्रत्यक्ष उक्तसंज्ञाः स्तुः । लक्षणे, वृक्षं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा विद्योतते विष्णु-  
स्तु । इत्यंभूताख्याने, भक्तां दिव्येषु प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । भागे, लक्ष्मीर्हरिं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । ईर्ष्यायां इत्यर्थः ।  
वीप्सायां, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा सिद्ध्यति । अन्वेषणार्थं वृक्षानाम् वृक्षम् । एषु किम् । पारिविचरति ॥

552. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति—हरि or मनु विद्योतते विष्णु 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree'. (2) भक्तो विष्णुषु प्रति—परि-मनु "devotee towards Vishnu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मीं 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari'. So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिद्ध्यति "he sprinkles one tree after another". So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being upasargas, do not change the स of सिद्ध्यति to ज, as required by VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270. Why in these senses only? Observe पारिविचरति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

भागेणैव लक्षणादावभिरुक्तसंज्ञाः स्यात् । हरिणामि वन्दते । भक्तां हरिणामि । ईर्ष्यायामभिरुक्तसंज्ञाः ।  
अभिरभागे किम् । यद्वत् ममाभिप्रायस्यैवमेव ॥

553. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'.

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutas mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head उ ॥ As हरिणामि वन्दते, भक्तां हरिणामि; ईर्ष्यायामभिरुक्तसंज्ञाः । Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe यद्वत् ममाभिप्रायस्यैवमेव 'give that which falls here to my share'. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of एव is changed into य by S. 2270.



557. The word अपि is a kārma-pravachaniya, when it implies, "the sense of word understood", ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

In the above senses of "somewhat," "even" "if you like", "even", and "and", the word अपि gets the designation of Karma-pravachaniya.

As सविदोऽपि स्यात् "there may be a drop of ghee." Here since अपि is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to द् (VIII. 3. 87. S. 2472).

There is Potential Mood with the force of संभावना in the above example. (When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, (when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word अपि denoting 'scarcity' is related with the verb syāt.) The word सविदः in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु "a drop" which is understood here is related to सविदः, as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सविदोऽपि बिन्दुः स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a "drop" to the whole "Ghee." This is the only way in which the word अपि can denote an object (padārtha): namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case-affix ordained by II. 3. 8. S. 548, does not apply here, and so the word सविदः is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सविदः is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दुः understood, and not with the Karma-pravachaniya अपि.

Secondly, when अपि has the force of sambhāvana; as सवि स्तुवाद् बिन्दुम् ॥ Vishnu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishnu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterable, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word अपि expresses "possibility" itself; while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word अपि being a Karma-pravachaniya, the स is not changed to द् by VIII. 3. 65. S. 2270.

The word एतद्व्यं means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. As सविदोऽपि स्यात् 'there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' नवुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ 'Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mātrā 'a measure' &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, ■ supposition. As, अग्रे सिचन् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment'. अग्रे स्तुवाद् विशुन् 'he can praise even Vishnu'. In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood. अन्वसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अग्रे सिच 'you may sprinkle, if you like.' अग्रे स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like.' The word वक्ष्म means 'censure, contempt or reproof'. As शिष् इषवन्मग्रे स्तुवाद् वृपन् ॥ The word सङ्गम means cumulative. As अग्रे स्तुहि—अग्रे सिच 'praise as well as sprinkle,'.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into व ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

एष द्वितीया स्यात् । मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं सुदधाना । कोसं कुदिता नदी । कोसगमिनि । कोसं गिरिः । माससंयोगे किञ्च । मासस्य द्विरप्यसं । कोसस्यकोसे पर्यसः ॥

558. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं सुदधाना । मासं कुदिता नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' कोसं गिरिः 'the hill through one full kos .

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.)

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or मासमधीतेकोसे पर्यसः ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kāraka.

## KARTĀ

OR

## THE AGENT KĀRAKA.

५५९ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

(मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं सुदधाना । कोसं कुदिता नदी । कोसगमिनि । कोसं गिरिः । माससंयोगे किञ्च । मासस्य द्विरप्यसं । कोसस्यकोसे पर्यसः ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta, cooks.' स्यात्ती पचति 'the pot cooks.'

### THE INSTRUMENTAL KĀRAKA.

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

जिघासिद्धौ मकुशोपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । समग्रग्रहणं किम् । गङ्गायां वीथः ॥

560. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karana kâraka.

Why do we say 'especially'? (Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense.) Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां वीथः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges." कुपे बर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i. e. on the sides of the well."

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरे करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेन रामेन हतो बाली ॥

प्रकृत्याविध्य उपसंख्यानम् \* । प्रकृत्या पाठः । रामेन बालिकः । रामेनैव राम्यः । रामेनैति । विरामेति । द्वितीयेन धाम्यं कीयाति । दुस्तेन दुस्तेन वा यतीत्यादि ॥

561. In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed.

As रामेन रामेन हतो बाली 'Bali was killed by Râma by an arrow.'

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्वेष्ट, पंचक and शर as प्रकृत्यापाठः, रामेन बालिकः, राम्योऽस्ति रामेन, समेन or विरामेन हति, द्विद्वेष्टेन धाम्यम्, कीयाति द्युस्तेन दुस्तेन वा यतीत्यादि. &c.

५६२ । विचःकर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

विचः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात्प्राक्कारणसंज्ञम् । अक्षेरघान्वा वीथ्यति ॥

562. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called karma (object); as well as karana, (instrument)

*Note*:—The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of न in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this.

As अक्षान् शीव्यति or खले शीव्यते 'he plays the dice or with the dice.'

५६३ । अपवर्गे तृतीया । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अपवर्गः कलशान्तेत्यस्यां खोल्यायां कालाञ्जनोरत्नसम्पत्तयेने तुतीया स्यात् । अष्टा कोणेन पाठशुभाकोऽधीतः । अपवर्गे किञ्च । मासंभवीति मायात् । ॥

563. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

Thus; अष्टा कोणेनाहुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

Why is the word अपवर्गे read in the sūtra? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' (Thus संवत्सरेणाहुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.')

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासंभवीतिमायात् 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvāka.'

५६४ । सहयुक्तेऽग्रधाने । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

सहयुक्तं युक्ते अग्रधाने तृतीया स्यात् । युक्तेय सहस्रसः विना । एवं साकंसापेक्षनयोगेऽपि । विनापि तथैव ततीया । युक्तेऽन्तेरथाभिनिर्वेद्यात् ॥

564. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

As युक्तेय सहस्रसः विना 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as साथ, साथे, साथ ही &c; as, युक्तेय साथ 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as I myself uses in I. 2. 65 S. 931 इमेन युवा &c.

*Note*:—Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, विनापि सहस्रसःकोऽधीतः.

५६५ । धेनाद्रुपिपारः । २ । ३ । २० ॥

धेनाद्रुपि विदुर्धेनाद्रुपि विनापि सहस्रसः स्यात् । अथवा मायात् । अथवासापेक्षनयोगे । मायात् ॥ ५६५ । अथवापिपारः किञ्च । अथवा अथवापि ॥



565. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अङ्गः काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खञ्जः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word *āṅga* in this *sūtra* applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye, is blind."

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

काचिश्वकारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जडामिस्तापसः । जडाज्ञाप्यतापसत्वादिदिष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥

566. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition is put in the third case to express this relation.

जडामिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'

Notes.—असि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्रक्षन् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandala.' But not so here, कमण्डलुनायिक्षावः 'a student has kamandala in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुनायि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say *ittha-bhūta*? Observe कृषे भवि विद्योत्तमः ।

५६७ । संज्ञाऽन्यतरस्या कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

संपूर्णस्य जानाने कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पिता पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567. After the verb *sam-jñā*, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पिता or पितरं ॥ जानीते 'he knows his father.'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्यर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । इत्यादिप्राधारणं निर्व्यापात्ताधारणं च हेतुत्वम् । कारणत्वं तु क्रियाभावविषये व्यवहारनिमित्तं च । अण्डेन घटः । पुण्येन ह्येष्टं ह्यभिः । कलमपीडं हेतुः । अथद्वयेन वसति । सम्बन्धानां क्रिया कारकादिभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । जलं शमेन । श्वेतं मास्ये जातनीत्यर्थः । इह तापनक्रियां प्रति धीमः कर्तारः । शतेन शतेन वस्तुनावाक्यवति पत्रः । शतेन शतपिच्छसम्बन्धः ॥ वासिष्ठस्यवहारे दाणः प्रयोगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया \* ॥ वास्या संवच्छन्ते वायुकः । धर्मं तु भावार्थे संवच्छति ॥

568. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया दयः 'by learning there is produced fame,' धनं कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्या शोकः 'by daughter there is grief'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55 S. 2575.) which is "agent." <Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण): or action (क्रिया), but where the action is not primarily taken into consideration.>

The difference between *hetu* and *Kāraṇa* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*; while *kāraṇa* is confined to action only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily. This is expressed by the following verse:—

प्रव्याप्ति विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।

व्यपश्रिते तु व्यापारि निमित्तं हेतुरित्येव ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a *hetu*, we have इण्डेन पटः—इण्डेनकोपटः "A pot made by the stick." Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve. But it is not absolutely necessary. The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well. So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of *hetu*. As an example of *guṇa-hetu*, we have पुण्येन शिरवणः "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners." Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the help of which is *punya*, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also. In short, *hetu* is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality; and which is not immediately connected with any verb. <The *kāraṇa* is always so connected with a verb, and gives rise only to action, and not to a substance or quality.>

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन हरेर हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue." Here *punya* means the highest merit (apūrva) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c. So it is not a *kāraṇa*, <for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing.>

The FRUIT ALSO is *hetu* in the sense of this sūtra. As अग्रजदेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction."

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to *kāraṇa*-inflection. As अग्रं श्रमं "no necessity of exertion." Here *śrama* is in Instrumental *kāraṇa*, without any verb expressed, the understood verb being साध्यं वदति. Here *श्रम* or exertion is *kāraṇa* or instrument to the verb वदति "accomplishment" understood. The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert." So also अग्रं श्रमं श्रमं श्रमं "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds.

*Vart*:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्य संयच्छते काशुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her." दच्छ replaces दा by VII. 3. 78. S. 2440. But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्यायै संयच्छति "He gives to his wife." See I. 3. 55 S. 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Para-mai Padas.

In the above vārtika the words दास्य ऋण्य 'when the verb दा is employed' are redundant. Because, by I. 3. 55 S. 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances.

—:—:—

## THE DATIVE KARAKA.

५६९ । कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दास्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानसंज्ञा स्यात् ॥

569. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradāna or recipient.

*Note*:—Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb दा to give; and this we infer from the word संप्रदान which has the root दा in it.

*Note*:—As दास्यभाष्याय गां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher." दास्यवक्त्राय निवान् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

५७० । वस्तुर्थी संप्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिमाय गां ददाति । अन्वभिहित इत्येव । दास्यो विप्रः ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रैति सोऽपि संप्रदानम् \* ॥ पत्ये चेति ॥

कर्मणः कस्यसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा \* ॥ पशुना दात्री यजते । पशुं ददाय एवासीत्यर्थः ॥

570. In denoting the sampradāna-kāraka (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

As विदाय मां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned.' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also. See II. 3. 1 S. 536. Therefore we have the form दानीदोदिवः also, where the affix वनीयङ् is used with the force of sampradāna.

*Vart*:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As पत्न्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband.'

*Vart*:—After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थानां प्राप्तुं प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः संप्रदानं स्यात् । हृद्ये रोचते भक्तिः । वाच्यः कर्तृकोऽभिलाषो हृद्यिः । हारनिष्ठप्रीतेर्भक्तिः । कथी । प्रीयमाणाः किम्, देवदत्ताय रोचते मोक्षः पथि ॥

571. In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word रुचि or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थः. (A desire or longing caused by something else, is called रुचि. As हृद्ये रोचते भक्तिः "devotion pleases Hari." Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोक्षः पथि. "Devadatta likes sweet-meat in the way." The word 'pāthi' is here in the 7th case.

५७२ ॥ श्लाघाशुभ्रस्पाशनां प्रीत्यमानः । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषां प्रदेयं प्रीतिरुत्प्रेषणः । यवदानं स्यात् । गोपी स्वयंशुभ्राय श्लाघनं हृद्ये शिष्टे रोचते वा । शीघ्रगणः किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघनं पथि ॥

572. In the case of verbs ślaṅgh 'to praise,' hau 'to take away,' sthā 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradāna.

The root श्लघ्नाय श्लाघना which it is desired to make known of in-  
form. As गोपीस्वयंशुभ्राय श्लाघनं 'Gopi praises > Krishna,' i. e. while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the ८० wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it) कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna." कृष्णाय वदते 'she reviles Krishna.'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय भ्रातृपति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

५७३ । धारेरुत्तमर्णः । १ । ४ । ३५ ॥

धारयतिः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो उत्तमस्तः स्यात् । भक्त्या धारयति शेषं इति । उत्तमर्णः किय । देव-  
दत्ताय दत्तं धारयति ग्रामे ॥

573. In the case of the verb dhāri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradāna.

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and ऋण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण 'debtor.' As भक्त्या धारयति शेषं इति: "Hari owes salvation to His devotees."

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय दत्तं धारयति ग्रामे 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village.' Here village is in the Locative case.

५७४ । स्पृहेरीक्षितः । १ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्पृहयतिः प्रयोगे इदं संप्रदानं स्यात् । पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति । ईक्षितः किय पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति ।  
ईक्षितमात्रे इयं संज्ञा । प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परत्वात्कर्तृसंज्ञा । पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

574. In the case of the verb <sprih 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradāna.

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the Churādi class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers.'

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest.' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradāna being confined to the object desired only.

This definition of the Dative is only confined to use thing desired. But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sūtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

५७५ । कुचद्रुहेर्ष्यासुयार्थानां ये प्रति कोपः । १ । ४ । ३७ ॥

कुचार्थार्थानां प्रयोगे ये प्रति कोपः स उत्तमस्तः स्यात् । इत्ये कुचयति । इत्यति । ईर्ष्याति । शत्रु-  
यति । ये प्रति कोपः किय । शत्रोर्नीर्ष्याति । शत्रोर्नीर्ष्याति । शत्रोर्नीर्ष्याति । शत्रोर्नीर्ष्याति । शत्रोर्नीर्ष्याति ।

असूयाः युष्मेषु दोषादिस्कारणम् । इहाराद्येऽपि कोपप्रपञ्च इव शृण्वन्ते । अतो विशेषणं सामान्येन च प्रति कोप इति ॥

575. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *druh* 'to injure,' *irshya* 'to envy,' *asūyā* 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

As इत्ये क्रुध्यति, द्रुह्यति, ईर्ष्येति or असूयति "he is angry upon, (i. e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari." Here Hari is in the Dative case.

*Krudh* means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *irshya* jealousy; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भार्यामीर्ष्यति 'he is jealous of his wife,' i. e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word '*bhāryā*' is in the accusative case. (The words द्रुह &c., here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger.' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "च प्रति कोप" in the sūtra.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोऽपि कृत्ययोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

क्षोपसर्गदोषयोर्मे प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । क्रुधनिर्मुध्यति नमिदृह्यति ॥

576. But in the case of the verbs '*krudh*' and '*druh*,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *kārma* *kāraṇa* or object.

क्रुधनिर्मुध्यति नमिदृह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As संवदन्तः क्रुध्यति.

Note:—This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word उपसर्गश्च means having an उपसर्ग or preposition.

५७७ । राधीद्वयोर्यस्य पिप्रश्नः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः पाठकं संप्रश्नं स्यात् । राधीयो विविधा मयः क्रियन्ते । कृप्याय राध्यति ईशते वा । इती मयोः प्रभासुर्न यमोऽप्यसतीत्यर्थः ।

577. In the case of the verbs *rādh*, 'to propitiate,' and *likh* 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्यानि-ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishna' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishna, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishna.

*Note* :—Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As सिष्याय राध्यानि or ईक्षते, वा दुरः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

५७८ । प्रत्याह्वयां श्रुचः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य श्रुत्यांत्योरंगे पूर्वस्य प्रयत्नकवप्यपरस्य कर्ता संबन्धं स्यात् । विप्राय तां प्रति-  
श्रुयाति आश्रुयाति वा । विप्रेय गृहेषु वसीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit : the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

As विप्राय तां प्रतिश्रुयाति—आश्रुयाति "he promises a cow to a learned man."

*Note* :—The compound verb प्राप्नुव् and श्रुव् means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case.

५७९ । अनुमतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणतिः कारकं पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतश्रुतसंज्ञे स्यात् । शेषेऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति ।  
हीना प्रयत्नं संवाति सम्भव्युः प्रस्ताव्यतीत्यर्थः ॥

579. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As शेषे अनुगृणानि or प्रतिगृणानि. They encourage the Hotri i. e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him.

*Note* :—The words अनुगृणः and प्रतिगृणः mean encouraging the invoker.







addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter”.

*Note* :—Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusative case by II. 3. 2. S. 537 because the Accusative, namely the Devas are the object of the action denoted by नमस्करोति, and it has not received the termination of the dative which case is governed by the word नमः ॥ उपपदविभक्तिः कारक विभक्तिर्वर्तीयति The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is “that case which is used in connection with a certain word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence.” Such as the dative case in हस्ते used in connection with नमः ॥ Here the dative has no connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नमः ॥ कारकविभक्ति is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing taking part in an action. The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger than Upapad-vibhakti.

स्वस्ति प्रजम्भा, स्वाहाप्रवे, स्वधा विह्वः, अने गले गङ्गाय ‘Salutation to Gods’; ‘svāhā to Agni’; ‘svādhā to the Pitris’; ‘an athlete is a match for an athlete’ &c. The word अने, includes its synonyms also, as मनुः, राज्ञः &c.; as वैद्येभ्यो हरिते, मनुः, सप्तर्षिः, राज्ञः &c.

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with मनु &c. Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V. 1. 101 S. 1765) स एषां मानवी (V. 2. 78 S. 1878) Therefore this is valid :—मनुर्वचमुपपदवचस्य ॥ So also एषां इन्द्राय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73 S. 631 in the case of these wc.ds, though used benedictively; as, स्वस्तिगोमयी भूयान् ॥

५८४। मन्यकर्मण्यतादरे विभाषाप्रणिपु। २। ३। १७ ॥

प्रणिपदने मन्यतेः कर्मणि चतुर्थी वा स्वातिरस्कारे । न त्वां हृणं मन्ये भूयाय वा । इदमि विवेकाभावात्किंचिदस्ति न । न त्वां हृणं मन्ये । अप्राणिमित्यपनीय नीचाकाशशुक्लभृताजपमोषिणि वाचस्प, ॥ तेन न त्वां नावमन्यं वा मन्ये इत्यभावात्किंचिदस्ति चतुर्थी न । ॥ त्वां शुणे मन्ये इत्यत्र प्राणिनिर्दिष्टं मन्येयम् ॥

584. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya ‘to think,’ the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां हृणं भूयाय वा मन्ये ‘I do not consider thee worth a straw.’ The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb न्य. So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य, with the vikarana ददन्, indicating that it is Disādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi न्यः for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां हृणं मन्ये ॥ ५८३ ॥

The words “which is not an animal” in the sūtra are useless

and should be removed. Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न त्वां शूने मन्ये "I do not regard thee even as a dog." See the Vārtika given below.

*Vart.*—Instead of using वप्राणिषु in the sūtra, the word जनावानिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये, never in the Dative:—वा 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक 'parrot,' and मृगाल 'jackal.'

Hence नावे and अन्ने although inanimate are not put in the dative in त्वां नावनमं मन्ये ; त्वां शूने मन्ये ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयास्तुर्थ्यो चेष्टायामनघ्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वनिरे गत्यर्थार्थं कर्मणि एते स्तुष्टिवाच्ये । मामं ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टार्थं किन् । मनसा हरिं ब्रजति । मनश्चरतीति किम् । पन्थानं गच्छति । गन्त्रादिष्ठितेऽध्वन्येवार्थं निषेधः । यदा ह्यव्याप्त्या एवास्तुतिरुच्यते तदा चतुर्थी भवेत्येव । उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585. In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd ( Accusative ) or the 4th ( Dative ) case, in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

As, मामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' Why do we say 'when physical motion is meant? Observe मनसा हरिं ब्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari.' Why do we say 'when the object is not a word expressing road'? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way').

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the Dative will be employed, as उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

## THE ABLATIVE KĀRAKA.

५८६ । ध्रुवमपथेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपथेऽपि स्थितेऽपि स्थाने ध्रुवमपथिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called apādāna or ablation.

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामादायति । घावकोऽप्यात्यसति । कारकं किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रणाश-  
पांशादुपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ पाषाज्जुगुप्सते विरमति धर्माद्यमाद्यति ॥

587. When the *Āpādāna-kāraka* is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

अ०, ग्रामाद्याति 'he comes from the village'; घावताऽप्यात्यसति 'he falls off a galloping horse.'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sūtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णे पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls: (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

*Vartika* :—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus पाषाज्जुगुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin,' धर्माद्यमाद्यति, 'he deviates from the path of Virtue.'

५८८ । भयार्थानां भयहेतुः । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां बाणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपारानं स्यात् । चौराद् विभेति । चौरान् भावते । भयहेतुः किम् । अख्ये विभेति भावते वा ॥

588 In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called *Āpādāna*.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौराद् विभेति "he is afraid of the thief," चौरान् भावते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief."

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अख्ये विभेति or भावते "he fears or protects in the forest."

५८९ । पराजेरमोहः । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजेः प्रसंगेऽभयार्थोऽप्यसत्त्व स्यात् । अभयपराजस्य भावते । पराजितोऽर्थः । पराजितं किम् । पराजितस्य भावते । अभयपराजोऽर्थः ॥

589. In the case of the verb *parāji*, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called *Āpādāna*.

When the verb *parāji* "to conquer," with the preposition *parā* has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable,' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अण्वयनात् पचञ्जयेत् "he finds study unbearable."

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies."

५६० । वारणार्थानामीप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिषादो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां घातृनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽप्राप्तानं स्यात् । यथेष्टो गां वारयति । ईप्सितं किम् । यथेष्टो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590. In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apādāna.

⟨The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention⟩ As यथेष्टो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley."

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field."

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ चेन्नादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

अवधाने सति चत्कर्तृकस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति सवधानं स्यात् । नातुर्मित्रीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौराजं दिदृक्षे । इच्छतिप्रत्ययं किम् । अदर्शनेच्छायां सत्तां सखिपरीने यथा स्यात् ॥ देवश्चाद् यत्ततो निनीयते ॥

591. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna.

Thus नातुर्मित्रीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother," so that the mother may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves." Here the term chaurān is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen. As देवश्चाद्यत्ततो निनीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकक्रियास्वीकारे शब्दा श्राव्यतः स्यात् । उपाध्यायादधीते । उपयोगे किम् । गुरुश्च गार्गां शृणोति ॥

592. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

*Note*:—The word *मासयान्* means "teacher," and *उपदेन* means acquiring knowledge in the regular way.

Thus *उपाचारादधीते* "he learns from the preceptor."

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe *नदत्तं गायं शृणोत* 'he hears the song of the player,'

५९३ । जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः । १ । ४ । ३० ॥

आयमानस्य हेतुत्वात्तानं स्यात् । ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ॥

593. The (prime cause of the agent of the verb *jan* "to be born," is called *Apādāna*.)

As *ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते* the creatures come out 'of *Brahma*.'

*Note*:—That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb *jan*, is called *जनिकर्ता*. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root *jan* is put in the ablative case.

५९४ । भुवः प्रमथः । १ । ४ । ३१ ॥

भयनं भूः । भूकर्तुः प्रमथस्तथा । हिमयतो गङ्गा प्रमथति । तथ प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः ॥

एवमेव कर्मण्यधिकरणे च \* ॥ प्रसादाग्रेभवे । प्रसादमास्तेष्वेते । प्रसादमाददात्तं भासते उपदिष्टं प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्रुतगजिद्वेदि । श्रुतं ईदृशेत्यर्थः ।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्षिया कारकविभक्त्या विनियमः । अस्माकं नद्याः ॥

यद्यथाभक्तानिर्माणं तथ वञ्चनी \* ॥ तत्कृत्वाप्यनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ \* ॥ कालास्तत्रणी च वञ्चनी \* ॥ दनादमात्रं योजने योजने च । कार्दिकस्य प्रामाण्यणी शस्त्रे ॥

594. (The source of the agent of the verb *bhū*, "to become," is called *Apādāna*.)

The phrase 'of the agent' (kartuh,) is understood here. The word *प्रमथ* means "the source or that from which anything arises." As *हिमयतो गङ्गा प्रमथति* "the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas."

The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in *व्यप्* is elided; as *प्रासादनाददात्तं प्रेक्षते* = *प्रासादनाददात्तं प्रेक्षते* 'he sees from a palace.'

*Vart*:—And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, *प्रासादे पश्यति* = *प्रासादनाददात्तं* 'he sees from the 'cat.' So also *श्रुतगजिद्वेदि* = *श्रुतं* 'He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law.'

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to *kāraka* inflection. As *उपाचारादधीते* ॥

*Part :—*That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case :—as, *वनान् ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा* "The village is one or two yojanas from the forest."

*Part :—*After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As *कार्तिकस्य माघश्रावणी मासे* 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika.' The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as *मासे* ॥

*Part :—*In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as *गरीधूमतः साकाक्षं चत्वारि योजनानि* or *चतुर्षु योजनेषु* ॥

५९५ । अन्यारादितरत्वे दिक्चन्द्राब्जचरपदाजाहियुक्तं । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

*एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थमहम् । इतरमर्थं प्रपञ्चार्यम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतरो वा कृष्णात् । आराधनात् । क्त कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः चक्षो दिक्चक्षः । तेन समक्षे देशकालवृत्तिषा योगोऽपि भवति । चैषात्पूर्वः कालयुगः । अवयववाचियोगे तु न । तस्य परमावेक्षितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्व कायस्य । अञ्चुत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्चन्द्राब्जं च वज्रतलपतेति षष्ठी बाधिते पृथक्प्रवणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् । गाञ्, दक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, दक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अवापाने पञ्चमीति शूरे कार्तिकस्यः प्रवर्ततेति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रत्यर्थसंगे पञ्चमी । नवाद्यप्येति आरभ्य वा केच्यो इति । अपरादिदिति सप्तविधानाज्ज्ञापकाहिर्योगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामादहिः ॥*

595. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with *ārāt* 'near or remote' or *itara* 'different from' or *pite* 'without,' or (words indicative of the 'directions') (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having *añchu* 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix *āch* or *āhi* (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

The word *anya* in the sūtra includes all words having the sense of *any*, i. e. all words meaning 'other than.' *Itara* must be synonymous with *any* for the application of this sūtra. Its use in the sūtra is therefore only illustrative. When *itara* means नीच "low," then the sūtra does not apply.

As *अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, कृष्णात्* "different from Krishna," *आराध् पनात्* "remote from or near to the forest." (The word *ārāt* meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case-affix.) *क्ते कृष्णात्* 'excepting Krishna.' *पूर्वो ग्रामात्* 'east of the village.' The word *दिक्* 'direction' includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as *शेषात्*

पूर्वः फाल्गुनः, "The month Phalgunā is anterior to Chaitra." Here the direction denoting word पूर्वः governs the Ablative. But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative, for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sūtra तस्य परं प्राप्तिद्वयं VIII. 1. 2. S. 83. Here परं does it not govern the ablative, and the sūtra is not तस्मात् परं &c. Thus पूर्वः काश्यः, here पूर्वः does not govern the ablative.

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb अस्मि are also द्विकृतः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the sūtra 609 does not come after them. उत्तरे ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् उत्तन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer.' With अस्मिन् we have प्राक् प्रत्यक्षा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आस्मिन् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with अस्मिन् we have दक्षिणादि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

In commenting on the sūtra II. 3. 28. S. 587 Patanjali gives the example कार्तिक्याः प्रवृत्तिः, which shows that प्रवृत्तिः and its synonyms also govern the ablative case. Here प्रवृत्तिः means प्रारम्भः ॥ Thus भवात् प्रवृत्तिः आरभ्य वा हेर्ध्या हरिः "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards."

The word बहिष् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II. 1. 12 S. 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिष् and indeclinables ending in अङ्गु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case." This rule of samāsa implies that बहिष् governs fifth case: as ग्रामाद् बहिष् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim शापशस्त्रं न सर्वम् ॥ Therefore we have कस्य करभोबहिः and not करात् ॥

—:—

The three particles अप, पर and आह govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachanīya. The next two sūtras describe when they are Karmapravachanīya.

५९८ । अपपरी यजने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतां पर्यायं कर्मप्रवचनीयोक्ता ॥

596. The words अप and परि are karmapravachanīya, when meaning 'exclusion.'



thoroughly." Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into य ॥

५९७ । आह् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आह् मर्यादावचनसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनग्रहणादभिधिव्याप्ये ॥

597. The word *ân* "as far as", is *karma-pravachaniya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

⟨The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant⟩ As आपातसिधुवाद् दृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pâtaliputra" आपातसिधुवं दृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pâtaliputra," आकुम्भारं यथाः पाणिनेः ॥ आसांकाश्वान्, आ मनुष्याः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name.

⟨The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (बिना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit inclusive (सह तेन) ॥⟩ The construction of the sūtra would have been better if it had been the same as II. 1. 13 S. 667 आह् मर्यादाभिधिव्योः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । ९० ॥

ऐतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्धौने पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरेः परितोः संसारः । परितः वर्जने । तद्व्याप्यं तु हारिपरि । आहुतेः संसारः । आसकलादृष्टम् ॥

598. The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the *karmapravachaniya* *apa*, *ân* or *pari*.

अप or परि हरेः संसारः "The samsāra is outside of Hari" Here the force is that of exclusion.

⟨The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृत्तं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I. 4. 90 S. 552), or हरि परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c. mentioned in I. 4. 90 S. 552.⟩

So also आहुतेः संसारः = मुक्तिं मर्यादीकृत्य "the samsāra has its sway up to *mukti*, but not with it or beyond it." आसकलादृष्टम् "Brahma is in every thing." Here आ has the force of inclusion, = सकलमागम्याप्य ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ९२ ॥

प्रत्ययोर्यदेः प्रतिनिधौ संज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599. The word *prati* is *karma-pravachaniya* when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

*Note* :—That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्बोधे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात्पति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतिपद्यति माषात् ॥

600. The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachanīya prāti when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् पति "Pradyumna is the representative of Kṛṣṇa." तिलेभ्यः प्रतिपद्यति माषात् "he exchanges māsās for the sesamum."

६०१ । अकर्तृवृणो पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यदर्थं देवभूतं सत्ता पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ अवाहयः । अकर्तृरिति किम् । सतेन बन्धितः ॥

601. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartṛi or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

As अवाहयः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe सतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here सत्ता being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषागुणोऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

सुते देवायस्त्रीति पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । आख्यायकादयः वा बह्वः । सुते किम् । धनेन कृतम् आदिदां किम् । पुरश्च्यः पुत्रः । विभाषेति योगविभाषाङ्गुलिं विधां च कल्पितम् । पूनादस्त्रियाम् । प्राप्तिर्बन्धोऽनुपपत्त्यैः ॥

602. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

1. The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing, whether material or attributive; whether feminine or masculine. This rule is of limited scope.

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative. As धूनादग्निनाम्, "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery." नास्ति पदं नुराग्नयेः "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived."

2. The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender

६०३ । पृथग्विना नानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

पृथिवीने तृतीया-स्वात्वञ्चमीदृश्वीये च । अन्यतरस्यां मह्यं लघुष्वार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनु-  
वर्तते । पृथग् एवेन रामात् रामे वा । एवं विना नाना ॥

603. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without,' *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

As रामाद्वावेन रामे वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

*Notes* :—This sūtra may be divided into two parts :—(1) पृथग् विना नानानिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ By this arrangement we can read dvitīya into the aphorism.

विना रामं विना चर्धे वेद्युत्तपक्षे विना ।

विना वसिष्ठं कुतन्मोषात् केनेनै पादितौ द्वौ ॥

The word *anyatarasyām* in the sūtra is for the sake of "collecting"—i. e. it includes the dvitīya as well as panchamī-vibhaktis. In the *Ashtādhyāyī*, the arrangement of the sūtras are 1. क्षपाक्षने पञ्चमी, 2. अन्यतरादितल &c. 3. तत्पर्यं &c. 4. एववा द्वितीया 5. पृथग् विना &c.

Now in case the third-case-affix is not employed, then the second case-affix *alone* would be employed, because dvitīya is used immediately in the preceding sūtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come. But fifth is necessary (not optional); and thus the *simultaneous* employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible. Hence we say that the word *anyatarasyāma* of the sūtra must mean "aggregation or collection". Thus by *frog leap* we draw in the *anuvṛtti* of panchamī from sūtra II. 3. 28, S 587 while we draw in dvitīya from the sūtra immediately preceding the present. नाना has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the *Amarakośha* दिग्द नाना प वर्जने (*avyaya varga* verse 3) as in नाना नार्थे निष्कला श्लोकवाचा ॥

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only. Therefore not here हिंस्र देवदत्तस्य 'without Devadatta.'

६०४ । करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्वचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३३ ॥

एभ्योऽङ्गवचनेभ्यः करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यो स्तः । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा पुनः । इव्ये तु-स्तोकेन विधेयं ततः ॥

604. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kricchra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, (when they do not denote material objects (i. e. they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives) >

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा पुनः and अल्पान्पुनः or अल्पेनपुनः &c. 'he got off easily &c.' But स्तोकेन विधेयं इति, अल्पेन ननुना वक्तुः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance.

६०५ । दूरान्तिकार्थेऽथो द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्यात्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रतिपदिकार्यवान् विधिरयत् । मानस्य दूरं दूरान् दूरम् वा । अन्तिकम् अन्तिकान् अन्तिकेन वा । अत्राप्यप्यनस्त्वेष्यदुपचनेन । दूरः पञ्चाः ॥

605. After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

As. दूरं दूरान् दूरम् वा मानस्य and अन्तिकान्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं मानस्य ॥

This rule applies only when these words have their original prātipadika singification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvṛtti of "when they do not denote (or qualify) material objects" is understood here also. Therefore the proper case-affix is employed here as दूरः पञ्चाः ॥

—:—

### THE GENITIVE.

६०६ । पक्षी शेने । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

कारकप्रतिपदिकार्यमित्यन्ति । इत्यन्तिपञ्चादित्यन्तः शेपस्तत्र पक्षी स्यात् । राक्षः प्रहृष्टः । कर्माशिवानदि संवत्सरावतिपक्षायां पक्षेभ्यः । तेषां शब्दः । राक्षिणे आश्रिते । वानः सप्तमि । एषी इत्यादिपञ्चम्यः । पक्षः पञ्चमीयाः पक्षीः । पक्षानां तुल्यः ॥

606. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c.

(different from that of a word related to a verb (kāraka); and from that of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika)

As, राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beasts foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kārakas like karma (Accusative) &c. is intended to be expressed. As राज्ञः गतम् = सत्पुरुष सम्पन्निगमनम् "the going of the good, i. e. the going relating to the good." So also सर्वेषां जानीते "He knows about ghee" i. e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c. Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्षिः संवन्निः प्रवर्तनं ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्षिः संवन्निः ज्ञानं ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother." एधादकस्वोपस्कुहते (see 614). "Fuel does good to water i. e. purifies it. Or heats it." The word edhodaka is either a samâhâra compound of एधाद्य इक्ष्वाक्यः; or एधांसिच इक्ष्वाक्यः ॥ The word इक्ष् is an abbreviated form of इक्ष्वाक्यः ॥

So also भजे शम्भोऽवलम्बते 'I worship the feet of Shambhu.' and कलानां हन्तः "satisfied with fruits."

६०७ । षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुप्रयोगे हेतौ षष्ठी स्यात् । अन्नस्य हेतोरवसति ॥

607. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun (implying the cause of an action), (when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word)

As, अन्नस्य हेतोरवसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.' this ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case.

६०८ । सर्वनामस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनामो हेतुप्रयोगे च प्रयोगे हेतौ षष्ठी स्यात् षष्ठी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेतौ ॥

निमित्तवशादायामे सर्वनामां प्रायश्चनम् \* ॥ किमिति वसति । केन निमित्तम् । कस्य निमित्तादिव्यादि । एवं किं वाच्यं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि । प्रायश्चनान्तर्यमात्रः प्रधानाद्विधीयते स्तः । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हि हिः सन्तः । ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

608. After a sarvanâman (I. 1. 27 S. 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed, as well as the third.

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' अथ or कस्य हेतोरवसति ॥

*Vart*:—When the words निमित्ते or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kārana and hetu. किं कारणं, को हेतुः, किं प्रयोजनं &c. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्रथम (the First and the second-case-affixes do not come after non-sarvanama words) As, द्वावेन, निमित्तेन हरिः ह्यस्यः or ज्ञायाय निमित्ताय &c.

६०६ । पष्ठ्यतस्यप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्वात् । विक्सज्येति पठ्यन्मा अपवादः । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरः पुरस्ताद् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् ॥

609. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28 S. 1978).

The affix अतमुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28. S. 1978.

It debars the fifth case affix ordained by V. 3: 27 S. 1974.

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्ताद् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

६१० । एतपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एतन्नलेन योगे द्वितीया स्वात् । एतवेति योगविभागात्पठ्यति । दक्षिणेन ग्रामं ग्रामस्य वा । एतमुचरेण ॥

610. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35 S. 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

As, दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhā, we get the sixth case-affix also.

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्वाराभ्यनी न । दूरं निकटं ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611. When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dūra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth.

As, ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा दूरं दूरं दक्षिणतः, आन्तिकं, ग्रामात्, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

६१२ । ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

आनतिरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे बोधत्वेन विधाक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्विषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612. Of the verb *ज्ञा* when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

As *सर्विषोऽज्ञानम्* ॥

*Notes* :—The verb *ज्ञा* when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, *सर्विषि रक्तः प्रतिहतो वा* ॥ Compare I. 3. 54.

But not so here *स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति* 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

६१३ । अधीगर्हयेद्देशां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एदो कर्मणि बोधे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातुः स्मरणम् । सर्विषो दयम् । ईशानं वा ॥

613. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (*adhik*) and of *daya* 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of *īśa* 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As *मातुः स्मरणम्* 'he remembers the mother.' *सर्विषो दयं न* ॥ *ईशानं वा* 'he gives clarified butter,' *नारवं नान्नाणानीदे* 'he can not rule his limbs.'

*Note* :—But not so here *मातुर्द्वयैः स्मरति* because *तुय* here is not the object. (The word *द्वय* is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that *मातुर् स्मरति* is also allowed)

६१४ । कृमः प्रतियजे । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृमः कर्मणि बोधे षष्ठी स्यादुपस्थाधनि एषो दत्तस्वोपस्करणम् ॥

614. The object of the verb *kṛi* takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

As *एषोदकस्वोपस्करणम्* 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, S. 2552 *स* is inserted).

*Note* :—When *प्रतियज* is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as *करं करोति* ॥

The word *द्वय* is also understood here. So that we have also *एषोदकपुष्पगुदने* ॥

६१५ । रुजार्यानां भाववचनानामञ्चरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकायां अविवक्षितानां रुजार्यानां कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अञ्चरिसंताप्योरिति बाध्यम् \* ॥ रोगस्य चौरञ्चरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंज्ञि इत्यङ्गिकमित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

\* As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यानयति शागयः ॥

*Partika*:—It should be rather stated "with the exception of रुजस्य or संतापस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति अरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word ताप is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजति रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीर्यस्य नाथतेः शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । अशिषी नाथयम् । आशिषीति किम् । नाथयकनाथयम् । तस्तेष्वभिप्रायी दार्ष्णिक्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As अशिषी नाथयम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe नाथयकनाथयम्, 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जामिनिप्रहणसाट्यतथपिपां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेव । शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । प्रोक्तयोऽज्जाययम् । निषेधे संतो द्विपयस्ते एव ते ता । प्रोक्तस्य निप्रहणयम्, प्रणिहणयम् । निहणयम् प्रहणम् वा । नट साट्यवन्दे दुष्टदिः । प्रोक्तार्थानामेव प्रोक्तस्य नाथयम् । दूषयाम् वेपयाम् । हिंसायाम् हिम् । पापयाम् पापम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs *jāsi* 'to strike : 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *ni* and *m*, jointly, severally or in any order, *nāt* to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix



चौरस्योत्थासनम्, निप्रह्वयने, निह्वयने, प्रह्वयने, प्रायिह्वयने, उनादथाहे, काचयति, चिनटि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root च्च् belonging to the Churādi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi. ■ with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root कृय takes in the causative vridhī irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭādi, and ■ called there ■ चिच् verb; all चिच् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix चिच् (IV. 4. 92). Thus काच is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure? Observe चानीवयन् 'the pounding of the barley.'

*Note*.—The word कृय is also understood here as चौरस्योत्थासनादि. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनाति, चौरं विह्वयति ॥

६१८ । व्यवहृणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

पक्षे कर्तव्यि पक्षी स्यात् । वृत्ते कर्तव्यकर्मव्यवहारं चानयोस्तुल्यार्थे । व्यवहृणोः पणने पा समर्थयोः । जित् । दाताकाव्यवहारः । दातावित्यर्थः ॥ व्यवहृणपणने स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. The object of the verbs *vyavahri* and *paṇ* when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As दातव्य व्यवहृणं or पणने 'dealing in, or staking hundred

Why does not the verb पण take the affix चाप्? It takes चाप् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say *samarthayos*? Not so here दाताकाव्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' व्यवहृण पणने 'praising the Brāhmaṇa. The word कृय is also here understood, so that we have दाते पणते 'he stakes a hundred.

६१९ । दिवस्तद्वयस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

प्राप्तार्थस्य कर्तव्यकर्मव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्तव्यि पक्षी स्यात् । दातव्य इत्येति । संप्रत्यये । दिवः । दाताकाव्यवहारः । दातावित्यर्थः ॥

619. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As दातव्य शिष्यवृत्ति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking? Observe दाताकाव्यवहारः 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

६१५ । रुज्जार्यानां भाववचनानामञ्ज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकृतंकाराणां ज्वरविर्जितानां रुज्जार्यानां कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अज्वरिसंताप्योरिति वाच्यम् \* ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंबन्धि इत्यादि-  
कमित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

'As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यामयति भागवतः ॥

*Vartika*:—It should be rather stated "with the exception of अमय or संतापय ॥

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी फूटति हनति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word *रुज* is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुज्जांस रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथतेः तत्रे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । तर्पिषी नाथयत् । आशिषीति किय । नाथयकनाथनम् । तर्पेयविपनी यन्त्रेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As तर्पिषी नाथयत् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe मन्त्रयकनाथयत् 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जामिनिप्रदणनाटमयविषां द्विसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिनायांनानेयं । तत्रे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्योत्तापनम् । विषे संदधे विषयतो रक्त्ये-  
न । चौरस्य निन्दनम् । आश्रयनम् । मित्रवत्तम् । मृग्यं वा । मरु अमरवन्दने पुत्रदिः । चौरस्योत्तापनम्  
चौरस्य नाथनम् । दण्डनम् । विषायाय किम् । धानाविषयम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs *jāsi* 'to strike : 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *ni* and *pr.* jointly, severally or in any order, *nāt* 'to injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix

चौरस्योऽङ्गासनम्, निमहयन्, निहयन्, प्रहयन्, प्रमोहयन्, उवाहयति, कापयति, विमदि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root नह् belonging to the Churādī class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādī. हन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root हय takes in the causative vridhī irregularly. This verb is Bhvādī and falls into the subdivision ghatādī, and is called there a वित् verb; all वित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix शिप् (IV. 4. 92). Thus हय is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure? Observe धानीषयनम् 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note:—The word हय is also understood here as चौरहङ्गासनम्. Only those govern the genitive, not so here चौरं विनास्ति. चौरं विहन्ति ॥

६१८। व्यवहृणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

येन कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । धूमं कर्माधिक्यव्यवहारे चाग्नयेस्तुत्याप्यंता । वृत्तस्तु व्यवहारे षणने वा समर्थयोः शिप् । वृत्ताकाव्यवहारः । मथनेत्यर्थः ॥ व्याख्यानपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. The object of the verbs *vjavahri* and *paṇ* when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As वृत्तस्य व्यवहृणं or षणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred

Why does not the verb षण take the affix चार्? It takes चार्, when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say *samarthayos*? Not so here वृत्ताका व्यवहारे 'counting the dice,' व्याख्यान षणनं 'praising the Brāhmaṇa.' The word हय is also here understood, so that we have वृत्तं षणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

६१९। दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

वृत्तार्थस्य प्रशंसक्यव्यवहारादर्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । वृत्तस्य शिष्यति । मथनेत्यर्थः । व्याख्यानं शिष्यति । स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

619. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the sixth case-affix.

As वृत्तस्य शिष्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking? Observe व्याख्यानं शिष्यति 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

*Note:—*The *yoga vibhāga*, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the *anuyogitī* of *div* runs, and not of others.

६२० । दिमापोपसर्गे । २ । ३ । ५९ ॥

शुद्धयोगादयः । यस्य वत् वा प्रविधीम्यति ॥

620. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an *upa-sarga*.

As *सपस्य सप्त वा प्रसि वीम्यति* 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'

*Note:—*But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, *आसक्त्यां प्रसि वीम्यति* 'he throws the missile.'

६२१ । प्रेष्यद्युवोर्द्विषो देवतासंप्रदाने । २ । ३ । ६१ ॥

देवतासंप्रदानेऽर्थे पसंगानयोः प्रेष्यद्वयोः कर्णयोः द्विविधेष्वस्य बाधकाच्छास्त्रोक्त्या स्यात् । अत्र देवतास्य द्विषो वपाया देवतः प्रेष्य अनुष्ठानं वा ॥

621. The object of the verb *preshya* and *brūhi* (imperative singular of *Divadi* verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

As *अत्र देवतास्य द्विषो वपाया देवत प्रेष्य अनुष्ठानं वा* 'send to fire as oblation the goat, the fat, and the marrow.'

*Note:—*But not here:—*अत्र देवतास्य द्विविधेष्वर्थे शुद्धिः*. Because the verb is not *preshya* or *brūhi*. So also not here *अत्र देवतास्य प्रेष्य*. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too *काण्वकाय पुरोडाशे प्रेष्य*. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 31.

This rule does not apply when the word *प्रतिपत्* 'set out' qualifies the word *द्विषः* as; *इन्द्राग्निं प्रतिपत् द्विषः* *प्रतिपत् प्रेष्य* 'send for Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

६२२ । ह्यगोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकारणे । २ । ३ । ६४ ॥

ह्यगोऽर्थानां प्रयोगे वाक्यविध्यधिकारे चेदे वही स्यात् । पश्यह्यगोऽर्थो भोग्यः । द्विषो वपाया १३२ द्विषः । *ह्यगोऽर्थप्रयोगे* ॥

622. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (*adhihikarapa*) after a word denoting time

(kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of *kritvasuch* (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

As पञ्चकृत्वाऽहोमीजनम् 'eating five times a day.' In short, (< words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative. > As द्विरहोमीजनम् 'he eats twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वायुक्' ? Observe प्राहि देहि 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayōga) as in अहनि भुङ्क्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as हि कास्यापाभ्यां भुङ्क्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is not meant as द्विरहो भुङ्क्ते.

Why is शेष understood here? Observe द्विरहो भुङ्क्तम्.

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृतीने कर्तृणि कर्मणि च बन्धी स्यात् । कृत्णस्य कृतिः । शेषः कर्ता कृत्णः ॥ कृत्कर्मणि वेद्यते:

॥ वेत्ताऽभ्यस्य कृत्तस्य कृते वा । कृति किम् । तद्विधे वा भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कट् ॥

623. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a *krit* affix (III. 1. 93), (the anuvritti of शेषे ceases.)

As कृत्णस्य कृतिः "the doing of Krishna."

जगत् कर्त्ताकृत्णः "Krishna is the creator of the world,"

But not in हस्तेनैवा 'cutting with weapon.' Where it is neither agent nor object.

*Ikht:*—According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as वेत्ता अदस्य सुप्तस्य सुप्तम् ।

Why do we say 'kṛit' ? Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकट्. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

*Note:*—Why do we say कृत् ? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with *krit*, while in connection with a conjugated verb (दिट्) the sixth case is debarred by II. 3. ॥ S. 627 : Observe कृतपूर्वी कट् ।

Here the object कर्तृ is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita.

६२४ । उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तिर्दोस्मिन्कृति सच कर्मण्येव षष्ठी स्यात् । एवमर्थो नर्वा शोडोऽप्येव ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययोरकारकार्योर्नाम नियमः ॥

भेदिका विभित्ता वा रुद्रस्य अगतः ॥ शेवे विभाषा \* ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विभित्ता अगतः कृतिर्दोस्मिन्कृति वा । काचिद्विशेषेण विभाषामिच्छति । अस्मन्नामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा ॥

624. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

*Note* :—"When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental. As आदयर्थे नर्वा शोडोऽप्येत्येन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd." (Keil horn).

आदयर्थे नर्वाशोडोऽप्येव 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.'

*Vart* :—"When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sūtra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in षक् or च (III. 3. 111. and III. 3. 102. भेदिका विभित्ता वा रुद्रस्य अगतः "The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra." Here in भेदिका we have षक्, and in विभित्ता we have च.

*Vartika* :—There is option in the remaining affixes. According to some when affixes are feminine other than षक् or च as, विभित्ता अगतः कृतिर्दोस्मिन्कृति वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful' Some hold the option of this vārtika as unrestricted by any such condition ; as अस्मन्नामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा "the dissertation on words by the āchārya." Here anuśasanam is neuter, and not feminine.

६२५ । कस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य कस्य शेवे षष्ठी स्यात् । न लोकेति विधेयस्याऽप्यस्य । एतां नतो पुनः पुनितो

625. The past participle ending in क when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

This sūtra debars sūtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

As राज्ञो पूजितः 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञान्तो हुज्योवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

कस्य घेन पठी स्यात् । इत्येवाप्तवित्वाचितं पठे भुक्त्वा वा ॥

626. The past participle in क is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II. 3. 69. S. 627. As इत्येवाप्तवित्वाचितं 'this is their seat.' इत्येवाप्तवित्वाचितं भुक्त्वा 'this is their sleeping.'

६२७ । न लोकाद्व्ययनिष्ठाजलर्थमुनाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे पठी न स्यात् । कसेवाः । कुर्वन् कुर्वन्तो वा शृष्टिं हरिः । वः हरिं विदुः । जलहरिः शृङ्गा । वः । देवान् पातुको हरिः ॥ कसेवमिदं ॥ \* ॥ मन्त्र्याः काशुको हरिः । जण्डयम । जण्डयु । जलं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना क्ता देव्याः । देवान् क्तवान् विष्णुः । खनयः । ईषस्वरः मयङ्गो हरिया । कृतिरिति मन्त्राणां वातुपानवाचितं मृगशृङ्गावातुगो मकाशत् । घानम् । सेवेन पक्वानम् । घानम् । भास्वानं पञ्चदशमा । वातु । देवमर्थयम् । कृम् । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः पतुर्वः ॥ इत्येव इरं वा द्विषम् ॥ धर्वाङ्गः कारकपञ्चमाः प्रतिषेधः ॥ केये पठी तु स्याद्वयः । आश्रयणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य विष्णुः ॥

627. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of छ, or when the word is formed by the affix ड, or डक, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क and कचतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by न + व + वक = ल + वक = लोकः.

1. The word न means the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in चट्, घानच् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100), कणच् (III. 2. 106 S. 3094) कट् (III. 2. 107

S. 3095) कि and क्ति (III. 2. 172 S. 3151). Thus कुर्वन् or कुर्याद्यो वा कृष्टि हरिः ॥  
भोक्त्रे पचन्. पचमानः, देशानः or केषियन्, ऋषिः सोमन्, सविर्माः ॥

2. The affix र is enjoined by III. 2. 168 S. 3148, as, हरिं विदुः "des-  
irons of seeing Hari." The prohibition applies when a word ending in इण्यच्  
(III. 2. 136) is the governing term ; as, कन्यामन्तरिण्डुः ॥

3. The affix षक् is ordained by (III. 2. 154: S. 3134 as देव्यान् पातुको  
हरिः ॥

*Vart:*—But there is no prohibition in the case of the word 'कावुक' in  
secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as सन्ध्याः कावुको हरिः ।

4. Indeclinables formed by कृच् affixes, as, जगच् सृष्टा मुखं कर्तुम् ॥

*Vart:*—This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclin-  
ables formed by होच्च् (III. 4. 16 S. 3443) and कच्च् (III. 4. 17 S. 3444,) as  
पुत्र सूर्यस्योत्तोरपेयः, पुत्र हस्तस्य विपुत्रो विरुचिन् (I. 1. 40.)

5. Nishthā i. e., क्क and क्कच्चु ; as विष्कृता हस्त देव्याः । देव्यान् हस्तवान्  
दिण्डुः ॥

6. The words formed by खणर्च् affixes (III. 3. 126. S. 3305), as,  
ईषत्करो प्रपन्नो हारिणः, ईषत्कामः सोमो भवता.

7. The कृच् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the  
च of कृच् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100) and the final न of कृच् (III. 2. 135 S. 3115),  
meaning the affixes खानच् (III. 2. 128 S. 3108) As सोमं पचमानः॥ खानच् (III. 2  
129 S. 3109) खान्मानं नपञ्चमावः॥ कृच् (III. 2. 130 S. 3110), कृषीयच् and कृच् (III.  
2. 135 S. 3115). कर्तुं कौकान् ॥

*Vart:*—Optionally so, when the root कृच् takes the affix कृच्, as, कृच् or  
कृत्स्व दिवच् ॥ The rule of this sūtra is a prohibition of kāraḥ Shashṭhi and  
not of Shesha Shashṭhi. That sixth-case affix will be employed. As  
आश्रमस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्य मिथुः ॥

६२८ । अङ्गैर्लोर्मविष्यदाश्रमर्षयोः । २ । ३ । ६० ॥

मविष्यात्कस्य मविष्यदाश्रमर्षयोर्नद्य सोमे पक्षी न स्वच् । सप्तः पालकोऽपकरोती । प्रजे शापी ।  
पांशं वापी ॥

628. The sixth case affix is not used when the  
word is governed by a verbal noun in कृच् denoting futurity,  
or in कृच् denoting 'integrity' and 'indebtedness.'

The affix कृच्, such as कृच्, कृच् &c., denote futurity, and never denote  
Indebtedness. The affix कृच् such as कृच् (III. 3. 3 and 170.S. 3171, S. 3311), de-  
notes both. Thus सप्तः पालकोऽपकरोती "He takes birth to protect the good."  
सोमं भोज्यो गच्छति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with कृच्, as, मजे शापी 'he has  
to go to Braja.' पांशं वापी 'he owes hundred.'



६२६ । कृत्यनां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७१ ॥

ई वा स्यात् । नया मम वा सेव्ये हरिः । कर्तरीति किम् । भव्ये मानवकः साक्षात् । भव्येति कर्तरि यदिधानादनभिहितं कर्म । यत्र योगो विनश्यत् ॥

629. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kritya).

By II. 3. 65, S. 623 primary nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus यद्य मम वा सेव्ये हरिः.

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' (In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory.) As येषो मानवकः साक्षात् ॥

Here by III. 4. 68 S. 2894, the kritya word येषां can denote the agent also, and is not necessarily confined to the object, like other kritya formed words (III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as येषाम्ने मानवकेन साक्षात् ॥

*Var:*—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कष्टया धानं शाखा देवहनेन, मेतव्यं द्वये गायः कृष्येन.

According to Patanjali the present sūtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhāga. As.

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

अभयप्राप्तादिति यस्मिन् चानुवर्तते । तेन मेतव्यं द्वयेऽथवाः कृष्येन । इति ।

629 A. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object.

Here the words उभयप्राप्ती of II. 3. 66 S. 624 and च of II. 3. 69 S. 627 must be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As मेतव्यं द्वये गायः कृष्येन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word द्वये ॥

६२९ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

अन्तर्गते ॥

629 B. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the *kṛitya* affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case-affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent.

As नेह्यो माजवक्त्रः खराद्यः ॥

*Patanjali*:—Why have we used the word "kartari" in the sūtra? (So that the affix may not come in the object.) No, this cannot be the reason: for the *kṛitya*-affixes are employed in denoting bhāva Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never kartā (agent). (See. III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Thus being governed by the *kṛitya*, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case-affix. To this Kātyāyana gives the following answer:—

*Vārtika*:—The word "Kartari" is used in the sūtra, because the *kṛitya* words of the sūtra III. 4. 68 S. 2894 (*āis*, मय्य, येय &c.) express agent also (are used in Active construction); and their object being not expressly taught, those *kṛitya* words do not govern any object directly. As नेह्यो माजवक्त्रः खराद्यः ।

The object of the Passive Participles मय्य &c., not being taught, the "agent" of the *kṛitya* words is taken here.

How do you say "the object of the Participles bhavya &c., is not taught by the *kṛitya* affixes," for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? आकृष्टव्यं वानं खराद्यः । The verb कृष्ट governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word *kartari* in the sūtra.

If this be so, we shall divide the sūtra into two. First कृतवानं and then कर्तरि च = given above.

८३० । तुल्यार्थैरनुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाभ्यन्तरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थयोगे तृतीया वा त्वात्पक्षे षष्ठी । तुल्य. सहचः समो वा कृष्णस्य कुर्वन् वा । अनुलोपनाभ्यां किम् । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630. The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्योः सहचः समो वा कृष्णस्य or कुर्वन्. Why do we say "excepting तुला and उपमा." Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed. Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

*Note:*—Though the anuvṛtti of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्वयस्त्वाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. (The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्वयस्त्वाम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्वयस्त्वाम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word घृतीया instead, which is not desired.)

६३१ । चतुर्थी वाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एनर्थयोगे चतुर्थी वा त्याग्यते षष्ठी आशिषि । आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूमात् । एवं मद्रं भद्रं कुशलं निरामयं सुखं च अर्थः प्रयोजनं हितं पथ्यं वा भूमात् । वाशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । आशुष्याय/स्तर्थायार्थमहणम् । मद्रमद्रयोः षष्ठीयत्वावश्यकरो न षष्ठीयः ॥

631. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

*Note:*—In the sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, च, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूमात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

६३२ । आधारेऽधिकरणस्य । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

कर्तृकर्मणोऽपि कर्मणोऽपि आधारेः कारकधिकरणसंज्ञे स्यात् ॥

632. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikaraṇa or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called Adhāra. As कटे शयते 'he is seated on the mat.' कटे वेले 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्यादाहं रपति 'he cooks in the pot.' The Adhikaraṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

भाधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात् । चक्रावृत्तपन्तिकार्येभ्यः । शीपभ्येविको वैषविकोऽभिन्नापकश्चेत्याधा  
द्विधा । कदे भास्ते । स्यात्प्रां वचावि । गोते इच्छाऽस्ति । सर्वसिन्नास्ति । वनस्य दूरे ज्ञानिके वा ॥ दूर-  
न्तिकार्येभ्य इति दिगन्तिक्रयेण सह चतस्रोऽनविभक्तयः कथितः ॥

कत्वेन्यपदास्य कर्मण्युपसत्तलम् \* ॥ मधीति व्याकरणे । मधीतमनेनेति विभक्ते इटादिभ्येति  
कर्त्तरिणिः ॥

साधुसाधुमयोरो च \* ॥ साधु कृण्वो मातरि । मसाधुर्मदुने ॥

निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे \* ॥ निमित्तमिह कतम् । योगः संयोगसम्भवात्मात्मकः ॥

अर्धेति ह्रीदिने क्षमेत कृत्वोर्तन्नि कुरुपरम् ।

केसोप्यमरि शस्ति कीदृशि पुष्कलको हतः ॥ १ ॥

हेतो मृगीयाऽय प्राप्त तद्विपारणार्थनिवृत् । सीमाऽप्यकोशः । पुष्कलको वण्डधृपः ।

योगविरोधे किम् । वेतनेन धान्धं लुनाति ॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near.'

The location is of three sorts :—

1. Location of contact.
2. Location of object.
3. Location of pervasion.

As कृत् भास्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्यात्प्रां वचाति 'he cooks in the pot' गोते इच्छाऽस्ति. "He desires Liberation." सर्वसिन्नास्ति. ज्ञानिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest.' Thus the word- दूर and ज्ञानिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh. See II. 3. 35 S. 605.

*Var:*—Words formed by adding इट् to the past participle in क्, govern the locative of that which forms their object :—as अप्रक्षिती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar.' It should be analysed as अप्रक्षिन्नेन, and then is added इति by See V. 2. 88 S. 1888.

*Var:*—The words साधु and मसाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown ; as साधु कृण्वो मातरि 'Krishna is well behaved towards his mother.' मसाधुर्मदुने 'ill-behaved towards his uncle.'

*Var:*—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done. The pīnita here means "fruit" ; yoga means samyoga and samavāya. As in the above verse :—

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

Here the third case-affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu". The present *vārtika* prevents that. The word *क्षीमा* in the above-verse means "testicle." The word *पुष्कलकः* means musk-deer. According to Padamanjari *pushkalaka* means "a spear or dart." *क्षीम्नि पुष्कलकोद्भूतः* "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary."

Why do we say in this *vārtika* "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe *केशेन धान्यं तुवाति* "by wages he cuts the paddy."

६३४ । यस्य च भावेन मावसृक्षणम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तरं लक्षणे ततः सप्तमी स्वात् । गोषु दुग्धमानासु गतः ॥  
यस्यायां कर्तृत्वेऽप्राप्त्यामकर्तृत्वे सदैवरीत्ये च \* ॥ सस्यु वरस्यु असन्त आसते । असस्यु विरस्यु  
सन्तस्तेष्विति । सस्यु विरस्यु असन्तस्तस्मिन् । असस्यु वरस्यु सन्तस्तेष्विति ॥

634. By the action (*bhāva*) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is *Locative Absolute*. *गोषु दुग्धमानासु गतः* 'the cows being milked he went away' *दुग्धमाणागतः* 'and returned when they were milked' *अग्निषु हुतमग्निषु गतः*, हुतेऽप्रागताः.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe *यो जराभिः स मुक्ते*. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness *यो मुक्ते*, *उ*, *वैपद्यता*.

*Vārtika*:—In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non-doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the *Locative* case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted. As *सस्यु वरस्यु असन्त आसते* "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting." &c.

६३५ । पृष्टी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनाश्रयविक्रये मांसेत्यन्ते पृष्टीचाम्प्ये सः । सति सन्तो वा मायाधीन् । सन्तं पुत्रादिक्रयणा-  
दन सन्तस्तयानेत्यर्थः ॥

635. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. स्वतः स्वसि वा प्राप्ताजीत 'in spite of his weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c., स्वन्त पुत्रादिकमनाहृत्य सैन्यस्यैव "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a Sanyāsi."

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूषस्तैश्च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

इतः सप्तम्योने पञ्चमसम्यो सः । यद्यप्यनेन प्राप्तार्थं पाक्षिकसम्यर्थं यचनम् । तर्था गोषु वा स्वामी । तर्था गोषु वा प्रभूतः । वा एवावुभयितुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636. The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used, after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvar 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' śākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety' and prasūta 'begotten.'

Thus तर्था गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also तर्था गोषु वा प्रभूतम् "born for the cows &c. to help the cows."

Note:—These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra admits Locative as well.

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां योने पञ्चमसम्यो सप्तमसम्योऽप्ये । आयुक्तो व्यापारिव । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवायां किम् । आयुक्तो गोः चकटे । ईषयुक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

As आयुक्तः कुशलं वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्तो गोः चकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart' Here the seventh case affix only is employed.

६३८ । यमश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

यमिगुणविक्रियानतानि यमरायदिकदेशस्य पृथक्करणं निर्धारणे यमस्तन पञ्चमसम्यो सः । यथा

तृपु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । सर्वा गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुशीरा । गच्छतां गच्छन्तु वा धावन् शीघ्रः । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः ॥

638. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class.)

A *nirddhārana* or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II. 2, 10.)

As तृपु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः : "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men."

As सर्वा गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुशीरा : 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' गच्छतां गच्छन्तु वा धावन् शीघ्रः "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest." छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः "Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful."

६३९. पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभाषा विभक्तम् । निर्वर्तिमानस्य सन्नेव एव सवः परस्मै स्यात् । माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकम्भ आरवपराः ॥

639. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकम्भ आरवपराः 'Mathuras are more rich than Pataliputra.'

६४०. साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्थायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्यां योगे सप्तमी स्यादर्थायां न तु प्रतेः प्रयोगे । नातरि साधुनिपुणौ वा । अर्थायां किम् । निपुणौ राज्ञो भूयः । ॥ सर्वकर्मणे कालर्मन् । अमर्यादिविरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ साधुनिपुणौ वा नातरं मतिपर्यन्तं वा ॥

640. In conjunction with the words *sādhū* 'good,' and *nipuṇa* 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed ; provided that the word *prati* is not used.

Thus, नातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted? Observe, साधुर्भूयोराज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

I *Artika* :—The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि ननु &c., as साधुर्निपुणोऽपि नातरं प्रति पदेदुःखा ॥

६४१ । असितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योत्ते तृतीया स्वाध्यासप्तमी । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा ह्ये वा ॥

641. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra.

As प्रसित उत्सुको हरिणा ह्येवा.

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकाशये वो जु-तंजया जुन्मानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमानास्तृतीयासप्तम्यौ सौशि-  
करणे । झूलेमावाहयेदीर्घा अवधेन पितृजंयेत् । झूले अवधे इति वा । लुपि कियत् । पुन्ये शनिः ॥

642. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Thus 'झूलेमावाहयेदीर्घा अवधेन पितृजंयेत्' or else झूले or अवधे.

Note:—पुन्ये पुन्ये वा पायसमन्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5 So also मघाभिः पल्लोद्रे मघासु पल्लोदमम् But not so here ईशालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision? Observe पुन्ये शनिः ' Here there is no elision.

But why not in अश्वपुन्य, अश्वकुशिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शान्तिद्वयमध्ये ये कारकावधौ कारकांते स्तः । अथ युनस्याज्ये ह्ये द्व्यश्व मोक्षा ॥ कर्तृ-  
गतयोर्निधेयस्य काल । इत्यप्योऽयं योऽयं लोकाश्च लक्ष्यं विधेयम् । कर्तृकर्मगतयोर्निधेयस्य देशः ॥ अधिक-  
पठेन दाते सप्तमीपञ्चम्यविधेयते । चक्षुःश्रोत्रादिभिरिति यस्मादधिकमिति च रूपनिर्देशात् । एते लोका-  
वापिको हरिः ॥

643. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-



ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between <sup>two</sup> to kārakas.)

Thus अद्य भुङ्क्ष्यामि वृष्टि or अस्मिन्नामोक्तः 'having dined today, he will dine in me after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशान् क्रोशेवा संक्ष्य विधेत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

*Ishti*.—According to Patanjali, the word अधि governs the fifth and the seventh case-affixes. This is inferred from the Jñāpaka of sūtras V. 2. 45 S. 1846, and II, 3. 9. S. 645 where Pāṇini uses the forms अस्मिन्नाधिकं and वस्मादधिकं ॥ Thus लोके लोकादा अधिको हरिः ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

एवस्वामिमादसंयन्नेधिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्वात् ॥

644. The word *adhi* is *karmapravachaniya* when used in the sense of 'lord' ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

*Note*.—The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word *adhi* governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्महृत् पंचालः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्महृत्. Brahmadatta rules over Panchālas.

६४५ । यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेभ्यस्त्वचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवचनीयवृत्तं सप्तमी स्वात् । उपपत्त्यर्थे हेतुर्गुणः । परार्थादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु स्वस्वामिनां पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिभुवि रामः । अधिरणे नृः । सप्तमी सौन्दर्येति समासपदे तु राजा-धीना । अयमस्वस्वामिना अयः ॥

645. Where a word is governed by a *karmapravachaniya* in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed.

As उपपत्त्यर्थे हेतुः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions.'

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case-affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently. As अधि भुवि रामः or अधि रामेणः "Rāma is lord of the world." By II. 1. 40 S. 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically ख) is added to the stem, अधि by V. 4. 7. S. 2079

६४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोतीति प्राक्संज्ञा वा स्थलीभूरेऽर्थे । यच्च मामाधकरिष्यति । विनियोक्ष्यत इत्यर्थः । इह विनियोक्तुराभरत्य गम्यते । अणवित्वात्तद्धि पाठोत्पत्तीति विभाषा न ॥

946. The word *adhi* is optionally *karmapravachaniya* when the verb *kṛi* follows.

A५ यच्च मामाधि करिष्यति. Here *adhikarishyati* means "directs, controls &c." Here the word *अधि* may be treated either as a *गति* or a *कर्मप्रवचनीय*. When it is a *गति* the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71. S. 3978, otherwise not.

# अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE AVYAYI BHĀVA COMPOUNDS.

#### SECTION I.

##### ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS.

६४७। समर्थः पदविधिः । २ । १ । १ ॥

पदसंबन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थोऽस्ति बोध्यः ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixe out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

*Note.*—This is a *paribhāṣā* or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधिः ॥ The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाम्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (परिज्ञेयम् भावः) ॥

The word समर्थ means capable; and is of two sorts *vyapekṣā* and *ekarthī bhāva*. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called *ekārtthībhāva* *Sāmarthyam*; while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense; is called *vyapekṣa* *sāmarthyam*.—Thus राजपुरुषः a single compound word is an example of the first; while राजः पुरुषः of the second. In this second case राजः may be connected with other words also, as राजपुरुषोदरः “The king’s man and horse”. But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with राज ॥

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 ‘a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words वित्त, वसति &c. and forms tatpuruṣa compound;’ as, कष्टं वित्तः=कष्टवित्तः ‘who has had recourse to pain.’ But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense, there can be no

६४६ । विभागा कृञि । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोती प्रकरोती वा न्यादीभ्योऽर्थे । यत्र सामान्यकरोष्यति । दिनदीक्षित इत्यर्थः । इह  
विनयेऽन्तः । अत्राय सामान्ये । अत्रादिप्राज्ञादि आशक्तवतीनि विधाने म ॥

946. The word *adhi* is optionally *karmapravachani-*  
*ya* when the verb *kṛi* follows.

अ० अत्र सामान्ये करोष्यति Here *adhikarishyati* means "directs, controls  
&c." Here the word *अधि* may be treated either as a *सति* or a *कर्मप्रवचनीय*.  
When it is a *सति* the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71, S. 3978,  
otherwise not.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुषा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

649 A. सह. (सुप्, समस्येव सप्तयेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्येव from sūtra 3, and सप्तयेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुस्यचलद्, अनुस्यचर्षत्, पर्यस्यत् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुषा (सह सुप् समस्येव) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासा देये पुनर्निष्ठती स्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रानिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरेवमपत्यं सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्वं परादेति विरेषाद्भूतस्यस्य पूर्वनिपातः ।  
इदं भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्तयनोपपन्नः ॥ मीनूतस्येव ॥

650. 'There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्वं परत् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्वं is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्व भूतः = भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasārjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Ṭīkā:—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like.'

compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टे, श्रितो विश्वामित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टे and श्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, ■ they are not समर्थे ॥

Why have we used the word पृ 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थे परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra ण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra ईच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अन्नान् = इध्यान्नान् ॥ This substitution of ण for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु इध्यान्नान् एवं साकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VL. 1. 76).

६४८ । प्राज्ञद्वारात्समासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

काश्याः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्येति ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kada-rākarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word चक् when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुप् । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो निषेधकः । सुबन्त समर्थेन सह सम्भवति । योगविभागत्वेन निषेधार्थात्कानि-  
पदादिदन्तोत्तरपक्षेऽपि समासः । सच छन्दस्येव । पर्येषुपचक् । कतुष्यपचत् ॥

649. 'The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in ॥ case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words सह, सुप्, सह, सुप् ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुष 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

649 A. सह, (सुप्, समस्यैव समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्यैव from sūtra 3; and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like भगव्यचलम्, जनुप्रवर्धन, पर्ययुक्त ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुषा (सह सुप् समस्यैव) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुक्त्युक्तं वाचं रक्षं पुनर्निष्ठो ह्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रान्तिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरेवयस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्वं यदिति विधेसादभूतस्य पूर्वनिपातः ।  
इदं भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च \* ॥ जीभूतस्यैव ॥

650. 'There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्वं यद् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्वं is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which ह्य stands as the first member, पूर्व भूतः=भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Ṭīṭika:—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इय 'like.'

Thus जीमूतस्वैव ॥ This samāsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8, S. 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own." A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46 S. 179); as कष्टमितः 'having recourse to pain'. राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुष्य इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टमितः = कष्टमितः do.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक? Because when it gets any other name such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, कृष्णः ॥

—100—

## SECTION II

### AVYĀYIBHĀVA.

६५१ । अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

वाधिकासंज्ञम् ॥

651. From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

*Note* :—This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last.

६५२ । अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूहार्थभावात्पदासंप्रतिशब्दमात्रुभा-  
वपक्षापवातुपूर्वपौगवयसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाफक्षान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति 'योगो विभक्तये । अव्ययं समर्थेन सह समर्थते सोऽव्ययीभावः ॥

652. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality,' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with



it in sense, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*,

The words *सुप्* and *सुपा* are understood in this *sūtra*. The words *वचन* should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this *sūtra* will be found under 658.

This *sūtra* should also be divided into two, namely, the word *अव्यय* should form a *sūtra* by itself.

652. A. अव्ययम् ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words *अव* and *विज्ञप्* may be compounded, when meaning *विज्ञाचोर्नष्टे* ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind; the actual compound is shown in *sūtra* 657.

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्विद्धे समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशब्दे प्रथमानिर्विद्धे उपसर्जनसंज्ञे स्यात् ॥

653. In (this book, in the *sūtras* relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

*Note*.—This defines or rather describes the *Upasarjana*. In the *sūtras* referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called *Upasarjanam*.

Thus *sūtra* II. 1. 24 ( द्वितीया धितोऽथ पठितपदास्तत्राप्तावधौ ) is a *sainḍa* *sūtra* enjoining composition. In this *sūtra* the word *द्वितीया* is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the instrumental case. The *sūtra* means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words धित, पठितं, पठित, गद, वाचस्त, वाच, and वाचम and forms *Tat-purusha*." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called *Upasarjana*. Thus कटं + धितः = कटधितः ॥ Here the word कटं being *Upasarjana*, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30 S. 654 उपसर्जनपूर्वम्, (In a compound the *Upasarjana* should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative *Tat-purusha*, the words standing in those cases will be *Upasarjana*. Thus संज्ञासंज्ञः, रूपराहः, वृक्षवृक्षः, राजराजः, वाचवोचः ॥

*Upasarjana* is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called *प्रधान* or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्रयोज्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्तिः चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभक्तेः अत्रियत्विनिष्कृतं तदुपसर्जनसङ्गं स्यात् ननु वस्तु पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, ( while the word compounded with it may vary its case ) is also upasarjana, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Note :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apārva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule ( II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c. are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth ( ablative ) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तश्चाम्भिः ॥ निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तश्चाम्भिः, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तश्चाम्भिः ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्य = निष्क्रान्तश्चाम्ब्ये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तश्चाम्ब्ये

Similarly the word, निर्वस्यसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारि in the compound राजकुमारि, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारि = राजकुमारि; राजः + कुमारि = राजकुमारि; राजः + कुमारि = राजकुमारि; राजः + कुमारि = राजकुमारि ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long इ of रि would have been shortened into र as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, औषाम्बीनिः ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोस्त्रियः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य इत्यः स्यात् । अग्यतीभावो-  
द्विष्यत्यस्य ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that prātipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus विन + गो = विनगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also घटगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + औषाम्बी = निःऔषाम्बीः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणालिः ॥

Other examples are:—नशि + शय्या = नशिशय्याः 'without a bedstead' शतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have शक्तिवल्लभः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' शिवश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाग्ययीभावादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चस्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अदन्ताद्व्ययीभावात्तुपो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य षष्ठ्यर्थे चित्ता अनादेशः । विशदोर्मध्ये अपदिशत् ।  
श्रीपेशमये त्वपदिशं विशोर्मध्ये विविदिश्यामित्यमः ॥

657. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in या; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra 1. 4. 82. instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राथम्याच्चम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्तिं चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभक्ते यन्निवृत्तिविभक्तिकं बहुवचनसंज्ञं स्यात् न तु सत्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, ( while the word compounded with it may vary its case ) is also upasarjana, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Notes :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa. I. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix ; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule ( II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth ( ablative ) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, विर्षारक्षसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारि in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारि = राजकुमारि ; राजः + कुमारि = राजकुमारि ; राजः + कुमार्यो, = राजकुमार्यो, राजः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. ॥ 656

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, *गौशाम्बीनिः* ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तत्वे प्रातिपदिकस्य ऋस्यः स्यात् । अव्ययीभावस्येति ध्ययस्य ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that *prātipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगो: 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also छत्रगो = 'spotted cow.' Similarly in those *prātipadika* upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus नि + गौशाम्बी = निगौशाम्बी: ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणायति ॥

Other examples are:—अति + शय्या = अतिशय्या: 'without a bedstead' अतिशालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राज is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मी: 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' शिवश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावाद्तोऽम् स्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अव्ययीभाव्ययीभावश्चोपयो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चम्या विना भवति । विश्वेर्वाध्ये अवशिष्टम् । श्रीवेङ्कटस्य स्वपदिसं दिद्योर्वाध्ये विदित्विच्छयामित्यमरः ॥

657. There is not *luk*-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars *luk*-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra I. 4. 82. instead of *luk*-elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ; as दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant-ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ The word दिश being read in the सरस्वति class, takes the samāsānta ङम् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिशम् is विदिशम् which is, however, feminine. It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha ( Chat I. Vyoma Varga verse 5 )

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ' ? Because after an Aavyayibhāva compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अन्तर्स्थापन, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes ; as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Aavyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अन्तर्स्थापन substitution ; as उपकुम्भारामम् ॥

६५८ । सुतीयास्तप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अहन्तादभ्ययीभावात्सुतीयास्तप्तम्योर्बहुलम्भावात् । त्वात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशोन् । अपदिशम् ।

अपदिशो । बहुलमहन्तात्सुतीयास्तप्तम्योर्बहुलमित्याहो । तप्तम्या नित्यम्भावात् ।

विभक्त्यात्प्राप्तमर्थः । विभक्त्यर्थान्तिषु वर्तमानमध्ययं सुवर्तेन सह सप्तम्यते सोऽभ्ययीभावात् ।

विभक्तौ तावत् । इतो इत्यधिहरि । तप्तम्यर्थस्यैवम् । धोतमोऽधिः । इति हि अधि

इत्यनेनैव विभक्त्यात्प्राप्तम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽन्तर्स्थापनो वचनसामर्थ्यास्तप्तम्यौ ॥

658. The change to सम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Aavyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम् ; Ins अद्यदिशोन् or अद्यदिशम्, Dat, Abl., and Gen. अद्यदिशम्, Loc. अपदिशो or अपदिशम् ॥

Vart :—The अन्तर्स्थापन substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Aavyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity ( II. 1. 6 S. 652 ) or a compound of rivers ( II. 1. 20 and 21 ) or a compound having a numeral for its member ( II. 1. 19 S. 673 ) ; as सुखम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras' ; सुखम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadha' ; similarly वनम् 'forest' । लोहितम् 'red' । एकविंशतिमर्यादम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vartika.

—10—

The meaning of sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 is now being given. "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c. is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Aavyayibhāva."

(1) Thus विभक्तिपदान् example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case-affix. The analysis of this compound is हरि + इति + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sūtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुबन्त can be compounded with a सुप् ॥ Some explain अधिहरि as हरे अधिक्तर ॥

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sūtra.

६५६ । अव्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८

अयं नपुंसकं स्यात् ॥ इत्येव नपुंसके अलिपयिकस्य ॥ गोपायतीति वाः पातीति वा गोपाः ; क्षमिष्यसिधोपम् । समीरे । कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम् । सप्तमं घामम्, निरुपा लङ्गम् । आरुद्रनादिस्य तु माध्यमीनाम् । आमेतः परितः अन्याराधिति द्वितीयापञ्चम्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यात् । नद्याणां सद्युक्ताः क्षमत्रम् । यवनानां द्यूर्जिदुर्वेदम् । विपत्ता कलिर्दुर्गतिः । नक्षिकाणामवायो निर्देक्षिकम् । हिमन्यास्तु योजतिहिमम् । अलमो भयंशः । निद्राऽसंश्लेषे न युज्यते इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिश्चन्द्रस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि । विष्णोः पञ्चादनुविष्णु । पञ्चाद्वदस्य तु नाये समासः । सतः पञ्चासंस्त्यते चरस्ते इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । योग्यतावीप्तापवर्धनविपक्षितारुद्रयोनि यथार्थाः । णनुरूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अर्थसर्थे प्रति प्रत्ययेन । प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्तायां कर्मवचनविषयविधानसामर्थ्याच्चयोगे द्वितीयागमं वाच्यमपि । शक्तिमत्तिकाव्य यथाशक्ति । हरेः साहचर्यं सहृदि । वश्यमानेन सहस्य सः । ज्येष्ठस्याकृष्ण्योर्गोपायुवयोऽप्युक्तः । चक्रेण युगपदिति विधेः ॥

659. An Avyayibhāva compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिहरि ॥

*Note* :—But for this rule, an Avyayibhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude-form is shortened by the rule S. 318; therefore, वा will be shortened to व when last member in a compound, as अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम् ॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (युष् 'to protect,') or from वा 'to protect' with the noun गो; as वाः पाति = गोपा "protector of cows."

The word गोपा when derived from युष् रक्ष्णि is thus formed युप् + प्राप् (III. 1. 28 S. 2303) = गोपाय ॥ Now add to this root क्तिप्, thus गोपाय + क्तिप् = गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the ह is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873) गोपा "protector." The second गोपा (वाः पाति) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of सुवीचयन &c. of S. 652 :—

(2) समीपवचनं, as कृष्णस्य समीपं-उपकृष्णम्, 'near to Krishna.' But in समयागमम्, निकाया लङ्गात्, गाराद् वन्नात् there is no avyayibhāva. Because by the vārtika अभितः परितः &c. (S. 544), the words समया and निकाया govern Accusative case. If there were compounding, there would have been no necessity of that vārtika. Similarly by sūtra अक्षरात् &c. S. 595, गारात् governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding.

3. संप्रतिवचनं;—As सुखम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधे 'well with the Magadhas.'

4. व्युत्थिवचनं;—As दुर्गवर्तिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्वचने 'ill with the Yavanas.' The word vyridhi means विपत्ता वाहे "want of prosperity, adversity."

5. अभावावचनं;—As निर्मलिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्मलकम् 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययवचनं;—As निर्निवम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; or अतिनिवम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure."

7. अतस्मत्तिवचनं;—As अतितेजस्कम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts,' so also अतिसिद्धम् "Past the time of sleeping," i. e. time to awake.

8. वस्त्रादुद्भावावचनं;—As हरि हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे हरिहरि वसति 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चाद्वचनं;—As विश्वोः पश्चात्-अनुविष्टु "after Vishnu." The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded; as Patanjali uses it separately in वसत् पश्चात् सेतवो see Mahābhāṣya on I. 1. 57 S. 50 and II. 2. 24.

10. स्यापर्ववचनं;—The meaning of the word स्या is four-fold, viz., correspondence, 2. severalty or succession, 3. the not passing beyond something, 4. and likeness; thus (1) अनुस्यत् 'in a corresponding, or becoming or suitable manner.' (2) अत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object of signification.' The word प्रति is a karmapravachantiya also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) स्यापक्ति 'according, to one's ability.' (4) सहरि "like Hari." Here सद् is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11. अनुपूर्ववचनं;—As अनुपूर्वं प्रविशन्तु मन्त्रः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. योगपद्यवचनं;—As सचक्रं वेदि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्रं is formed from चक्रेण युज्यम् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sūtra, by which सद् which has the meaning 'if युज्यम् is changed to स ॥



६६० । अव्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सदृश्य सः स्यादव्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाङ्गम् । सदृशः सदृशसदृशि । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुनः सादृश्यमङ्गं गुणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादित्यन्वयम् । अत्राणां संपत्तिः सक्षयम् । अक्षेत्राधिक्यं सक्षयः । अनुकूप आत्मभावः संपत्तिरिति भेदः । नृणामव्ययित्वस्य सङ्गममिति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नत्यत्र नृणमङ्गणे सात्पर्यम् । अन्ते । अग्निमन्थपर्यन्तामधीते साग्नि ॥

660. स = the substitute of सदृ, in an Avyayibhāva, when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रेणेति, but सहपूर्वाङ्गम् when the second member is a time denoting word ( II. I. 5 ).

13. सादृश्यमचनः—As सदृशि 'like a friend.' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सदृशि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sādrishya is secondary even.

14. संपत्तिमचनः—As सक्षयम् 'as warriors ought.' The difference between सक्षयि and सन्पत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self."

15. साकल्यमचनः—As सङ्गमम् 'even to the grass' i. e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सङ्गममिति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw.' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything.

16. अन्तमचनः—As साग्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' ( i. e. the whole Veda ).

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथासादृशः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा हरिस्तथा हरः । हरेदपमानं यथासदृशं धीमति । तेन सादृश्य इति न यथार्थं इति वा अर्थो निदिधन्यते ॥

661. The indeclinable word yathā, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in = case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayibhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथावृक्षम् ब्राह्मणानामाभ्यजयस्व "invite every old Brāhmaṇa." So also यथाध्यापकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथाऽहस्तया हरः 'As is Har'

so is Hara ' Here यदा denotes comparison with Hari. Thus the compounding under cl. (10) when यदा means सादृश्य or under cl. (14) having the same meaning is prohibited here by.

६६२ । यावदवधारणे । २ । १ । < ॥

वाक्यः श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽप्युक्तमप्याय यावच्छ्लोकम् ॥

662. The indeclinable word *yāvat*, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावदम्बं ब्राह्मणानाम्भवत् 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': i. e.; if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.' वाक्छ्लोकम् प्रणामः। "Bowling the head down so many times as there are the verses," i. e. saluting the God with every verse.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्तं तावदुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' i. e. I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten.

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिनामाभावे । २ । १ । & ॥

वाक्यस्य लक्षः वाक्यमिति । नाभावे किम् । वृक्षे वृक्षे प्रति विद्योते विद्युत् ॥

663. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word नाभा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit'; as, वाक्यमिति 'a little,' सुप्प्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षे वृक्षे प्रति विद्योते 'it lightens in the direction of every tree.' Here ॥ is not compounded.

*Note* :—Though the word सुप् was, by anuvritti from sūtra II. 1. 2, S. 3656, understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अवधारण which began with sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30, S. 654).

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणत । २ । १ । १० ॥

शुतव्यदक्षरे पञ्चमे एवायं समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं घृत्तं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664. The words *aksha*, 'a die for playing with,' *śalākā* 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and *sankhyā* 'numeral' are compounded with the word *pari*, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

*Note* :—This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called *pañcīkī*, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus *अक्षपरि* 'an unlucky throw of dice,' *शलाकापरि*, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also *एकपरि* 'an unlucky throw by one over.'

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । एतस्मात्तदर्थमेव प्राचीनानां नित्यसमासस्यम् । सुप्सुपेति तु न नित्यसमासः । अन्वयविलयाविसमास विधानाद्व्यापकानि ॥

665. The word *vibhāṣā* or option governs all the succeeding sūtras.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this; for by the *jñāpaka* of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not *vibhāṣā*. There is, however, an exception with regard to *सुप्सुप* compounding. It is not *nitya*, because of the *jñāpaka* of the sūtra II. 1. 6. S. 652, for *सुप* would have covered the case of *avyayas* also; but the enunciation of a separate rule about *avyayas*, indicates that the previous rule *सुप्सुप* is an *anitya* rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like *सुगन्ध*, *दयावृक्ष*, *नक्षत्रपरि* &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

*Note* :—The compounds taught previous to this sūtra, like the technical terms *ति*, *उ*, *भ* &c., would be necessarily *nitya*, because no *वा* is read in those sūtras. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present sūtra "option

ally." Q. If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *nitya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sūtra? Ans. Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II. 1. 6. S. 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not *nitya*; because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c.

६६६। अपपरिविहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसारः । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्विष्णुः । बहिर्विष्णोः । ग्रामवन्तः । ग्रामवन्तोः ॥

666. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayibhāva*.

As अपविष्णु संसारः or अप विष्णोः संसारः "The sarṁsāra is outside or away from Viṣṇu." So also, बहिर्विष्णोः or परिविष्णोः 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्ग्रामम् or बहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' ग्राम् ग्रामम्, or ग्राम् ग्रामात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb गच्छ्, 'to go,' are दक्षिणम् 'north' गच्छि 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (jñāpaka) that the word दक्षि also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29 S. 595). But this is not universal, as we see in कस्मै कस्मैदक्षि, here it governs the sixth case.

६६७। अक्षिमर्षादामिविष्णोः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोरात् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा सप्तम्ये सोऽप्यधीभावः । आशुक्ति संसारः । आशुक्तिः । आशुक्तिः ॥

667. The word आक्ष् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, आपातमिषुपं or आपातमिषुपान् वृष्टे देवः 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra,' आशुक्तिः or आशुक्तिः यथाः पानिनेः 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.' So also आशुक्तिः संसारः or आशुक्तिः संसारः ; आशुक्तिः दक्षिणः or आशुक्तिः ॥

६६८। लक्ष्मिनेतामिमती आमिमुखे । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आमिमुखे लक्ष्मिनेतामिमती चिद्विज्ञाना मन आशुक्तिः । आशुक्तिः दक्षिणः पानिने । आमिमुखे लक्ष्मिनेतामिमती ॥

668. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is *Avyayibhāva*.

The word lakshana means a sign, goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 S. 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word. As *वाग्निं* or *अग्निमादि* *पतन्ति* 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also *प्रत्यग्रे* or *वाग्निं प्रति*, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्यं) they fall towards it.

६६६ । अनुर्यस्तमया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

ॐ पदार्थे सत्यया ऽस्येवे केन तदाद्यनुवेनाहुः समस्तवत् सौख्यसौभाग्यः । अनुबलमपानिर्गतः ।  
पुनस्तु समीपं गत इत्यर्थः ॥

669. The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayibhāva*.

As, अतुक्कमहानिर्भसः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

*Note:*—Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also: it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayibhava* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

६७० । यस्य चायामः । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य वैश्वमनुना शोष्यते तेन लक्ष्यभूतेषामनुः समस्यते । अनुगृहं वाराणसी । गङ्गायाः पत्रम् ।  
गङ्गावैश्वमनुना शोष्यते तेन लक्ष्यभूतेषामनुः समस्यते ॥

670. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, श्रद्धांगं वासवानी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' श्रद्धांगे मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 66; this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as संगमार्थं वास्तु or संगमार्थं यन्वास्तु.

६७३ । संख्या वंशेन । २ । १ । २९ ॥

वंशो द्विधा विभक्त्यं सम्मना च । तत्र भवो वंशः । तद्व्यपिना सह संख्या या सामर्थ्ये । वै  
द्विती वंशो द्विभुनि । व्याकरणस्य विभुनि । विद्यासप्तनाममेव विचारां विभुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति  
भारद्वाजम् ॥

673. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As द्विभुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders *vis.*, Pāṇini and Patanjali.' So त्रिभुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *vis.*, Pāṇini, Patanjali and Śākaṭāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विभुनि or त्रिभुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhāradvājas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

६७४ । नदीभिः । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीभिः सह संख्या सामर्थ्यम् ॥ समारोहे 'सप्तगङ्गा' । द्विभुनम् ॥

674. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva denoting an aggregate.

*Ishii*:—According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समारोह); as सप्तगङ्गा 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्विभुनम् 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās.' See II. 4. 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं भुवन्ते नदीभिः सह निव्यं समस्थे संज्ञायाम् ॥ निव्यपधिकारेऽपि दाक्षेयं  
संज्ञानवभाविह निव्यसंज्ञायाम् ॥ समसंज्ञां नाम देशः । लोहितगङ्गा ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayibhāva.

The anuvṛtti of the word *sāṅkhyā* does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule : for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Gangam.' So also लोहितगङ्गा : लोहितगङ्गा; दानैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

६७६ । समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । १८ ।

इत्यधिकम् ॥

676. The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense.

Note :—This is an adbhikāra or regulating sūtra.

६७७ । अण्वधीभावे चरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

चरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः स्वास्तमासाम्नीऽण्वधीभावे । चरत्: समीपचरत्, प्रतिविषासत् । चरत्<sup>१</sup> विषास<sup>२</sup> अनत्<sup>३</sup> मनत्<sup>४</sup> उपानत्<sup>५</sup> विद्<sup>६</sup> द्विवत्<sup>७</sup> अनद्गत्<sup>८</sup> विद्<sup>९</sup> दत्<sup>१०</sup> विद्<sup>११</sup> चेतत्<sup>१२</sup> चतुर्<sup>१३</sup> तद्<sup>१४</sup> तद्<sup>१५</sup> कियत्<sup>१६</sup> अयायाचरत्<sup>१७</sup> च<sup>१८</sup> उपचरत्<sup>१९</sup> प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽङ्गः<sup>२०</sup> ॥ अस्तेति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम्<sup>२१</sup> अङ्गः परमिति दिग्दे सम्यग्मातृविधानसामर्थ्यादण्वधीभावः । परमो विधिति विधानमात्मन्यसौकायदेवः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्थाभावात् । समक्षम् । अन्वक्षम् ॥

677. The affix *ṭach* comes after the words *śarat* &c, when forming an *Avyayībhāva* compound.

Thus चरत्. समीपम् = उपचरत्, प्रतिचरत्, प्रतिविषासम् ॥

Those words of *चरत्* class which end in a *क्ष* consonant add invariably (नित्य) the *ṭach*, in spite of V. 4. 111. S. 682 The anuvṛtti of *avyayībhāva* extends upto V. 4. 113 S. 832

1 चरत्, 2 विषास, 3 अनत्, 4 मनत्, 5 उपानत्, 6 अनद्गत्, 7 विद्, 8 द्विवत्, 9 द्विवत्<sup>\*</sup>, 10 निद्<sup>\*</sup>, 11 चरत्<sup>\*</sup>, 12 विद्, 13 दत्, 14 विद्, 15 चतुर्, 16 तद्, 17 तद्, 18 तद्, 19 कियत्<sup>\*</sup>, 20 अयाया चरत् च (as उपचरत्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽङ्गः (as प्रत्यक्षं, परोक्षं, समक्षम्, and अन्वक्षम्, The second is Tatpuruṣa) 22 पयिन्, 23 सदत् ॥

20. The word अह assumes the form अहस् in the compound. As उपचरत् ॥

21. The words प्रति, च, सच and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = प्रत्यक्षम् = also अङ्गः परम् = परोक्षम् ॥ Here चो replaces the final ऋ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Pāṇini himself in III. 2. 115 S. 2171. The form परोक्षा in परोक्षक्रिया &c. takes the affix चच् by V. 2. 127 S. 1933, so also समक्षम् and अन्वक्षम् ॥



६७८ । अन्तः । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अन्तःतान्मयीभावाद्दृष्ट्वा ॥

678. The affix *tach* comes after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in *अन्*, as the final of the compound.

Thus *दृष्ट्वा + राजन् + दृष्ट्वा* ॥ Now applies the following *sātra*, by which the *अन्* of *राजन्* should be elided.

६७९ । नस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नास्तस्य नस्य देहोऽयः स्वाचक्षिते । उपराजन् । अन्त्यात्मन् ॥

679. Of the stem *bha*, the final *न्* with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a *Taddhita* affix.

Thus *उपराजन्*, *अन्त्यात्मन्* ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्वयतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०९ ॥

अन्तः तान्मयी तन्मयीभावाद्दृष्ट्वा वा स्वात् । उपचर्मेन् or उपचर्मे ॥

680. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is *अन्*.

Note—The word *अन्* is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i.e. last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous *sātra* had made it compulsory.

Thus *उपचर्मे* or *उपचर्मेन्* ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा दृष्ट्वा स्वात् । उपनदम् । उपनदि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपग्रहायणी । उपग्रहायणि ॥

681. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* ending in *nadi*, *paurṇamāsī*, and *āgrahāyaṇī*.

Thus *नद्याः संक्षेपम्* = *उपनदम्* or *उपनदि*, *उपपौर्णमासम्* or *उपपौर्णमासि*, *उपग्रहायणी* ॥ or *उपग्रहायणि* ॥

६८२ । श्रयः । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

अन्तःतान्मयीभावाद्दृष्ट्वा । उपसर्गिणम् । उपसर्गिन् ॥

682. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in a letter of *jhay* class (a mute letter).

Thus उपसन्निधम्, or उपसन्निध् ॥

Note:—The भक्ष् here means the pratyābhāṣa ह्रस्व i. e. all the Mute consonants.

८८३ । गिरेऽस्य सेनकस्य । ६ । ४ । ११२ ॥

गिर्यन्तादप्यस्यीमावावृज्वा स्यात् । सेनकमहर्षं पूजार्थम् । उपसन्निधम् । उपसन्निध् ॥

683. The affix *ṭach* comes after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka.

Thus उपसन्निध् or उपसन्निध् ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (*pujārtha*), for the anuvṛtti of the word अन्यतस्तथापि "optionally" was understood here already.

Here end the *Avyayibhāva* compounds.

## अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XVIII.

#### THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS.

६८४ । तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राक्बहुव्रीहिः ॥

684. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 23, S. 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sūtras.

Form this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 S. 829 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra.

Note:—The Karmadhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dvigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds.

६८५ । द्विगुम् । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुम् तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः । तत्पुरुषसंज्ञं द्विगुमेति पठित्वा चकारसंज्ञः । तत्पुरुषसंज्ञायास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः द्विगुमेति । समासान्तः प्रयोगार्थः । पठ्यमाणम् ॥

685. And the kind of compound called Dvigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

This sūtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dvigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that तत्पुरुषसंज्ञा may be added ; as वेपथ्यम् ॥

Note:—The object of making Dvigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त सूत्राणि and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 S. 676 &c., should apply to Dvigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra ; as sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730 already defines Dvigu. Thus वेपथ्यम् V. 4. 91 S. 768 from वेपथ्यी (IV. I. 13, 21 S. 470), an aggregate of 5 princes. According to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as इति is not part of तत्पुरुष but of the whole compound.

## ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA.

६८६ । द्वितीया अत्रातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तं भिताविमकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्येवे स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्णं भित्तः कृष्णभित्तः  
दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ चम्पासीनाम्पसंख्यातम् ॥ मार्गं गमी गामगमी । भग्नं दुःखः भग्नदुःखः ॥

686. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words *śrita* 'who has had recourse to,' *atita* 'gone by' *patita* 'who has fallen upon,' *gata* 'who has gone to' *atyasta* 'who has passed,' *prāpta* 'who has obtained,' and *āpanna* 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

As कृष्णं + भित्तः = कृष्णभित्तः 'who has had recourse to Krishna.' So also  
दुःखं + भतीत = दुःखातीतः 'who has passed over sorrow.'

*Vart*:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As  
गामगमी । भग्नं दुःखः = भग्नदुःखः ॥

६८७ । स्वयं कौल । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति च संबध्यते अयोग्यत्वाद् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्ते स्वयंकृतिः ॥

687. The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

The *anuvṛtti* of the word *द्वितीया* being inappropriate does not take place; though, however, it is understood in the next *sūtra*. Because the word *स्वयम्* being an indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्ते  
= स्वयं कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रवृत्तिकं द्वितीयान्तं सप्तम्यकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्येवे निष्पाद्यात् । खट्वाकरो जाल्मः  
नित्यसमासोऽयम् । नहि दाक्षेन निष्पाद्यमर्थः ॥

688. The word *khṛvā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

As खट्वाकरो or खट्वाकृतः (literally lying on a bed); ally, stupid, going  
wrong or astray.

*Note* :—The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word, as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

There is no compounding when 'censure' is not meant. As खट्वासाह्वः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmacharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmacharis. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वाह्वः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

इदम् । सामि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689. The indeclinable word *sāmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As सामिकृतम् 'half-done.'

*Note* :—The word सामि being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the *anvayīti* of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism.

इदम् । कालाः । १ । १ । २८ ॥

क्षेत्रेन्द्रे । अमृत्यन्तसंयोगार्थे कचनम् । मासप्रदिनः प्रतिपञ्चनम् । मासं परिच्छेदमात्राव्ययानि-  
शब्दः ।

690. The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As मासप्रदिनचन्द्रमाः 'the new moon, (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month).

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sūtra I. 1. 68, S. 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१। अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काल इत्येष । अन्तान्तार्ये वचनम् । गृह्यते सुखं गृह्यते दुःखम् ॥

691. Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with ॥ word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i. e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism ; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क् ॥'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोगे means 'uninterrupted connection.'

As गृह्यते सुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.'

—:0:—

### INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA.

६९२। तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन शुण्वचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति ह्यन्तर्हृत्विवाक्यम् । तृतीयात् तृतीयान्तार्थकृतशुण्वचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह माग्वत् । शङ्कुशयः शङ्कुशयः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः । तत्कृतेति किम् । अद्याः कर्णः ॥

692. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

As शङ्कुशयः = शङ्कुशयः 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sūtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अद्याः कर्णः 'blind of one eye.' Here अद्या in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding.

Note:—The words शुण्व, शुषा are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word मयः, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.

६६३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहानिपुणमिश्रश्चक्षुः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमैः प्राभवत् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । विदुसः । ऊनायै । मासोन् कार्षापणम् । मासोपकनम् । वाक्कलहः । आचारनिपुणः । शुद्धमिश्रः । आचारस्तुल्यः । मिश्रमद्वये सोपसर्गस्यापि प्रथमम् । अत्र मातृसदृशस्यन्यावित्त्वञ्चोपसर्गग्रहणात् । शुद्धसमिन्वा धावाः ॥ अवरस्तोपसंख्यायम् \* ॥ मासिनावो मासावरः ॥

693. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pūrva* 'prior,' *sadṛśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *anārtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuṇa* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *ślakṣhṇa* 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-puruṣha*.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासिन् पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' विदुसः 'similar to the father,' मासोन् कार्षापणम्, मासोपकनम् 'a Karshāpāna coin less by a māśāḥ' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' आचार विपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' शुद्धमिश्रः 'mixed with juggery' आचारस्तुल्यः 'polished in behaviour.'

*Vart:*—The compounding takes place even when निश्च is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI. 2. 154 S. 3888 "The word निश्च is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact." This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have शुद्धसमिन्वा धावाः ॥

*Vart:*—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

६६४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ।

कर्तारि करणे च तृतीया कृत्वेन बहुलं प्राभवत् । कृत्वा भावे कृत्वाभावे । सर्वोर्भिदोः नरादिभ्यः ॥ कृदन्ते गणिकारक्त्युपेक्षयापि अङ्गम् \* ॥ कृतनिमित्तः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । निमित्तानिर्वाचनः । हेतावेवा तृतीया । बहुलमङ्गं सर्वोपाधिनिष्पद्यमङ्गम् । तेन शक्यं कृतवानिच्छाये न । कृता किम् । कर्तृः पञ्चतित्तम् ॥

694. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *kṛit*

affix; and the compound so formed is called Tatpuru-  
sha.

As कृदिनाहतः = कृदिहतः 'killed by the snake.' नखनिम्नः 'divided by the  
nails.' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe,' कृदिनापातः = कृदिपातः ॥

*Var:*—The word कृन् here includes not only simple kridantas, but  
words preceded by a Gati or a kārakā even. As not only नखनिम्नः but नखनिर्दिष्टः  
also.

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*'?  
Observe निक्षिपिद्विषितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that  
of हेतुः mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 S. 566 and not that of II. 3. 18.' S. 561.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules  
and conditions. Observe वणिजं मूलवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' वरमुनाच्छिन्नवान्  
'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is com-  
pounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—  
as, पादहारकः and गणे चोपकः. Why do we say with a kridanta? See कृतिः पचति  
हराम् where पचतिहराम् is a verb and not a kridanta noun.

*Paribhasha:*—"A kṛit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed in  
Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has  
been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix; but moreover, should a Gati,  
or a noun such as denotes a case relation, have been prefixed to that word-  
form, then the kṛit-affix must denote the same word-form together with the  
Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it."

६८५ । कृद्वेदाधिकार्यवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

कृतिनिष्ठाकलकन्यवादवचनधिकार्यवचने तच्च कर्तरि कृत्वे च कृत्विवा कृद्वेः प्राग्वत् । वात-  
च्छेद्यं हृन् । काकवेद्यं नदी ॥

695. A word ending with the third case-affix when  
it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded op-  
tionally with a word ending in a *kṛitya* affix, when an *exaggera-  
ted statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and  
the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As वातच्छेद्यं हृन् 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind.) It  
is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse; denoting weakness.

So also काकवेद्यं नदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak,  
into it and drink while sitting on the bank. In this sense it is praise. It  
may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow  
may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.)



६६६ । अन्नोक्तं व्यञ्जनम् । २ । १ । ३४ ॥

संस्कारकृत्यवशात्के तुतीयान्तमङ्गेन प्राप्नोत् । इत्थां ओदनी वध्योदनाः । इत्थान्प्रोपसेकक्रिया-  
द्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

696. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a *condiment*, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as व्यञ्जोदनाः = उदना वद्यसिक्तं ओदना 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

६९७ । भक्ष्येण मिथीकरणम् । २ । १ । ३५ ॥

दुष्टेन धानाः दुष्टधानाः । मिथ्ययक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient*, is compounded with a word meaning *victuals*, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As दुष्टधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery ;'

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य ; its refinement is called मिथीकरणम् ॥

Note :—The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

## THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६६८ । अतुर्थी नक्षर्यार्थवन्निहितसुखरक्षितैः । २ । १ । ३६ ॥

अतुर्थ्यन्तार्थस्य यत्तद्वाचिनाऽप्यादिभिश्च अतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राप्नोत् । नक्षर्येण नक्षरनिविष्टेतिनाम् एव दृश्यते । वन्निहितैर्महयाऽज्ञानकान् । प्रुप्तान् शक्यं ज्ञपयत् । मेहः । रम्भनाम् रम्भाधी । शम्भयत्साऽश्नत्तु यदीक्षमाणाः ॥ नक्षर्येण निरक्षरतायाः विशेष्यनिष्ठता येति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ द्विजाचार्य द्विजार्थः कुपः । द्विजार्थं यवाद्यः । द्विजार्थं यमः । भूतवन्ति । मोहितम् । गोसुखम् । गोवन्ति ॥

698. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *rukhe*

'pleasure' and *raṭshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-puruṣa.

The words सुप्, सुप् are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression सर्व्य 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jñāpaka of the words *balī* and *raṭshita* used in this sūtra. As दूषाद्य दहः = दूषादहः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). But not so here. एषनाद्य स्थायी 'pot for cooking.' So also or अशहवनाद्येतुल्यतम 'the wood mortar for threshing.' The words like 'अश्वपास &c. are Genitive compounds.

From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of.' The word सर्व्यार्थे is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to.' See VI. 2. 44. S. 3777. For accent see VI. 2. 45 S. 3779.

*Part:*—With the word सर्व्य the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, द्विजार्थः दूषः "soup for the twice-born" ब्राह्मणार्थं पदः 'milk for the sake of Brahmanas ;' and द्विजार्था दवाद् दूषः 'gruel for the twice-born.' So also पुन बलिः 'a sacrifice for bhūtas' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' मोहितं 'what is good for cows.' मोक्षं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोपक्षि 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

## THE ABLATIVE TATPURUṢA

६६२ । पटञ्चमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

भोग्नयनं चौरभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभोग्नयनं वाच्यम् \* ॥ दूकभीतः । दूकभीतिः । दूकभीः ॥

699. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

*Note:*—The phrase सुप् सुप् is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As भोग्नयनम् = चौरभयम् 'fear from thieves'

*Part:*—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as दूकभीतः, दूकभीतिः, दूकभीः ॥

*Note:*—This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra II. 1. 32 S. 691 and an exposition of the word गृह्यत there. So that we may have the following compounds also : ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village' अग्रं गृह्यतु ॥

७०० । अपेतापोदमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतेः सशानं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्वने स तत्पुरुषः । मुखापेनः । कल्पनापोदः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गापचस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासादात्पतितः ॥

700. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mutta* 'freed' *pat'ta* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, *मुखापेनः* 'gone away from pleasure' *कल्पनापोदः* 'carried away by imagination' *चक्रमुक्तः* 'freed from the wheel.' *स्वर्गपतितः* 'fallen from heaven.' *तरङ्गापचस्तः* 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32. S. 694.

Why do we use the word *अल्पशः* 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case:—*प्रासादात् पतितः*, 'fallen from the mansion.' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

७०१ । स्तोकात्सिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्रादि केन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकात्मुक्तः । अन्तिकात्मुक्तः । अन्तिकादागतः । अभ्यासादागतः । दूरादागतः । विमकृष्टादागतः । कृच्छ्रादागतः । पुरुषभ्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dhra* 'far,' and also the word *kricchhira* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *ka*, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As *स्तोकात् मुक्तः* 'loosed from a little distance.' *अन्तिकात्मुक्तः* ॥

So also *अन्तिकादागतः* 'come from near' *अभ्यासादागतः* 'come from near' *दूरादागतः* 'come from far,' *विमकृष्टादागतः* 'come from a distance,' *कृच्छ्रादागतः* 'come with difficulty,' *कृच्छ्रात् लब्धः* 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2. S. 959 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

## THE GENITIVE TATPURUSHA

७०२ । पृष्टी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

पृष्टः शुद्धो वाचस्पत्यः ॥

702. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषोऽन्तराष्ट्रियः 'the king's man.'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः पदान्ते सम्प्रत्यये । पुत्रकाभ्यां कर्तृपितृत्वस्य प्रतिपत्तयोऽप्यत्र । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । देवपूजकः ॥  
पुत्राक्षरेण नरनोपपत्तिरिति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ सत्यन्तं यद्गुणवाचि तेन सङ्गो समासस्तरप्यस्यमनोपपन्न । न  
निर्वाणस्य इति पूजयुगंति च निषेधस्य प्रतिपत्तयोऽप्यत्र । सर्वेषां श्वेततरः सर्वश्वेतः । सर्वेषां महत्तरः ।  
सर्वमहात् ॥ कृषोणा च पट्टी समस्तस्य इति वाच्यम् \* ॥ इत्यस्य ज्ञानः इत्यत्रयनः ॥

703. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II. 2. 15 S. 309 in the case of याजक &c. ; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition.

(याजकादि)

1. याजक ॥ 2. पूजक ॥ 3. परिचारक ॥ 4. परिवेषक ॥ 5. परिवेषक ॥  
6. आपक or आतक ॥ 7. आभ्याषक ॥ 8. वस्त्राषक or उस्त्राषक ॥ 9. वस्त्रार्तक ॥  
10. होतृ ॥ 11. भर्तृ ॥ 12. रथमणक ॥ 13. पत्निययाक ॥ 14. योतृ ॥ 15. हर्तृ ॥  
16. चलेक ॥

*Vart*:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कविस्यारसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

*Vart*:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree ; and the sign of comparison is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः—सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः—सर्वमहात् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वश्वेततमो गो 'a cow whitest among all.'

*Vart*:—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix ; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65 S. 623 states the conditions when a kṛit-formed word governs the genitive case. Thus रथमणमय 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by *kṛit*-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 50, S. 606 is a 'pratiṣedhaiddhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see Vārtika under II. 2. 10 S. 704.

॥ ७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे वा पक्षी सा न समस्यते । नृणां द्वित्रः श्रेष्ठः ॥ अविपक्षविधाना पक्षी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम् ० ॥ सर्वविधो ज्ञानम् ॥

704. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*).

As नृणां द्वित्रः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men.'

*Nota* :—With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirbhāraṇa.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41. S. 638.

*Vart* :—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50 S. 606. is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of *Samaśya*. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्वविधाज्ञानम्, बहुव्रीह्याम् ॥

॥ ७०५ । पूरणशुणसुहिताद्यसद्व्ययस्यसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूराणार्थैः सर्वविधैः पक्षी न समस्यते । पूर्यैः सर्वा पक्षः ।

शुणे । काकस्य काक्यर्था । आह्वयस्य आह्वयः । यदा प्रकरणाविद्या इत्या इति विशेष्ये ज्ञानं सर्वविधताहरणम् । अविद्यादयं शुणन निषेधः । सर्वविधं संज्ञानामात्मन्यविद्याविनिर्दिष्टम् । तेनार्थवोरपं बहुविधान्यामित्यादि सिद्धम् ।

सुहिताद्योऽन्यार्थाः । पक्षीनां सुहितः । तृतीयासमासस्तु स्वादेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सत् । द्वित्रस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वन्त्या वा । किंकर इत्यर्थः ।

अन्यदम् । आह्वयस्य कुर्यात् । पूर्वोक्तस्यार्थवोरपं कुर्यात् । तेन बहुव्रीह्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः ।

तन्मः । आह्वयस्य कर्तव्यम् । तन्मता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तत्तत्स्य सर्वस्य । विशेषणसमाससिद्धं बहुव्रीह्याम् । शीर्षेणोक्त्यादिषु चोक्त्यादीनां विमलस्योरे अविद्यायां परस्वार्थापकः पक्षीसमासः मानः सोऽन्येन शब्देन ॥

705. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127 S. 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix *tavya*, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सप्तमिषु 'sixth amongst the goods'; (2) काकस्य काल्वर्षम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य दूताः 'The Brahmana has white teeth.' This illustration is to be given when by context the word दन्ताः is understood.

The prohibition about *guṇa*-compounding, is however not universal : for we find Pāṇini himself making such a compound in the following sūtra तद्विशेषं संतामनागत्यात् I. 2. 53 S. 1295. Here the word संतामनागत् is a *guṇa*-compound, the word *गत्यात्* being *guṇa*. So the compounds अर्थनीत्यर्थ, सुखिनस्तद्वत् are valid.

(3) The word सुखिन means सुख or satisfied. कर्मानां सुखिनः 'satisfied of fruits;' कर्मानां सुखः The instrumental compound however is not prohibited. As कर्मण सुखः = कर्मसुखः ॥ The difference is in accent. It is *ādyudātta*, while a genitive compound would have been *finni udātta*.

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्यात् 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्यात् 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa.'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा ॥

The word *avyaya* in the sūtra means the *Kṛdanta*, 'Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable. This we infer from the fact that the word *avyaya* here is associated with *Kṛdanta* words both before and behind. Namely सत् is a *Kṛt* affix and तस्य is also a *kṛt* affix, therefore अन्त्य which is in the middle, must refer also to a *kṛt*-formed Indeclinable. Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than *kṛdanta*, as तस्य उपरि = तदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakeshita. According to others, namely Kaiyāta and Haradatta, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable. But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patañjali, who uses the compound तदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्मस्य ॥ When however the affix is तस्य having the indicative स (III. 1. 96) there is compounding; as ब्राह्मणस्य कर्म 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' एकस्य कर्म 'One's duty.' The difference is in accent (VI. 1. 155. S. 3229).

(7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pāṭaliputraka' पाणिनिः सूत्रकारस्य of the sūtra composer Pāṇini.' So also तत्त्विकस्य सर्वस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition, one qualifying the other, as contained in sūtra II. 1. 57 S. 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sūtra ; the difference between that sūtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound, the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

In the case of तस्य the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent, तस्य is final svarita as it has an indicatory ह्. Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तस्य, and कर्तव्यम् by तस्य. In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कर्तव्यस्यत्वेत्स्वः but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udātta would have remained in the middle.

In the phrase गोर्धनोः, the गो is a jāti word, and धनु is read in sūtra II. 1. 65 S. 744, and so there ought to be compounding : is it so ? Now the compounding is ordained by II. 1. 65 S. 744 which applies to all cases in general ( including genitive ) but that sūtra is set aside by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोर्धनोः should be compounded by II. 2. 8 S. 702. But this sūtra itself is set aside by the present sūtra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धनोः either by II. 2. 8 S. 702, or II. 1. 65 S. 744. In fact, II. 1. 65 S. 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth ; while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which itself is limited by the present sūtra.

७०६ । केन च पूजायाश्च । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धिर्नि वृत्तेषु विहितो यः कस्तन्मेन वदती न समस्यते । एतान् नतो युद्धः प्रकृतो वा । एतद्भूजित इत्यादि तु भूते ज्ञानमेव सह त्वीयाद्यमासः ॥

706. A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding.'

The affix क् is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. S. 3089. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and पूजा itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mātī 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञो मतः—कुञ्जः—शुभितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

But in राजपूजितः "honored by the king," the affix *hta* denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound.

७०७ । अधिकरणवाचिनो च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

स्तेन पट्टी न समस्यते । इदमेवासासितं गतं भुञ्जत वा ॥

707. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix '*hta*,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

As इदमेवासासितं गतं भुञ्जत 'here they have sat, gone or eaten.'

Note:—When the affix *क्त* is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the notion is located by the agent in 'this or that site' (III. 4. 76 S. 3037)

७०८ । कर्मणि च । २ । २ । १४ ॥

वधवधः कर्मणीति वा पट्टी सा न समस्यते । आचर्यो गवां दोहेऽगोपेन ॥

708. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II. 3. 66 S. 624.

As आचर्यो गवां दोहेऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Note:—The anuvṛtti of *क्त* does not extend to this aphorism. The word *karma* qualifies *शब्दार्थ*. Sūtra II. 3. 66 S. 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i. e., when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by *कृति* affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent.

७०९ । नृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि । २ । २ । १५ ॥

कर्तृपदोक्तत्वात् पट्टया न समसः । चपरे मष्टः । वज्रस्य भर्ता । गोदेवस्य वाचकः । कर्तरि क्तिम् । इत्यादि भवत्यभिधानात् । चपरे मष्टः तु वाचकवित्यात्मना । मृदना । कर्तृ तर्हि मष्टना निर्गतमित्युक्तत्वात् । चपरे मष्टः इति । चपरे मष्टः इति । चपरे मष्टः इति ।

709. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with '*trich*' or '*uka*,' when



the force of the affixes is that of an agent.

As अणं स्रष्टा 'the creator of waters' वज्रस्य धर्ता 'the holder of thunder-bolt.'

*Note*.—The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes *trich* and *aka*. The affix कृष् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix धक् is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element द् are धक्; such as कृष्ण or कृष्ण or कृष् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.)

It might be suggested that the word धर्ता being read in the class of धातकः (II. 2. 9. S. 703) ought to be compounded. The word धर्ता there means 'husband or lord,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.' Thus धर्ता "the lord of world." How do you explain the compound विभुवनविधातुः in the sentence यदनांनिर्नातुः विभुवनविधातुः कृतः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds." According to Kalyāyāta it is compounded as shesha shashthi and it is not a pratipada vidhāna shashthi.

The above are examples of words formed by कृष्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by धक्; thus बीजवत्स्य पाचकः 'the-cooker of rice.'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent?' Observe इष्टनक्षिकां न धारयति.

७१०। कर्तरि च । २। २। १६ ॥

कर्तरि पठ्या नकेन न समासः । भवत्यः धातिका । नैव कृष्णवर्तते । तदोक्तं कर्तुंभिहितत्वेन कर्तृपठ्या समासत् ॥

710. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka.' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.,

As भवतः धातिका 'your honors' repose!

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II. 3. 65 S. 623. The anuvṛtti of कृष् is not to be read into this sūtra. Because a कृष्-formed word always denotes an agent, and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus स्रष्टा is a word formed with कृष् affix. It means "creator," and in अणं स्रष्टा हरिः the agent हरिः can never take the Genitive case in connection with स्रष्टा denoting the agent. But with धक् (कृष् III. 3. 111 S. 3288) we have स्रष्टिक where हरि can take the Genitive case, as हरिः स्रष्टिका "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोस्केन नित्यं एही समस्थे । उद्दालकपुष्पभाजिका : क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा ।  
संज्ञायामिति भावः ण्युत् । जीविकायाश्च । एतद्वेत्तकः । सच क्रीडायां विकल्पे आयेकायां नृजकाभ्यां  
कर्तरिति निवेद्ये प्राप्तं वचनम् ॥

711. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is in-  
variably compounded with a word ending with aka, when  
this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood; and the compound  
is Tat-purusha.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभाजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the east-  
ern districts in which uddālaka (lasorā vernacular) flowers are broken or  
crushed.' Here ण्युत् denotes mere action by III. 3. 109 S. 3286, and forms a  
Name. - As an example of livelihood we have वृत्तलेखकः 'one who earns his  
bread by painting or marking the teeth.' मणलेखकः 'a nail-painter by pro-  
fession.'

Note:—This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. The anurpiti of  
the word 'na' which began with II. 2 10 S. 704, does not extend further. The affix  
ण्युत् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of  
'aka'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe  
मोदनस्य भोजकाः.

उद्दालक पुष्पाभाजिका ॥ Here neither the ण्युत् denotes the agent nor the  
genitive पुष्पाभाजि is a कर्तरि पक्षी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sūtras  
can not apply. Now the compounding will be the usual genitive  
compound by sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702 which is optional, and to set aside  
that usual optional compounding, the present sūtra is ordained which  
makes the compounding compulsory. Similarly एतद्वेत्तकः ॥ In this the  
aka वाक् denoting the agent could not have been compounded  
with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sūtra;  
therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sūtra-kāra has made  
this present sūtra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable*. In other  
words, the present sūtra sets aside the option of II. 2 8. S. 702 in the case  
of उद्दालकपुष्प भाजिका, and the prohibition of II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of  
एतद्वेत्तकः ।

७१२ । पूर्वोपगच्छोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणम् । २ । २ । १ ॥

अत्रादिना शरं पूर्वोपगच्छं शरदन्तो एकावयवव्याप्तिविशेषवन्ती । पक्षीयगतावापराः । पूर्वो  
कादस्य पूर्वोपगच्छः । अत्रादिना ॥

एतदेष्टिमांशेष्टः । पूर्वोपगच्छः । अत्रादिना । अत्रादिना । अत्रादिना ।

सर्वोऽप्येकैवोऽङ्गो समस्यते संख्याविशयेति ज्ञापकान् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । कोऽपि सर्वोऽप्येकैवः कानि स समस्यन्ते न त्वद्वैव । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापस्तृत्वात् । तेन मध्याह्न । दधार्ता । पश्चिम-  
रात्रयोचरा इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712. The words *pūrva* 'front,' *apara* 'rear,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is *Tat-puruṣa*.

*Note*.—The word 'ekādhipikarāṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadesin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-puruṣha compound ordained by II. 2. 8 S. 702 which would have placed the words 'pūrva' &c. last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 48 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

This is an *apavāda* or exception to Genitive compounding under II. 2. 8 S. 702. Thus पूर्व+कायस्य=पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body';

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नाम कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्ववत्तुल्यपुत्रः 'the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (adhipikarāṇa) is not unity (eka). But the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening' are correct, because the word 'alīna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238.

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the jñāpaka of sūtra VI. 3. 110 S. 238 is not confined to सङ्ख्य only, but applies to all words denoting time: as the jñāpaka is general, and not merely limited to a particular word. As a result, we get compounds like मध्य रात्रः and पश्चिमरात्रः in the examples given in the text above.

७१३ । अर्थं नपुंसकस्य । २ । २ । २ ॥

समांशमात्रवर्धयित्वा नित्यं द्विवेदे स ग्राह्यः ॥ एकविंशत्तत्पुरुषस्य नपुंसकस्य \* ॥ एकदेशिमात्रस्य विषयतोऽप्युपसर्जनसंज्ञाविशेषः । तेन पञ्चमसङ्ख्ये इत्यादि निश्चयानि । अर्थं विभक्त्याः सपर्विलम्बी । द्विवेदे किम् । मासार्धः । द्विवेदस्य तुल्यं । अर्थं विभक्त्यनानाम् ॥

713. The word *अर्थ* when it signifies 'exactly equal parts i. e. halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with ■ word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

*Vart*:—A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case, is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sūtra. I. 2. 44 S. 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिनानां that is, to compounds denoting parts of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in दधानां खट्वानां समहारः = दधखट्वा n Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by योऽङिघोर &c. I. 2. 48 S. 656 The result of which is that the compound gets ङीष् ॥

But in अर्धे दिव्यस्वाः = अर्धदिव्यस्वा the word दिव्यस्वा in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vārtika applies to it, because it is ekadesī; and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars II. 29; as अर्धदिव्यस्वाः = अर्धदिव्यस्वा 'a half of the pepper'; अर्धकोशात्की 'a half of the Kośātkī'.

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्धः 'half the village' गमत्तर्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्धे पटोरेवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्धे दिव्यस्वाभ्याम् 'the half of the peppers.'

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुयांन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एकदेशिनेतिना सह प्राग्बह्व । द्वितीये भित्ताया द्वितीयविज्ञा । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीये भित्ताया निवृत्तस्य । अन्यतरस्यां बह्वन्तानां धात्वन्तुणेने निषेधं यद्विज्ञा षष्ठे पठ्यमानाः । भित्ताद्वितीयम् ॥

714. The word dvitīya, 'second,' tṛtīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

*Note*:—This also debars II. 2. 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. S. 703 also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयभिक्षायाः = द्वितीयं भिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra II. 2. 9 S. 703 we have द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः.

Why do we say "which signifies a thing that has parts?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः भिक्षुकस्य.

By force of the word सम्बन्धवत् "optionally" read in this sūtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the great option (Mahāvibhāsa of sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665), we infer that the sūtra II. 2. 11 S. 705 is set aside in the case of these words, and so we can form usual compounds also under sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 701. For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II. 2. 7 S. 705. Thus we have द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II. 2. 8. S. 702 and by the present sūtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms.

७१५ । प्राप्तपन्ने च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पक्षे द्वितीयाभिनेति समग्रः । प्राप्ती जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकाः । जीविकाप्राप्तः । आपन्नजीविकाः । जीविकापन्नः । इह ह्ये द्वितीयया अ इति द्वित्वा अकारोऽपि विधीयते । तत्र जीविकां प्राप्ता च प्राप्ता-जीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715. The words *prāpta* 'obtained,' and *āpanna* 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The *anuvṛitti* of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekādhikarāṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24 S. 686. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकाः (प्राप्ता जीविकां) or जीविकाप्राप्ताः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकाः or जीविकापन्नाः.

In this sūtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीया + यः; and the sūtra ordains a substitution also, in case of feminine gender. Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sūtra

should be translated thus :—"The words प्राज्ञ and भाष्य are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound ; and there is the substitution of short अ for long भा if these words are in the feminine." Thus जीविकां प्राज्ञा स्त्री-प्राज्ञजीविका. Here प्राज्ञा is not upasarjana, and no sūtra would have shortened this. Similarly भाष्यजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sūtra II. i. 24 S. 686, then we have जीविकां प्राज्ञा स्त्री = जीविकाप्राज्ञा ॥

### ७१६ । कालाःपरिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छेदशब्धिना युज्यन्तेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासी जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । द्वाद-  
शातः । द्वयोर्द्वौ । समाशारे द्वयः । द्वये जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमायिणा द्विगोः  
विद्यते बहुना मरुतुपस्थोपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ हे भवन्ती जातस्य यस्य स द्वादशातः । अट्टाऽद्वयान् वक्ष्यमाणोऽ  
द्विगः । पूर्वं तु न सख्ययोः समाहार इति विग्रहः ॥

716. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, (with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time,) and the compound is Tat-purusha

This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासी जातस्य = मासजातः 'month old' (born a month ago.) So also सप्तवर्षजातः 'a year old' and द्वयजातः 'Two days old.' This is a compound of two words द्वाद and जात, as द्वाद जातस्य यस्य = द्वयजातः ॥ The word द्वाद itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वारद्वौ समाशारे = द्वयः ॥ Thus द्वि + अहन् + टप् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) = द्वि + अह् + ञ (अन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789) द्वाद ॥ Now this द्वाद is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be हे भवन्ती जातस्य यस्य सः, then the form will be द्वयजातः; and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time. For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously. To obviate this difficulty we have the following.

*Varlika* :—Enumeration should be made of a Tat-purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured.) So we can compound हे भवन्ती जातस्य into द्वयजातः ॥ The अहन् is changed to अह् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. But in the first case, we form a Samāhara compound, and so V. 4. 89 S. 793 applies, and we have no अह् substitution.

## THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डैः । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्बद्धा । ज्ञेयेषु शौण्डः सप्तशौण्डः । अविशुद्धोऽत्र पठ्यते । संयुक्त-  
रपवसिति खः । ईश्वरार्थिनः ॥

717. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-  
pounded with the words *śaunda* 'skilled' &c. and the com-  
pound is Tat-purusha.

*Note*.—The word *शौण्डैः* in the *sūtra* being in the plural number indicates  
a class of words beginning with *śaunda*.

As *ज्ञेयेषु शौण्डः* = *ज्ञेयशौण्डः* 'skilled in dice.' A word ending with  
*अधि* will take the affix *ख* ( *ईन* by V. 4. 7. S. 2079) and will be a संयुक्तं com-  
pound. Thus *ईश्वरार्थिनः*.

The following is the list of *शौण्डादि* words :—1 *शौण्ड*, 2 *धूर्त*, 3 *किम्व*,  
4 *ध्याव*, 5 *गभीरा*, 6 *संधीह*, 7 *अन्तर* when meaning place, 8 *अधि*, 9 *पद्*, (or *अधिपद्*)  
10 *पण्डित*, 11 *हुसल*, 12 *अपल*, 13 *निपुण*, 14 *संख्याद*, 15 *मन्त्र*, and 16 *समीर*.

७१८ । सिद्धशुक्लपक्वबन्धैश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

एतैः सप्तम्यर्थं प्राग्बद्ध । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । आतपशुष्कः । स्यात्तीपक्तः । अक्रबन्धः ॥

718. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-  
pounded with the words *siddha* 'perfected,' *śushka* 'dried,'  
*pakva* 'cooked' and *bandha* 'bound,' and the resulting  
compound is Tat-purusha.

As, *सांकाश्यसिद्धः* 'perfect in *sānkāśya*.' *आतपशुष्कः* 'dried in the sun,'  
*स्यात्तीपक्तः* 'cooked in pot.' *अक्रबन्धः* 'bound on the wheel.'

७१९ । ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सप्त सप्तम्यन्ते समस्यते निन्त्यायाम् । तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष इव तीर्थेष्वान्द्रः । तीर्थकाक  
इत्यर्थः ॥

719. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-  
pounded with the word *dhvāṅksha*, 'a crow,' (and with  
synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the re-  
sulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, *तीर्थेष्वान्द्रः* 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy  
person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called ■ **तीर्थकाकः** or ■ **तीर्थवायसः**.

*Note*.—When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: ■ **तीर्थेष्वंशस्तिष्ठति**. ‘There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.’

७२० । कृत्यैर्भुजे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यवस्यवानौः सह माग्वशावश्यके । नासरेष्व् कृष्यन् । पूर्वार्द्धेमेव साम ॥

720. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with ■ **kṛitya**-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is **Tat-purusha**, when ‘debt’ is implied.

*Note*.—This compound is confined to the words formed by the **kṛitya** affix **यन्** and not to every **kṛitya**-formed word.

As, **मासरेदे** ‘a debt repayable within a month.’ The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI. 3. 14. S. 972. Otherwise we have **मासरेष्व्** ॥

By using the word **कृष्य** we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following case also :—**पूर्वार्द्धेमेव साम** ‘the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.’

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं पुषा माग्वन् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञायामाग्नित्वसमासीद्वन् । वाग्येद्विष्काः । वगे कतिपयाः । हतवन्तस्तान्माग्वन् कृत्यन्तु ॥

721. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called **Tat-purusha samāsa**.

A **sanjñā** is expressed by the complete word, hence ■ is an invariable (**nitya**) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, **वाग्यं विष्काः** ‘wild *sesamum*’ yielding no oil; any thing which does not answer to one's expectation. So also **वगे कतिपयाः** ‘anything found unexpectedly.’

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with **sūtra**



VI. 3. 9. S. 966. The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.

७२२ । केनाहोरात्रावायवाः । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अहो रात्रिमावयवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः कान्तेन सह प्राग्वह । पूर्वाह्नकृतम् । अपरात्रातकृतम् । अवयव-  
वायव्यं किम् । आह्नि इदम् ॥

722. (The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix *kta*;) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपरात्रातकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अह्नि इदम् 'seen in day.'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रेयेतसप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन सह प्राग्वह । तत्रशुक्तम् ॥

723. The word *tatra* 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 108. 1957) is compounded with a word ending in *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रशुक्तम् 'eaten there.'

Note :—By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in *adtra* II. 1. 25. S. 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन प्राग्वहिन्यायम् । अवयवे चकुलस्थितं स एतम् ॥

724. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix *kta*, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवयवेनचकुलस्थितं स एतम् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground'. (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man)  
पापसम् ॥

*Note:—*The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

७२५ । पात्रेसमितादयश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते त्रये । पात्रेसमिताः । भोजनसमये एव संगता । नतु कार्ये । गेहेभूतः । गेहेनर्क्षी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । यकारोऽवधारणार्थः । तैवैषां समासान्तरे षट्कृतया प्रवेशो न । परमाः पात्रेसमिताः ॥

725. The words like *pātre-samita* 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

*Note:—*All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'पुन्योपेक्षादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

Thus the following is the list of the words:—पात्रेसमिताः, २ पात्रेसमिताः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time)). ३ बहुम्पल्लवकाः, ४ बहुम्पल्लवमिः, ५ वदरकमिः, ६ कूपकचटवः, ७ अथकचटवः, ८ कूपकचटवः, ९ कुम्भकचटवः, १० वदपानकचटवः, ११ नगरकाकाः, १२ नगरकाकसः, १३ नातसिन्धवः, १४ सिन्धीशूतः, १५ विमरिशूतः, १६ गेहेभूतः, १७ गेहेनर्क्षी, १८ गेहेनर्क्षी, १९ गेहेविजिती, २० गेहेव्याडः, २१ गेहेवेदी, २२ गेहेशाही, २३ गेहेभूतः, २४ गेहेभूतः, २५ गर्भेभूतः, २६ आत्मिकवकाः, २७ गोक्षेभूतः, २८ गोक्षेविजिती, २९ गोक्षेवेदी, ३० गोक्षेव्याडः, ३१ गोक्षेव्याडः, ३२ गोक्षेव्याडः, ३३ कर्णोद्विष्टः, ३४ कर्णोद्विष्टः ॥ The force of च in the sūtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमाः पात्रेसमिताः, and न cannot form part of another compound.

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येति विद्धि पूर्वनिपातविद्यार्थं सूत्रम् । एकस्यस्य विस्तृत्ये संज्ञायाभिति नियमवाचनार्थं च । पूर्व कालः पुराणमुक्तिः अतानुक्तिः । एकपायः । सर्वकालिकाः । जर्मियादिकाः पुराणगीतादिकाः । नवपाठकाः । केवलवैयाकरणाः ॥

726. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (*pūrvakāla*), and the words *eka* 'one,' *sarva* 'all,' *jarat* 'old,' *purāṇa* 'ancient,' *nava* 'new,' and *kevala* 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

*Notes:*—These compounds could have been formed by the rule II. 1. 57 S. 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sātra II. 1. 50 S. 727.

The phrase सुप सुप is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकारः) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-*form* *pūrva kāla* is not to be taken (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its significates; while of the rest एक-*etc.*, the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it.

As, स्नाताबुध्निः 'bathed and perfumed.' कुलसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धमरुतम् 'burnt and healed.' एकवयः 'having one master.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वयाहिकाः "all the members of a sacrifice." सर्वनपुण्याः 'all men.' जरहस्ती 'old elephant.' जरनैयायिकाः 'old logician' जरावृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणमीमांसकाः old Mīmāṃsakas. पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवसारंकाः "New students." नववसथम् ॥ केवल वैयाकरणाः "Only grammarians."

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकत्वात् गादी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42.)

७२७ । द्विसंख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकार्येनेत्यापादयितुममेवधिकारः । संज्ञायामेवेति द्विसंख्ये द्वयम् । पूर्वदुक्तान्तनी । सप्तम्यः । मेद् । सप्तम्यः । पञ्च व्याख्याः ॥

727. (The words expressing a point of the compass,) ० = number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter. This sūtra makes a *niyama*, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वदुर्कानगामी 'the town of Ishukāmagami-in-the-east.' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तर वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' and पंच ब्राह्मणः 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative. See IV. 2. 107.

७२८ । तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ११ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे च वाच्ये विकृतस्ये प्राग्बद्धा । पूर्वस्थां शालार्था भव । पूर्वशालः । समासं कृतं विकल्पवाक्यसंज्ञार्था न इति नः ॥ सर्वनाम्ने वृत्तिगम्ये पुंवश्रावः\* ॥ आपरशालः । पूर्वा शाला विद्या यस्येति विपश्च बहुव्रीहौ कृतं शिवादेशे उत्तरपदे पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुषः । तत्र शालाशब्दे आकार उक्तः । पूर्वशालामिव । विदुः समाहाते चास्त्वन्निधानान् । संख्यावास्तद्धितार्थे । वृष्णां मातृणामपत्यं यागमातुरः । पञ्च गावां अने यस्येति विपश्च बहुव्रीहौ वाच्यस्तत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे मतिः ॥ इन्द्रस्तत्पुरुषयोः उत्तरपदे निव्यसनासत्त्वमश्च\* ॥

728. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्थां शालार्था भव 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita-affix त्र) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + न् (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) = पूर्वशाल (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 and VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Part:—The sarenāmans become Masculine when parts 'of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds; Kṛit, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekshesha and Sanādyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly आपरशालः ॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade) As, पूर्व शालामिव or आपरशालामिव: 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

If we make a Bahuvrīhi compound of the three words पूर्व शान्त विद्या यस्य, where the word विद्या is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वशान्त) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशान्तः ॥ Here the शौ of शान्त is udatta by VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, and this udatta will be retained in the Bahuvrīhi also, As पूर्वशान्तविद्यः ॥ Had the शान्त and विद्या been compounded first, and then the compound शान्तविद्य further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrīhi, then by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735, पूर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वशान्तविद्यः ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it.

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as षण्मयपुत्रः "a son of six mothers," a name of Kārtikeya. Here the Taddhita affix षण् is added by IV. 1. 115 S. 1118. In compounding पंचममोक्षं यस्य as a Bahuvrīhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II. 1. 11. S. 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vārtika applies :—

*Vart* :—The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpurusha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words. Therefore पंच and मोक्षः must be necessarily compounded first as a samāhāra, there being no option possible here; and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrīhi with यस्य ॥ The compound of पंच + मोक्ष gets the affix इच् by the following :—

७२९ । मोक्षतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

मोक्षतद्धितलुकि इच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चमवधनः ॥

729. The affix तच् comes after मोक्ष standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound.

Thus पंच + मोक्ष + इच् = पंचमवधनः ॥ पंचमवधनः ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows.'

*Note* :—Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पञ्चमिर्गोभिः कीर्तितः पंचमयः ॥ (Here the affix इच् V. 1. 37 S. 1702 is elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 and hence the samāsanta affix इच् is not added). So also इक्ष्मणः ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision' ? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpuruṣa, will not debar the samāsānta affix : as पंचम्यो गोभ्य आ गन् = पंचगो + टच् + रुव्य ( the tach is added by this sūtra, and the taddhita रुव्य is denoted तत् समागतः by IV. 3. 81 S. 1461 ) = पंचगौरुव्यम्, पंचगौमयम्, or गन्धगवर्ह्यम्, दध्मगवर्ह्यम् ॥

Thus we get above पंचगवर्ह्यम् ॥ But if the option of II. 1. 11 S. 665 be applied, and पञ्च + गे be not compounded as a Tatpuruṣa, then there will be no samāsānta टच्, and the Bahuvrīhi will be पंचगोपेनः ॥ This is on the view that the vārtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृष्ट्वा च शिवे मत्स्य = वाग्दृष्ट्वशिवः ॥ So also लघोर्वागहमियः ॥ Here वाक् and दृष्ट्वा are invariably compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samāsānta टच् by V. 4. 106 S. 930.

—:—:—:—

### THE DVIGU COMPOUND.

७३० । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्विज्ञापितशेषः संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः स्यात् ॥

730. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix ( तद्विज्ञापितं ) or when an additional member comes after the compound ( उत्तरपदे ) or when an aggregate ( समाहारे ) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound.

The word taddhitārtha of sūtra II. 1. 51 S. 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpuruṣa, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below. They are of three sorts, namely ( 1 ) Taddhitārtha dvigu, as दशकवातः, " an offering prepared in ten cups, formed by the affix कच् of IV. 2. 16 which is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1217; 1080. ( 2 ) upapada dvigu, as, पंचपादशिवः, and ( 3 ) samāhara dvigu, as, पञ्चपदी ॥ The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

द्विगुर्धः समाहार एकवचनम् । स नपुंसकमिति नपुंसकत्वम् । पञ्चपादां गदां समाहारः पञ्चपादम् ॥

731. The compound Dvigu ( II. 1. 52 S. 730 ) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-puruṣa compound meaning ' the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. This Samāhāra Dvigu is always Nenter by II. 4. 17 S. 821. As, पञ्चगवै 'an aggregate of five cows,' ( IV. 1. 21. ).

Why do we say "a Samāhāra Dvigu is singular"? When it is a Taddhitārtha Dvigu it is not singular. As पञ्चसु कपलिषु संकृताः = पंचकपालाः ; similarly पंचभिः गोभिः क्रीताः = पंचगवः पदाः ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्सयानानि कुत्सनैः सव मायत् । वैद्याकरणसूचिः । मीमांसकदुर्दृष्टः ॥

732. Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As वैद्याकरणसूचिः "A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (स्व) when asked any question." So also मीमांसकदुर्दृष्टः "an evil conducted mimānsaka," From  $\sqrt{\text{दृ}} + \text{दृष्टि}$  उत्क्षेपे with the prefix दुर् and the Upādi कृष्ट ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobrious signification as such. Therefore, it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोद्भाषाः 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

७३३ । पापानके कुत्सितैः । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

दुर्दृष्ट्यापवाहः । वापनपितः । शणककुलतः ॥

733. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and apaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अपक्व are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtra 1. 2. 43 S. 653 and II. 2. 30, S. 654 that they will stand as first. As वापनपितः or शणककुलतः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अपक्व-कुत्सितैः 'a contemptible potter.'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

पन इव दयावी पनदयावः । इह पूर्वपदे वस्तुद्वये लक्ष्यिकगुणनि पुनर्बहु लक्ष्यिकविधेः पयस्यः पयस्यसे । पूर्वनिपातनिगमायै लुपथ ॥

734. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with < words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, > and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna; and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्यामः 'cloud-black Kṛishṇa' (Kṛishṇa black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Kṛishṇa and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुङ्कुमशैली 'lily-white,' ईशानशृङ्गा 'Swan-sounding,' गोमोक्ष-पारिमंजरी 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2, 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattā' or फल इव तनुकाः 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव घनश्यामाः 'clouds like mountains.'

In analysing the above compound घनश्यामः we must use the word इव, as पद इव श्यामः, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamāna word should stand *first*, >

७३५ । उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे । २ । १ । ५६ ॥

उपमेयं व्याघ्रादिभिः सह प्राग्वत्तायाण्यपमस्याप्रयोगे सति । विशेषस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूचय । इवव्याघ्रः । वृत्तः । व्याघ्रादिरुक्तिगणः । सामान्याप्रयोगे किम् । पुरुषो व्याम इव शूरः ॥

735. A case-inflected word denoting < subject of comparison > is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of last sūtra 734 by which the substantive (upamāna) would have stood first; by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याम इव-पुरुषव्यामः 'a person-tiger' (in strength).

The words व्याम &c. are धातुनिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a



*posteriori* and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*.

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with समान् उपमान ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:—पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'man strong as a tiger.' Similarly दुखपद्मम्, दुखकण्ठम्, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवपद्मम् ॥

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. भृश = A bear. 4. जयस = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. परशु = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिम् = An elephant. 10. वृक्ष = A tree. 11. कुम्भम् = An elephant. 12. हृद = A kind of deer. 13. धृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa. 16. वित्तम् = A rogue, cheat.

#### आकृतिसमोपमान

1. दुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. दुखकण्ठम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवपद्मम् ॥

७३६ । विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

नेत्रं समानाधिकरणेन भेदेन बहुलं शब्दम् । नीलपुष्पं नीलोत्पलम् । पद्मपङ्कजाकाशितिरसम् । कृष्णवर्णः । कृषिद । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पले 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (लङ्गितसम्बन्धः) as कृष्णवर्णः 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden ; as, रामोजामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jāmadagni') ; अर्जुनः काशरीयः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलपुष्पं or नीलोत्पलं ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshiaka snake.' Why do we say 'qualified,' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमवीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थमिदम् । पूर्ववैयाकरणः । अपराध्वापकः ॥ अपरस्वार्थे पञ्चमाक्षी वृत्तव्यः \* ॥  
अपरस्वार्थे पञ्चमः । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वं परत्वाद्देन समसि वीरेक इति हि  
स्यात् । बहुलप्रयोगाद्बोधयति ॥

737. The case-inflected words *pūrva* 'prior,' *aparast*, 'other,' *prathama* 'first,' *charama* 'last,' *jaghanya* 'hindmost' *samāna* 'equal,' *madhya* 'middle,' *madhyama* 'middle,' and *vīra* 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is *Tat-puruṣa*.

This *sūtra* is also a *niyama* rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound. Thus पूर्ववैयाकरणः ॥ अपराध्वापकः ॥

*Vart*—The word *पञ्च* is used for *अपर* when it is compounded with *वर्ध* ॥ As अपर + वर्ध = पञ्चवर्धः ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीरः where *vīra* stands not first, for II. 1. 49 S. 726 with regard to *eka* is superseded by the present *sūtra* with regard to *vīra*, and the compound ought to be वीरेकः ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II. 1. 57 S. 736.

७३८ । श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यादिवृत्तवर्धवचनं कर्तव्यम् \* ॥ अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः ॥

738. 'The case-inflected words *śreṇī* 'class' &c., are compounded with words *kṛita* 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is *Tat-puruṣa*.

*Vart* :—The words *श्रेणि* &c., for the purposes of this *sūtra*, are supposed to have the force of the affix *चि* (*chvi*) ॥ Thus अश्रेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः = अचि कृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

*Note* :—The class of words called *कृतादि* are *ākṛiti-gana* and cannot be known a priori. This *Samāsa* is also an invariable *Samāsa* by reason of *sūtra* II. 2. 18, since all words that end in *chvi* (चि) are called *gati* ( 1. 4. 61. )

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called *śreṇī* or guild. The *samāsa* is *niyama*.  
श्रेणीकरणं The lengthening here is by VII. 4. 26 S 2120.

७३६ । केन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् । २ । १ । ६० ॥

मञ्जुविशेषेन कान्तेनानञ् कान्ते समस्यते । कृते च तदकृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः  
सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्योपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवमाहात्म्यः ॥

739. A word ending with the affix *kta*, and not having the negative augment *nañ*, is compounded with *t* same word ending with the affix *kta*, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment *nañ*; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Thus: कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' *i. e.* partly done and partly done.

*Note*:—The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by *हुद्* and *इद्* augment.

As अशित + अमशित = अशितामशितम् ॥ So also क्लृप्ताक्लृषितम् ॥

*Vart*:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' *i. e.* an era making king. So also देवमाहात्म्यः = देवपूजको माहात्म्यः "A Brāhmaṇa who worships any deva."

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सहैयः । दक्षयमानेन महत आकारः । महावैश्याकर्मणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । पद्मावृक्षत इत्यर्थः ॥

740. The words *sat* 'good,' *mahat* 'great,' *parama* 'highest,' *uttama* 'best,' and *utkrishṭa* 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As सहैयः 'a good physician. The महत् becomes मह as will be taught later on, as महापुरुषः 'a great man;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टो गौः कर्दमम् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out."

७४१ । बृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गौर्बृन्दारक ॥ व्याघ्रादेकमुनिगम्यस्थानेन विष्टे सामान्ययोगार्थे दध्यनम् ॥

741. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words *vrindāra-ka* 'eminent,' *nāga* 'serpent or elephant,' *kuñjara* 'elephant,' and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' The *Vyāghrādī* class (II. 1. 56 S. 735) being an *Akṛitigaṇa*, the forms like *go-vrindāraka* could well have been obtained under that *sūtra*, the making of it a separate *sūtra* is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II. 1. 56. S. 735.

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे ॥ २ । १ । ६३ ॥

कतरकतः । कतमकलापः । गोत्रं च पर्यायः बोद्धेति जातिवत् ॥

742. The words *katara* 'which or who of two' and *katama* 'which 'or who, of many,' when used in asking questions about the *jāti* (IV. 1. 63. S. 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is *Tatpurusha*.

As कतरकतः and कतमकलापः 'which of the two is *kāṭha*, and which of these *kāṭha*?' (Here *Gotra* and *charaṇa*, are *jāti*, as defined previously in IV. 1. 63. S. 518.)

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word *जातिपरिग्रहे* in the aphorism; since the word *कतम* is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word *कतर* will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word *कतम* has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining *jāti*; as कतमे भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is *Devadatta*.' and कतम भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is *Devadatta*.' Here there is no questioning about *jāti*, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

७४३ । किं चेवे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

किमिदं राजा किमग्रः । यो न रक्षति ॥

743. The word *kim* 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects.' किं सता येनविदुषमि 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix ट् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) does not come after this compound as in कदास्यः, महस्यः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. S. 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंसता and not कितसता ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' : Observe कदास्य - किंसता 'whose king;' कितसतः ॥ Or कौ राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४। पोवायुवतिलोककतिपयगृष्टिषेनुवशावेदहृष्यपीमयकृत्रेनिवा-  
च्यापकचूर्नेजातिः १२। १। ६५ ॥

744. A case-inflected word denoting a *jāti*, is compounded with the words *poṭṭ* 'a hermaphrodite,' *yuvati*, 'a young female,' *stoka* 'a little,' *katipaya* 'a few,' *grīṣṭi* 'a cow which has had only one calf,' *dhenu* 'milch-cow i. e. a cow which has calved recently,' *vasā* 'a barren female,' *vehad*, 'a cow that miscarries,' *bashkayati* 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' *pravakṭri* 'an expounder,' *śrotriya* 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' *adhyāpaka* 'a teacher,' and *dhūrta* 'a cunning fellow'; and the resulting compound is called *Tat-puruṣha*.

For examples see under sūtra 746.

७४५। तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ११। २। ४२ ॥

745. A *Tat-puruṣha* compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative compound*.

Note:—"Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (*Tat-puruṣha*). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in *black-beetle*, *sky-blue*," (Max Müller).

The compounds like नीलेत्पल 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (*samānādhikarṇa*), whereas in other *Tat-puruṣhas*, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udātta accent would have fallen on the syllable र by rule VI. 2. 130, S. 8864 (the word राज्यम् has udātta on the first syllable in Tat-puruṣa compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पाचिका + कुन्धारिका = पाचककुन्धारिका ॥ (VI. 3. 42. S. 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya) by the next sūtra :—

Note :—Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-puruṣa compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाचिका + भार्या = पाचिकाभार्या ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुंस्वरकर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in ■ Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारय जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाविनपुंस्कारण ऊठभाक् यस्मिन्मयाभूतं पूर्वं पुंस्त् । पूर्णविधिविषयमाप्तः पुंस्कारयोऽनेन विधीयते । महानरवी । कृष्णपक्षुर्द्वी । महाम्रिया । तथा कोपशब्दः प्रतिविद्धः पुंस्कारः कर्मधारययो मतिप्रसूयते । पापकक्षी । दत्तभार्या । वरुणभार्या । सौम्रभार्या । पुकेचभार्या । प्राद्वजभार्या । एवं पापकजातीया । पापकदेशीयेत्यादि । इमयोदा । पौरा खीपुल्ललाया । इमपुवतिः । अग्निरतोक्तः । दक्षिणैकतिपयम् । शृष्टिः सङ्कल्पमूला, गोमृष्टिः । वेदुर्नयममृष्टिका, गोधिनुः । यत्ता यन्मया, गोयथा । वेदन् गर्भपातिनी, गोविद्वन् । बन्कद्वी सङ्कयदस्ता, गोदन्कद्वी । कठदन्ता । कठश्रेविषः । कडाध्वापक । कठधूर्तः ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras (VI. 3. 40 S. 841 &c.) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate ण (VI. 3. 37 S. 838). Thus पापककुन्धारिका, पापकजातीया, पापकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38 S. 839 Thus दत्तकुन्धारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, वंशकुन्धारिका, वंशजातीया, वंशदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : S. 840 सौम्रकुन्धारिका, सौम्रजातीया, सौम्रदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, S. 841 as श्लेष्मपु-स्तकुन्धारिका, श्लेष्मपुस्तजातीया and श्लेष्मपुस्तदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, S. 842 as कटकुन्धारिका, कटजातीया, कटदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine. (भाविनपुंस्त्). So the rule does not apply to खट्वकुन्धारिका, as खट्व has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ; as मद्रावकुन्धारिका ॥

This sūtra ordains masculinisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sūtras VI. 3. 34 S. 831 &c. (e.g. if the second word is an ordinal, द्विष, &c.). Thus the ordinal नव्य becomes in the feminine नवरी ॥ नवरी चर्मगतनवी = महानवरी ॥ Here नवरी has become masculine, in spite of the prohibition of VI. 3. 34. so also दण्डवद्वी ॥ Similarly दशविदा ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 37 S. 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form." The present sūtra is an exception to this prohibition also. Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 38 S. 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral." The present sūtra makes an exception to this also. As. इक्ष्माया, पंचमन्या and not इक्ष्माया &c. इक्ष्मीया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 39 S. 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the viddhi of the first syllable." The present sūtra is an exception to this also. As औन्नया and not औन्नीया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 40 S. 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to this also. As छुक्तेया and not छुक्तेयीया ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 41 S. 842 says "a feminine word expressing jāti does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to it also. As बाह्यनया ॥

Similarly with the words जासीय and ऐसीय ॥ As, पाचकजासीया and पाचकऐसीया ॥

Now we shall give examples of sūtra II. 1. 65. S. 744.

As द्रुमवती 'a young female elephant' क्षेत्र is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c. इक्ष्मवती 'a female elephant.' So अग्निस्त्रीकः 'a little fire' इक्ष्मवत् कक्षिणम् 'a little butter milk,' शीघ्रिः, शीघ्रेणः. शीघ्रेण, शीघ्रेण्ययौ, कक्षप्रस्ता 'an expounder of Kṛthā,' कक्षप्रोक्त्ययौ, 'a Brāhmana who has mastered the Kṛthā branch of the Yajur Veda' कक्षप्रोक्तः 'a teacher of the Kṛthā branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवस्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadattā expounder.'

The word पूर्व has not a bad signification here. Hence कक्षपूर्व means 'a Brāhmana well versed in the Kṛthā branch of the Yajur Veda.'

७४७ । प्रशंसावचनेष्व ॥ २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एतेः सह आदिः प्राम्बन् । गोमयजिका । गोमयपिका । गोमयकाण्डम् । मयोयः । गोमयजः । प्रवक्ता गोमयिः । गोमयजिक्यो नियतजिह्वा न तु नियम्यनिष्ठाः । आदिः किम् । कुवारी मयजिका ॥

747. A case-inflected word, denoting a jāti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound in Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhī (रूढी) words like मत्तिका &c., which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोमत्तिकाण्ड 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तिका 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तिका 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तिका and गोमत्तिका ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.' Words like प्रवृत्त, घोष, रमणीय &c., which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like शक्ति, वृद्ध &c., are not to be taken here. In गो + वृद्ध there is अवृद्ध by VI. 1. 123.

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मत्तिका 'an excellent virgin.' Here there is no compounding. "मत्तिका, गोमत्तिका, गोमत्तिका, गोमत्तिका are praise denoting words." (Amarakosha).

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिवातनियमायै युवम् । निवृत्तिविषयपरिभाषय युवतिखलतिऽपि लभ्यते । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजराती । युवजराती अवस्थितोपलम्भेन लभ्यतेप्राप्तामाणा-  
धिकरणम् ॥

748. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

The sōtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound.

Note:—The word जरातीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे निवृत्तिविषयपरिभाषय युवम् ॥

'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवखलतिः ॥ So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलितः, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिनः 'wrinkled in youth' युवजराती fem. युवजराती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old).

७४९ । तुल्यतुल्याख्या अज्ञात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

मोक्षयोग्यम् । अज्ञातः । सज्ञातः । अज्ञात्या किम् । मोक्ष्य भोग्यः । प्रतिपदसामर्थ्यादितो-  
पपन्नमासीदपि न ॥

749. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded



with words which do not denote *jāti*, being in the same case with them ; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As, भोजदोष्णम् 'hot food,' पुंस्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सहस्यश्वेतः 'equally white.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a *jāti*'? Observe भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57. S. 736.

७५० । चणोर् चणोर्न । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह प्राग्वत् । कुम्भासारङ्गः ॥

750. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As कुम्भसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope.'

७५१ । कटाराः कर्मधारये । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

कटारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये वा पूर्वे प्रयोक्तव्याः । कटारजैमिनिः । जैमिनिकटारः ॥

The words *kadārah* and the like, are optionally placed first in the *karma-dhāraya*.

Thus कटारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकटारः *Kadārjaiminī* or *Jaiminikadārah*, 'The tawny *Jaiminī*.' So also बहुलशान्तिद्वयः or शान्तिद्वयबहुलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः भ्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी भ्रमणा कुमारभ्रमणा । इह गणे भ्रमणा प्रयुजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रच्यन्ते । निरुपविष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव स्थापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752. The word *kumāra* 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words *śramanā* 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As, कुमारभ्रमणा कुमारभ्रमणा "a virgin ascetic".

In this list of भ्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as भ्रमणा, प्रयुजिता, गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender ; with the words which appear as masculine, e. g. सन्ध्यापक, मन्त्रिरूपक, वाद्य

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.' In fact, this is the sūtra from which we infer the existence (jñāpaka) of the above paribhāṣā of लिङ्विहित &c.

### श्रमणादिः ।

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. व्रजयिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटी = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. सापत्नी = A hermit, "devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चंचल = Shaking, trembling. 14. विपुल = Clever, sharp, skillful.

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पादजातिवर्णनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह ग्राह्यः ॥ योगर्भिणी ॥ \* चतुष्पादः जलिरिति वक्तव्यम्. ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhīni, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As योगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' श्रमणागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Part:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here :—कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣhī or Svastimatī.'

Note:—Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe प्राणिगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एतं निरासते । मयूरो व्यसकां मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसको भूर्तः । उदयस्यापश्य उपाययम् । मिथितं च प्रथितं च निग्रययम् । नारितं क्षिपय यस्य सः शक्तिपयः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भये यस्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजानरः । विदेव धिग्नायम् ॥

शास्त्रानुसारात्तेन क्रियासाधने \* ॥ अथैतं विमलयेन चतुर्तं यथाभिधीयते सा भभीतविदता । वयतपुञ्जता । दारतमोदता ॥

एहीटावर्धोऽप्यवर्धे \* ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्मणि त्वेहिडम् । एहिपपपः । उद्धर नीटाडुत्सृज ईहीति यस्तं क्रियार्थं सा उद्धरणमृजा । उद्धरापपना । भसातत्यार्थविद पाठः ॥

जाहि कर्मणः बटनगामीक्ष्ये कर्तारं व्यागवपाति । \* ॥ अहीलेत्कर्मण बटनं तदस्यते व्यागीक्ष्ये वम्ये रणातेन चेतुर्नामधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ जाहिजोडः । जहिस्तम्भः ॥

754. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-puruṣa compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. (The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसकः is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परमयूरव्यंसकः ॥) So also उक्त्वा वाक्य = उक्त्वाचक्षुः । निमित्तं च प्रमितं च = निमित्तप्रमितम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य = अकिञ्चनः ॥

The following is the list of such compounds :—

### मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसकः ॥ 2. छात्र व्यंसकः ॥ 3. कर्मोद्यमवृद्धः ॥ 4. यवनवृद्धः ॥ 5. हस्तेष्टः or हस्तपृष्ठः in the Vedas. 6. पादेष्टः or पदपृष्ठः ॥ 7. लाङ्गुलेष्टः or लाङ्गुलपृष्ठः ॥ 8. पुनर्वसुः ॥

### GAṆA SŪTRA एहीहादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1. एहीहं वर्तते ॥ 2. एहिहं वर्तते ॥ 3. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4. अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5. मेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6. एहिस्त्वान्तः ॥ 7. अपेहिस्त्वान्तः ॥ 8. एहिहितीया ॥ 9. अपेहिहितीया ॥ 10. मेहिहितीया ॥ 11. एहिकवः ॥ 12. अपेहिकवः or अपेहकवः ॥ 13. मेहिकवः or मेहकवः ॥ 14. आहकवः ॥ 15. मेहिकर्तृना ॥ 16. मेहकर्तृना ॥ 17. विधमच्छा ॥ उद्धमच्छा ॥ 18. उद्धरच्छा ॥ 19. आहरेवेत्ता ॥ 20. आहरेवन्ता ॥ 21. (आहरेवेत्ता) ॥ 22. आहरेवेन्ता ॥ 23. (आहरेवेन्ता) ॥ 24. कृन्तविपच्छा ॥ 25. उद्धरेवच्छा ॥ 26. उद्धरवच्छा ॥ 27. उद्धमविपन्ता ॥ 28. उद्धवन्निपन्ता or विपन्ता ॥ 29. उद्धवन्निपन्ता ॥ 30. उद्धाचक्षुः ॥ 31. उद्धमीचक्षुः ॥ 32. आचक्षुः ॥ 33. आचक्षुः ॥ 34. मयूरमयम् ॥ 35. विधमयम् ॥ 36. अकिञ्चन ॥ 37. छात्राक्रावकः ॥ 38. वीस्थास्थिरकः ॥ 39. भुक्तवास्तुहितः ॥ 40. मीषवपारीयान् ॥ 41. उधव्यवाक्ता or व्याकुता ॥ 42. निपत्योहिणी ॥ 43. निपत्यरथाना ॥ 44. अपेहिमयरा ॥ 45. एहिविपता ॥ 46. इहवउधमी ॥ 47. इहहितीया ॥

(G. S. स्मृहकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1. अहिभोदः ॥ 2. अहिजोदम् ॥ 3. अहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4. (अहिस्तम्बः) ॥ 5. उडअहिस्तम्बम् or उडम् ॥

G. S. आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासात्तसे ॥

I. अभीतविपन्ता ॥ 2. पचच्छा ॥ 3. स्तवव्योता ॥ 4. स्तवव्योता ॥ 5. एतद्व्योता ॥ 6. आहनिपन्ता ॥ 7. आहनिपन्ता ॥ 8. आहनिपन्ता ॥ 9. उधवविपन्ता ॥ 10. निमित्तवन्ता ॥ 11. कृन्तविपच्छा ॥ 12. उधववन्ता ॥ 13. पचच्छा ॥

## आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1. अकुतोऽनयः ॥ 2. कान्दिर्णकः ॥ 3. कन्दिशीकः ॥ 4. भाहोपुनिका ॥  
5. भववहिका ॥ 6. यहच्छा ॥ 7. एहिरेवाहिरा ॥ 8. अम्बुनावपृजा ॥ 9. ब्रह्मान्तरम् ॥  
10. भवदयकार्मम् ॥

*Gana-sūtra* :—A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant. As भसीतवित्ता "the place where constantly is heard the cry "eat ye", "drink ye."—a feast where people are called to eat and drink. Similarly एचतधृञ्जता "cook-roast"—a kitchen. खातम्भेष्टा ॥

*Gana-sūtra* :—The compounds एहीहं &c. are formed when they refer to some other object. Thus एहीहं is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीहं are used. So also एहिषचम् ॥ So also उज्जरोत्सृजा meaning "उज्जरकाष्ठोद्घातम्भेष्टे" इति यस्य क्रियायां ॥ So also उज्जगविधना ॥ These are words which do not denote "constant action".

*Gana-sūtra* :—(The finite verb अहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent.) As अहिजोदः "He who constantly repeats jahi-joḍa." Similarly अहिरम्भा ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकुतोऽनयः, 'another kingship' is ब्रह्मान्तरम्; that which is purely Intelligence is called विष्णुचम् ॥

७५५ । ईषद्वक्ता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषद्वक्ताः ॥ ईषद्वक्ताचमेनेति वाच्यम् \* ॥

755. The word *ishat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a *kṛit*-affix; and the compound is *Tatpurnsha*.

*Var* :—It should be stated that the word ईषद् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषद्वक्ता "a somewhat proud," ईषद्विह्वल "a little brownish," ईषद्विकृतः "a little hideous," ईषद्वृक्षः "a little raised," ईषद् पीतम् "a little yellow," ईषद्वक्ता "a little red."

*Note* :—Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्वाच्यः; there is no compounding here.

७५६ । नञ् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

नञ् यथा सह समस्यते ॥

756. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As वाद्वकः = अवाद्वाक्यः 'who is not a Brāhmana,' (though = man). The *ñ* of न is elided by VI. 3. 73: which is given below.

७५७ । नलोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नमो नल्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न वाद्वकः अवाद्वाक्यः ॥

757. The *ñ* of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अवाद्वाक्यः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a *व* is inserted after न by the following :—

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ।

तुल्यनकाराद्यस्य उपसर्गवत्त्वावादेर्नञागमः स्यात् । अन्वयः । अर्थाभावेऽप्यमीभावेन सहायं विकल्पयते । ऐहोहागमनध्वंसहेहाः प्रयोजनमिति बहुलावागमसंहितमिति च ब्राम्हणवैदिकप्रयोगात् । तस्मान्नुपसर्गवत्त्वावादेऽपि नञ् इति सिद्धम् ॥ नमो नलोपस्तिष्ठि चेदे " ॥ अथप्यति त्वं आत्म ॥ नैकधेयस्यो ह्युपसर्गेण सह तुल्यवति समासः ॥

758. After the above *ñ*-elided नञ् (i. e. after न) is added the augment जुव्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus नमन्वः 'an animal which is not a horse.' Why do we use तस्माद् "after such a नञ्"? Otherwise जुव् would have been the augment of नञ् and not of the subsequent word, for the sūtra would have read thus तुडाचि ॥ Adding जुव् to नञ् or rather to न, we have नञ् (granting that जुव् is not to be added before न but after it, against I. 1, 46). Now नञ् + नञः will be नञनञ and not नमनञः for VIII. 3. 32 S. 134 will cause the doubling of the final न of नञ् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, जुव् is ordained with the second member and not with regard to न or नञ् ॥

When the force of नञ् is that of "absence," i. e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayī bhāva. For in an Avyayībhāva., the sense of the first term is prominent; in a Tatpurusha the sense of the second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahābhāshya, we find the compound असन्नेहाः in the sentence रसोहागमनध्वंसहेहाः प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar; similarly असंहिते in बहुलावागमसंहिते a vārtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like ननुपसर्गवत्, नविद्वान्, नविद्वान् &c.

*Part:—*The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अण्यसि त्वे आरुन 'thou cookest very badly O knave.'

In the expression नैकथा &c. 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II. 1. 4 S. 649.

७५६ । नभ्राणनपाक्षवेदानासत्याननुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्र-  
कृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पादिति वाच्यम् । वेदा इत्यमुजन्तः । न सत्या असत्याः न असत्या नासत्याः । न मुह्यतीति गमुषिः । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न खमस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयोः पुंसकनायो निपातनाम् । न चरसीनि नचरसम् । स्त्रीयतेः चरसर्वा चरसिति निपात्यते । न क्रानसीति नक्रः । क्रनेर्देः । न अक्रानस्तित्रिति नाक्रः ॥

759. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुषि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नसत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative । नभ्राजते = नभ्राज् "a dark cloud," formed by क्तिच् and नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् "a grand son." Formed by वाह् affix. न वेति = नवेद्य, formed by अमुच् ॥ न सत्या सायन् = सत्या, न सत्याः = असत्या, न असत्याः = नासत्याः "Ashvins." न मुउपति = न मुषिः "a demon slain by Indra." formed by क्तिच् इन् affix (Upādi). नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ नचरते स्त्रीयते वा = नचरसम् ॥ न क्रानपति = नक्र by ड affix, न अस्मिन् अक्रम् = नाक्रम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राधिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७६ ॥

नग इत्यन नम् प्रकृत्या वा । नगः जगः पर्वताः । अप्राधिविधिति क्तिच् । जगो व्युत्पन्नः धीनेन । निर्ये श्रीद्विष्यतां निर्यमित्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

760. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or जगः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to नम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being. Observe जगो व्युत्पन्नः धीनेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here. See II. 1. 17, S. 711.

In the next sūtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood. Its anuvṛtti comes from II. 2. 17 S. 711.

७६१ । कुमतिप्रादयः । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन मित्ये समस्त्वन्ते । कुत्सितः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः । अतिशेत्थनुवर्तमाने ॥

761. The indeclinable word *ku* 'bad,' the 'particles called *gati*, and the prepositions *pra*, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is *Tatpuruṣa*.

The word *ku* means 'badness or sin'; as, *कुपुरुषः* 'a sinful man'; (2) *Gati* (I. 4. 60 S. 23.) as, *वर्यकृत्यं* 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) *अभूरीकरोति* ॥

*Note*:—So also with the words *प्र* &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as *दुर* meaning 'bad,' in *दुष्पुरुषः* 'a bad man'; so also *वृ* and *अति* meaning 'respect' in *सुपुरुषः* 'honorable man'; *अतिपुरुषः* 'excellent man'; *आ* means a 'little' as *आपिहृतः* 'brownish'.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, ■ *कोष्णं* or *अदुष्णम्*, *अकोष्णम्* 'tepid.' So also *दुष्कृत्यं*, *अतिदुष्कृत्यं* and *आवद्वयः* ॥

७६२ । ऊर्षादिचिबडाचक्ष । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः । उः । ऊरीकृत्य । वर्यकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पर्यपडाकृत्य ॥ कारिका-  
पदस्योपसंख्यानम् ° । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762. The words *uri*, *assent*, &c., and those that end with *chvi* (V. 4. 50), and those that end with *dāch* (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb *bhū*, *kṛi* or *अस्*) are called *Gati*.

In this sūtra the word *gati* is understood from I. 4. 60 S. 23.

The affixes *chvi* and *dāch* are ordained when the verb in composition is either *कृ*, *भू* or *अस्* (V. 4. 50 and 57 S. 2117 and 2128); *ūri* &c., being read along with *chvi* and *dāch* shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle *कृ* to the name of *gati*.

The word *ऊरी* and *वर्य* mean 'to assent and spread.' As *ऊरीकृत्य* (II. 2. 18 S. 761 and VII. 1 37 S. 3332).

The words ending in *chvi* are also *gati*. As *शुक्लीकृत्य* "having made white what was not white."

So also the words ending in अच् as पटपटाकृत्य "having made the sound pat."

*Vartika* :—The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति.

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kārīkā means "action."

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानेतिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

आदिभ्यः । अनितिपरं किंपे । आदिभिः कृत्वा निष्ठीयम् ॥

763. A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

*Note* :—The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound; अनु-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As आदिकृत्य "having made the sound khāt," आदिकृत्य (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783), अनुस्मादकरोति (VIII. 2. 71.)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe आदिभिः कृत्वा निष्ठीयम्.

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सवसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764. The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य 'having honored' (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृत्यम् or असत्कृत्यम् (VI. 2. 49 S. 3783).

*Note* :—Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्या कोपयं गतः ॥

७६५ । मृणयोऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अनङ्कृत्य । मृणये किम् । अनं कृत्योदनं गतः । पर्याप्तविरहयोः । अनुकरणविरह्यादि विदुषी रसमावाक्यम्विवक्ष्य ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

As अनङ्कृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37 S. 761 and 3332). Why do we say 'when alam means ornament'? Observe अने कृत्योदनं गतः 'he goes having eaten enough.'



This sūtra, with the two sūtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein.

*Note* :—The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—‘prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.’ The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament.

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हृत्य । मध्ये हरेत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हृत्वा गतः । इमं परिग्रह्य गतं हरेत्यर्थः ॥

766. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘non-accepting,’ in composition with a verb.

As अन्तर्हृत्य कृङ्गत्तः “he went away having abandoned home.”

*Note* :—The word परिग्रह् means ‘taking’ or ‘accepting,’ अपरिग्रह् means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely ‘rejecting,’ ‘abandoning.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning to abandon?’ Observe अन्तर्हृत्वा हृषिकं दवेनोगतः “the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.”

७६७ । कणेमनसी अज्ञाप्रतयावे । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति । मनोहृत्य । कणेष्टवः सप्तमीप्रतिष्ठापको विपत्तौऽभिलाषातिष्ठये वर्तते । मनःशब्दोऽप्यभेदः ॥

767. The words kape and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of ‘reaction by satiation.’

The word कण-प्रतीपात means ‘satisfaction of desire.’ As कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति “he drinks milk to his heart’s content or till he is satisfied” So also मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अज्ञा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense, we have कण or मनोहृत्वागतः “he went away with food or mind satisfied.” Here the word कण means the small particles of rice. The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes ‘eager desire.’ So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽन्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरोक्तम् ॥

768. The word purah “in front of,” when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have  
पूः पुरी, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डगतः.

Note:—The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix अस्ति forms पुरम्, and by I. 1. 38 S. 448 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 par being substituted for pūrva). The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 S. 761 (2) accent by VI. 2. 40 S. 3783 (3) to change the: ५ into स् by VIII. 3. 40 S. 154.

७६६ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति नाम्नमव्ययं मत्सिंहं स्वार्त्वं । अस्तंगत् ॥

769. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39 S. 449); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगत् सदिता पुनस्तेति '(the sun) having set, rises again'; अस्तंगत्तानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished.' अस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown.'

७७० । अच्छ गत्यर्थवद्देशु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अच्छगत् ॥ अच्छोय । अभिमुखं गत्वा वक्ष्या चेत्यर्थः । अव्ययं किम् । अलमच्छं गच्छति ॥

770. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अग्नि As अच्छगत्, and अच्छोय । Why do we say when an Avyaya? Observe अलमच्छं गच्छति.

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदःकृत्य अदः कृतम् । परं अनुपदेशे अनुपवाहरणम् । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771. The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

As अदः कृतम्, अदः कृतम् ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु.

*Note* :—The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिर्येऽस्तद्धौ १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिर्येभ्यः ॥

772. The word *tiras* when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called *gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As तिर्येभ्यः.

*Note* :—Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिर्ये भूत्वास्थितः i. e., standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृत्वि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरःकृत्वा । तिरस्कृत्वा । तिरः कृत्वा ॥

773. The word *tiras* meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called *gati*, when the verb *kṛi* follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156).

*Note* :—The change of visarga into *स्* is optional VIII. 3. 49 S. 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽम्बाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृत्वि वा गतिरुक्तौ स्तः । उपाजेकृत्वा । उपाजे कृत्वा । अम्बाजेकृत्वा । अम्बाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलभाषायेत्यर्थः ॥

774. The words *upāje* and *anvāje* both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called *gati* when used along with the verb *kṛi*.

As उपाजे कृत्वा or उपाजे कृत्वा 'having given support.' अम्बाजे कृत्वा or अम्बाजे कृत्वा.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रमृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृत्वि वा गतिरुक्तौ स्तः ॥ अर्थः इति वाच्यम् \* ॥ साक्षात्कृत्वा । साक्षात्कृत्वा । तदर्थं कृत्वा । तदर्थं कृत्वा । तदर्थं कृत्वा । तदर्थं कृत्वा ॥

775. The words *sākshāt*, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called *gati*, when used along with the verb *kṛi*.

*Vari*:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix *ञि* is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा; हृदयंकृत्य or हृदयंकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before." The *ञि* in हृदयं &c. is an anomaly or *nipātana*.

७७६ । अन्तर्गताय उरसि मनसो । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अन्तर्गताय उरसि । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्य ।  
अन्तर्गताय उरसि कृत्यं तच्च न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणि वेत्ते ॥

776. The word *urasi*, 'in the breast,' and *manasi* 'in the' mind' are optionally *gati*, when the verb *kṛi* follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. That is "having so determined in his mind." When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणि वेत्ते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति "he ponders having placed the word in his mind."

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृमि वा गतिसंज्ञाः हृदयन्यायानि । मध्यिकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाचं निवच्यित्वर्थः ॥

777. And the words *madhye* 'in the middle,' *pade* 'in the foot' and *nivachane* 'speechless' are optionally *gati*, when *kṛi* follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा; पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ॥ निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा. "Having controlled the speech."

*Note*:—But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा टिः वेत्ते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.'

७७८ । नायं हस्ते पाणामुपयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृमि । उपयमन विवाहः । रक्षापालननिमित्तम् । हस्तहस्त । पाणोपयमन ॥

778. The word *haste* 'in the hand,' *pāṇau* 'in the

hands' are always and necessarily called *gati* when used with the verb *kri*, in the sense of 'marriage.'

As प्राणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married.'

Note:—But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्यापणं यतः 'he went out having taken in his hand a *kārahāṇa* (a coin).

The word उपवन means "marriage." According to others it means "merely acceptance."

७७९ । प्रार्थयन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्रार्थयन्धनम् । प्रार्थयन्धनम् । धननेनाहुत्तं कृत्वेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थयन्धनात्वात् कृत्यकरणे । प्रार्थय कृत्वा ॥

779. The indeclinable word *prādhvam*, followed by the verb *kri*, is always called *gati*, when used in the sense of "binding."

The word *प्रार्थय* ends in य and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gati*: as, *प्रार्थयकृत्य* "having bound properly and so made agreeable." But when not meaning to bind, we have:—*प्रार्थय कृत्वा* "having made agreeable, by prayer &c."

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदाद्यौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

जीविकोपनिष कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदनिष कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्ये किम् । जीविका कृत्वा ।

प्रादिमहणमगत्वर्थम् । सुपुरुषः । अथ वार्तिकानि ॥

प्रादये गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया \* ॥ प्रथम भाषार्थः ॥ प्राचार्यः ॥

अत्याद्यर्थे ज्ञानाद्यर्थे द्वितीयया \* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो गालमतिमातः ॥

अथावयः कुट्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया \* ॥ अवकुट्टा कोकिलया अवकोकिलः ॥

पर्यादये गलनाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया \* ॥ परिस्तापोऽप्ययनाय पर्याध्ययनः ॥

निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चमया \* ॥ निष्क्रान्तः कौषाम्ब्या निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥

कर्मप्रवर्तनीयानां प्रतिषेधः \* ॥ वृक्षं प्रति ॥

780. The words *jivikā* and *upanishad*, followed by the verb *kri*, are called *gati*, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As जीविकाकृत्य "having made it, as if it was a means of living"; उपनिषत्कृत्य—"having made it like an *upanishad*." Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe जीविकां कृत्वा "having made his livelihood."

## PRĀDI SAMĀSA.

Having given above illustrations of gati-samāsas; we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c. by II. 2. 18. S. 761. The प्र &c., used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुपुत्रः ॥ Here ॥ is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following vārtikas, which treat of Prādi Samāsa :—

*Vart* :—The word प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus प्राचार्यः 'a former teacher'; ॥ also प्रविनायकः "who precedes the grand-father i. e. a great-grand-father." प्रमातामहः ॥

*Vart* :—The words आने &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case-affix. As अतिशान्तः स्वद्वारे = अविशदुः (I. 2. 44 and 48 S. 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिशालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.' So also अभिमुखः (= अभिमुखो मुखे); वदेलः, प्रत्यक्षः ॥

*Vart* :—The words अय &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix; as अयकुतः घोषितया = अय घोषितः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring. So also परिवीर्य ( = परिवीर्यो वीर्यपा), संवर्ग (संवर्गो वर्गणा).

*Vart* :—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix; as परिश्रमोऽप्यवसाय = पर्यप्यवसः 'weary of study.' अलंकुशारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

*Vart* :—The words निर &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निरक्षीपाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; So also निरक्षयसिः ॥ So also वदकुतः ( = वदकुतो कुलान् ) and निरदगुलम् ( निरदगुलो गुलियः ) ॥

*Vart* :—A word enters into composition with द्वय 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागवादिन 'like a word and its meaning,' वारासीद्वय 'like two garments.'

*Vart* :—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya'; as दृश पश्चि दिशोऽनंतं विष्णु 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' साधु देवार्थं वाचं पति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

## UPAPADA-SAMĀSAS

## UPAPADA DEFINED.

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीसम् । ३ । १ । ६२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते परे कर्मणीत्यादि वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भानि तद्वत्पदं पदमुपपदसहं स्यात्तस्मिन् सत्त्वेन वक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

Here (in this Third Book of Pāṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), (the word implied 'in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.)

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. S. 2913 कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case; will be called उपपद. (Thus कुम्भश्च+कृ+अण् = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भश्च is an upapada.)

७८२ । उपपदमातिङ् । २ । २ । १६ ॥

उपपदं भुवन्ते सप्तम्येन स्थितं सप्तम्यन्ते । अतिङ्गन्त्याश्च सप्तमः । कुम्भं कर्तव्यं कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भ अण् कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् इति । सा भवान् भून् । माङि भुङ्ति सप्तमीनिर्देशाभ्यामुपपदम् । अतिङ्गद्वयं तापमति सुपेत्वेतिहाउपसर्ग इति । पूर्वसुप्तेऽपि गतिप्रवर्णं वृथक्कार्या-  
सिद्धद्वयं तत्रापकथ्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकस्कोपपदार्थां वृजिः सह समासवचने प्रा-  
कमुत्पत्तिरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याप्ती । अर्थकीर्त्ती । कथ्यणी ॥

782. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92 S. 781), which ends with a case-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ+अण् (genitive) +कारः "the maker of pot;" for kṛit words govern Genitive. This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech.

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix? Observe सा भवान् भून् ॥ Here the word सा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III. 3. 175 S. 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist. Had there been compounding, नवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भून् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant ; since the anuvṛitti of the words ह्य सुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the aphorism II. 2. 18 S. 761. The following Paribhāṣhā also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुहृत्पक्षे ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛt-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras III. 2. 18 and 19 S. 2932 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus व्याप्री ॥ The word व्याप्री is formed by the affix क added under III. 1. 136 S. 2898 qualified by the vārtika under III. 1. 137 S. 2899. The compounding of वि + व्याह् + प्री is a Gati samāsa, for वि and व्याह् are Gati with regard to the verb प्र ॥ Had this compounding taken place after प्र had become a noun ॥ and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till प्र had taken the feminine affix दाप् also, and it would not have taken ङीप् ॥ Because the word प्र by itself does not denote any jāti. So the feminine प्रा will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short ञ, it will not take jāti ङीप् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद् alone in the above Paribhāṣhā, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when व्याह् is compounded with the noun प्र, we get व्याप्र; then for the compounding of व्याप्र with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the प्रा when preceded by व्या, the word व्या प्रा may be treated as an upapada (and not gati), but the word वि cannot be treated as an upapada by any rule. So the word gati is properly used in the above Paribhāṣhā.

So also बदरङ्गीती 'a female bought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. बदरङ्ग ङीते सा = बदरङ्गङी; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50 S. 506) and we have बदरङ्गीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix दाप् had been added to ङीत previous to its composition with बदरङ्ग the form would have been बदरङ्गीता, and we should have had no base ending with short ञ and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

This word बदरङ्गीती is an example of kāraka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृदत्ते इति &c., (II. 1. 32 S. 604),



As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन विवति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III. 2, 4. S. 2916, by Yoga-vibhāga. Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun व taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken शप् and not ङीप् ; similarly as in व्याप्ती ॥

७८३ । अमेवाच्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमेव तुल्यविधाने यदुपपन्नं तदेवाच्ययेन सह समस्त्ववे । स्वाहुकारम् । मेहः । कालसमयवेलास्तु तुहम् । कालः । समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमेवेति किम् । अमे भोक्ता । अमे भुक्त्वा । विभाषामे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वापसुतो ॥ अना चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेवम् ॥

783. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and समुह्).

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वाहुकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also त्वणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in अम् of the affix तुहम् added by rule III. 3. 167 S. 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time.')

{The force of the word "only" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada, so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, S. 3345 declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अमे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अमेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अमेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अमेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृत्यान्यन्तरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपपदस्तृतीयायादित्यादीन्युपपत्तयन्तेनाच्ययेन सह वा समस्त्वान्ते । भुङ्क्तेवेपदं भुङ्क्ते । भुङ्क्तेवेपदम् ॥

784. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47 S. 3368 &c.,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अच् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47. S. 3368 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपवंशं शुद्धं or मूलकोपवंशं शुद्धं 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.

*Note* :—For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c S. 3373. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be talya-vidhāna with the अच् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 S. 3381 where अच् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both ग्राह्य and अग्रह्य vibhāshā. It is ग्राह्य with regard to those rules where अच् is the only affix employed; and it is अग्रह्य with regard to those where अच् is not the only affix.

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

वृत्तिग्रामभृतीषुपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । अथोक्तत्वं उच्यते क्त्वा । अन्त्येयं यथाभि-  
प्रेतेति क्त्वा । वृत्तिग्रामभृतीति किञ्च । अलं क्त्वा । खलु क्त्वा ॥

785. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix क्त्वा; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्यते क्तत्वं or उच्यते क्त्वा. Here the affix क्त is added by sūtra III. 4. 59 S. 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्त is replaced by the substitute क्त्वा; other wise not, ' See VII. 1. 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c.? अलं क्त्वा, or खलु क्त्वा. Where there is no composition.

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययादेरङ्गुलन्तरस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽप्यस्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमात्रे अङ्गुलस्य  
शब्दः । निर्गतङ्गुलिभ्यां निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786. The affix ach comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word āṅguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it.

Thus द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमात्रे = द्व्यङ्गुलस्य शब्दः ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it : as निर्गतङ्गुलिभ्यां = निरङ्गुलम्, अलङ्गुलम् ॥

*Note* :—This compounding takes place by II. 1. 51. This is a Taddhita compound, the taddhita affix अच् being elided by the Vārtika समाजो हो द्वयोर्निश्चय

"there is always the elision of the affix *सञ्च* denoting measure when a Drigu compound is formed". See V. 2. 37 Vārt.).

७८७ । अहःसर्वकदेससंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एवञ्च रात्रेरच् स्थानास्तस्यान्यथाहः । अहर्मेवञ्च । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्वे रात्रिः पूर्वरात्रः । संख्यातपञ्च । पुण्यारात्रः । इत्यो रात्रेः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिश्रान्तो रात्रिनतिरात्रः ॥

787. The affix *ञच्* comes after the word *rātri*, when preceded by *ahau*, or *sarva*, or a word denoting a portion of night, or *saṅkhyāta* or *punya*, when the compound is *Tatpurusha*, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word *rātri*.

The anuvritti of *संख्याप्यवादे* is drawn in to this sūtra by force of the word "and" of the sūtra. The word *अहश्च* forms a Dvandva compound; as *अहश्च रात्रिश्च* = *अहोरात्रः* "day and night." So also *सर्वरात्रः*, *पूर्वरात्रः* 'the first part of night'. These are formed by II. 2. 1. S. 712. So also *संख्याता रात्रिः* = *संख्यातपञ्च* ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 57 S. 736. So also *पुण्यारात्रिः* = *पुण्यारात्रः* ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable: as, *इत्यो रात्रेः समाहारः* = *द्विरात्रः*, *अतिश्रान्तो रात्रिश्च* = *अतिरात्रः* ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसक्तिश्च । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतन्नासत्पुरुषाद्वाच् राजाह् । परमराजः । अतिरात्री । कृष्णसखाः ॥

788. The affix *तच्* is added to the words *rājan*, *ahan*, and *sakhi*, when standing at the end of a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus *परमराजः*; *अतिरात्री*, *कृष्णसखा* = *कृष्णसखः*; ॥

*Note*:—Why not so here *महाराज्ञी*. *राज्ञी* = *महाराज्ञी* instead of *महाराज्ञी* ॥ For according to the maxim "a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender" (*प्रतिपदिक्त्वमद्वये निरूपित्विद्विद्व्यादि महत्त्वम्*); the stem *राजन्* would denote the feminine also. To this we reply, that the construction of the sūtra shows that the feminine *राज्ञी* is not to be taken. Because *अहश्च* being a prosodially lighter word than *राजन्* ought to have been placed first in the compound. Its not being so placed indicates that that form *राजन्* only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into *वा* in compounding with *अहश्च*; i. e. *राजा + अहश्च*; and not *राज्ञी + अहश्च* ॥

In fact, the above Paribhāṣhā is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have गृह्यपञ्जी ॥ See also the next sūtra.

७८९ । अह्नोऽहोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

एनयोर्विपरतोऽह्नि लोपः स्वात्रान्वयः । वत्तमाहः । हे अहनी भूतो ब्राह्मीनः क्रतुः । तद्धितायेद्विदुः । समर्थोऽह्नायि करि द्विगोर्ध्वत्वनुचौ रात्र्यहः संवत्सरचोत्ति सः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया भनित्वान्निर । गृह्याणां रात्री गृह्यपञ्जी ॥

789. The अह् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes इ and ख ॥

Thus वत्तमाहः ( V. 4. 91 S. 794 with इच् ) ॥ हे अहनी भधीदो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = ब्राह्मीनः क्रतुः ( with ख V. 1. 87 S. 1751 ).

Varī:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = ब्राह्मीनः ( IV. 2. 42 ).

Though the अह् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes इ and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule: अहन् does not lose its final अह् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् ( with इच् V. 1. 79 S. 1743 ). The word 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अह् before इ and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvān, before ख, in VI. 4. 169 S. 1671.

In the sub-division of तमधीनः ( V. 1. 80 S. 1744 ) reading the anuvṛtti of द्विगोर्ध्व ( V. 1. 86. S. 1750 ) in the sūtra रात्र्यहः संवत्सराय ( V. 1. 87. S. 1751 ), we get the affix ख ॥ The Paribhāṣhā relating to gender being anitya, ( see 788 above ) we have no इच् here in गृह्याणां रात्री = गृह्यपञ्जी ॥

७९० । अहोऽह्ना यत्तेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्यः पत्ययह्नयस्यह्नादेयः स्वास्तमासाम्ने षरे ॥

790. For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V. 4. 87 S. 787. ( and taking the affix ङच् mentioned in V. 4. 91 S. 788 ).

Note:—When the affix इच् follows अहन्, and the latter is preceded by the words अहो &c., then अह्ना is substituted for अहन् ॥ By the term अहोऽह्ना "there are two", is meant the numerals ( with the exception of एक V. 4. 90 S. 794 ) the Indicatives, the words रात्रि, संवत्सर and words denoting a part of a day, for there are the words mentioned in the sūtra V. 4. 87 S. 787. The word अहन् is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpuruṣa

compound of अहन् with अहन् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V. 4. 90, S. 794. Thus ह्योरह्नोर्भवः = अहः, व्यवहः, अहरतिकान्तः = अवहः, निरहः ॥ So also सर्वाह्नः, (VIII. 4. 7 S. 791) पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्नः, संख्याताहः (according to some संख्याताहः V. 4. 90).

७६१ । अहोऽन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अवन्तपूर्वपक्षस्याहोत्तरस्याहोर्बोध्यस्य नस्य यः स्यात् । सर्वाह्नः । पूर्वाह्नः । संख्याताहः । ह्योरह्नोर्भवः । कालाह्नः । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्य इति ऽम्ने लुक् । अहः । खिवागन्तत्वाच्चा । अहः । अह्नमियः । अवहः ।

791. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i. e. the letter र).

Thus सर्वाह्नः पूर्वाह्नः "fore-noon"; अपराह्नः "after-noon" But in संख्याताहः no change.

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरहः, इरहः ॥

The word अह् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. The word अह् being used in the sūtra = ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घादी हरत् ॥ The word अह् in the sūtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वने (VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039), वाहनं (VIII. 4. 8 S. 1052), ज्ञानं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788), and अह् substitution by V. 4. 88.

The word दीर्घादी is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it. The feminine स्त्रीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, S. 462 there is elision of अ of अह् by VI. 4. 134 S. 234.

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe ह्योरह्नोर्भवे = अहः, ॥ This is a Tadditārtha Dvigu compound formed by II. 1. 51; S. 728 the affix ऽम् of कालाह् ऽम् (IV. 3. 11, S. 1381) is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

In the Feminine, there will be टच् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As अहः ॥ So also अह्नमियः and अवहः ॥

७६२ । क्षुब्धादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३६ ॥

एषु पाठे न स्यात् । दीर्घादी प्राप् । एवं चैतद्व्यमह इत्यन्तानुकारणशेषे न कर्तव्यः । प्रातिपदिकान्वेति अन्त्यकारणाय क्षुब्धादिषु अन्त्यकारणकस्याहः । अहन्तादिनि नष्टकारणमिह । परागतमहः पराहः ॥

792. The ण is not the substitute of न in the words kshubhna &c.

*Note*.—The 'not' of sūtra VIII. 4. 34 S. 2840 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभानि, = also in क्षुभीतः, क्षुभन्ति, the substitutes of अक्ष being like the principal I. 1. 57. S. 50. So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857 and VIII. 4. 26 S. 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन् and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting = name, as, हरिन्मयी, हरिन्मनः, गिरिनगरः ॥ The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix बह्, as, नरीवृत्ते ॥ नृत्, नृमोवि also belongs to this class, नर्वन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिवर्त्तनम्, परिग्रहणम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 So परिग्रहणम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287 चरनिवेशः, चरनिवासः, चरान्निः, र्मोवृत्तः ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥ हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुंवर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the व of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभा (क्षुभानि), ॥ नृनमनः ॥ गग्निम्, 4 कन्दन, 5 नगर, एतत्पुत्रत्पदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिन्मयी, 7 हरिन्मनः 8 गिरिनगरः; 9 नृत्तिर्येते प्रयोजयन्ति, नरीवृत्ते; 10 नर्वन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतत्पुत्रत्पदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिग्रहणम्, 19 परिग्रहणम्, 20 चरनिवेशः, 21 चरनिवासः, 22 चरान्निः ॥ र्मोवृत्तः, 24 आचार्यद्वयत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभा, 25 नृत्, नृनमन, 26 नननगर, नन्दन-बह् नृत्, 27 गिरिनरी, 28 गहननमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य-भोगीन, 29 एतत्पुत्रम्, 30 हरिकारीनि प्रयोजयन्ति संज्ञायाम् । हरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुंवर, हरि कर्मर, आकृतिगणः ॥

Thus दीर्घाद्धी प्राप्ते ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्ना *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhādi class, in order to prevent the न change required by VIII. 4. 11 S. 1055.

In the sūtra VIII. 4. 7 S. 791 we read "when preceded by a word ending in short अ"; therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no = change; as एतद्दः ( एतद्गणतद्दः ) ॥

७२३ । न संख्याद्धेः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे पर्वधानस्य संख्यादेवदोषो न स्यात् । संख्यादेवेति स्पष्टार्थम् । इत्येवदोः समाहारे ऋः । एतद्दः ॥

793. This substitution of *ahna* for *alien*, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity.

This substitution is prohibited in the case of *Samāhāra-Tatpurusha*. Thus एतद्दो मन्त्राः = एतद्दः, so also एतद्दः ॥ Here rule V. 4. 91 applies.

There can be no samāhāra Tatpuruṣa compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word संख्यारोः in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary ; but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness.

७६४ । उत्तमैकादश्यां च । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

आभ्यानद्वादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्वयार्थः । पुण्यशब्दाह । पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूचयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याह । ह्यदिनाह । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाहः । उत्तममहणमुपान्त्यस्यापि संमर्शार्थमित्येके । संख्याताहः ॥

794. And also after the word that stands last in the above list ( i. e. पुण्य ) and eka, this substitution does not take place.

The word उत्तम means 'last' ; and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V. 4. 87. S. 787. The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैचित्र्य ; the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाभ्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word ह्यदिन is a term of praise. एकाहः ॥ Some include the penultimate word संख्यात् also in the prohibition. According to them संख्यात्तः is the proper form and not संख्यातः ॥

७६५ । अत्राख्यायासुरसः । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

दन्त्यस्यात् । अत्राख्यासुर इव अश्वीरसम्, सुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795. The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpuruṣa compound, when it has the sense of ( the most excellent of its kind )

Thus अश्वयोः उरः = अश्वीरसम् "the most excellent of horses".

Note :—The word अश्व means 'the principal' as the word उरस् is the principal member of an animal, so by metonymy it has come to mean 'the principal'.

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent". Observe देवदत्तस्योरः = देवदत्तोरः "the breast of Devadatta"

७६६ । अनोऽस्मायः सरस्तां जातिसंख्ययोः । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

दन्त्यस्याज्जाती संज्ञार्थं च । उपानसम् । अष्टादशम् । कान्त्यसम् । अष्टादशसंज्ञितं यानिः परानसम् । विष्टादशम् । लोहितादसम् । अनससंज्ञितं संज्ञा ॥

796. The affix tach comes after anas, āsman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpuruṣa compound, it denotes a jāti or a name.

Thus स्वानसम्, सप्तारम्, कालावसम्, and मण्डूकसम्, are examples of आति words, while गङ्गानसम्, पिण्डारम्, मोहितावसम्, and जनसरसम् are examples of संज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say “when meaning a jāti or = sañjñā? Observe सवनः, सक्शमाः, सस्तरः ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटाश्यां च तक्षः । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षः ग्रामतक्षः । साधारण इत्यर्थः । कुत्रां भवः कोटः स्वतन्त्रः । सयासौ तक्षा च कौटक्षः ॥

797. The affix *tach* comes after *taksna*, when preceded by *grāma* and *kauṭa*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

The *anuvṛtti* of *jāti* and *sañjñā* does not run into this *sūtra*. Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा = ग्रामतक्षः, बहुलां साधारणः ‘the public carpenter of all.’ कुत्रां भवः = कोटः “independent.” कौटः तक्षा = कौटक्षः meaning स्वतन्त्रः कर्तव्योत्थी, न कस्मचित्प्रासिद्धः ‘and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one’.

७९८ । अतेः शुनः । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराहः । अतिश्वो-सेना ॥

798. The affix *tach* comes after the word *śvan* preceded by *ati*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus अतिक्रान्तः श्वानम् = अतिश्वो वराहः “the boar that surpasses the dog” i. e. श्वानम् “very swift”. So अतिश्वो सेना “the dog-surpassing soldier i. e. more devoted to his master than a dog” or “a servile army, as mean as a dog.”

७९९ । उपमानाद्गमाविषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

गोमोनिविदयकोपमानाविषुः शुनरवस्थात् । आकर्षः श्वेद आकर्षश्वः । गमाविषु विषुः । मानः श्वेद मानश्वा ॥

799. The affix *tach* comes after the word *śvan* ending in a *Tatpurusha* compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it.

Thus आकर्षः श्वेद = आकर्षश्वः ‘a dog-like bow.’ This compounding takes place by II. 1. 56. S. 735

Why do we say “when the thing compared is not a living being”? Observe मानः श्वेद = मानश्वा “a dog-like monkey”.

८०० । उत्तरमुगपयस्य सफटनः । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥



चादुपमानात् । उत्तरसक्यम् । मृगतक्यम् । पूर्वसक्यम् । कलकमिव सक्थि कलकसक्यम् ॥

800. The affix *ṭach* comes after *sakthi*, when preceded by *uttara*, *mṛiga*, and *pūrva*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it.

By the force of the word च in the *sūtra*, we read in the word उपमानात् also. Thus उत्तरसक्यम्, मृगतक्यम्, पूर्वसक्यम् ॥ So also in कलकमिव सक्थि = कलकसक्यम् ॥

८०१ । नावो द्विगोः । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

नीलध्वान्ताद्विगोष्ठश्च स्यान्न तु सञ्ज्ञितलुकि । द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतः द्विगोऽवस्यत् । द्विगोर्लुगनश्च ह्यस्य अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्धलाहेनं लुक् । पञ्चनावयिवः । द्विनावत् । त्रिनावत् । अतञ्ज्ञितलुकीति कियत् । पञ्चभिर्नैभिः क्रीयः पञ्चनौः ॥

801. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *nau*, when at the end of a *Dvigu* compound, but not so when the *Taddhita* affix is elided.

Thus द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतः = द्विनावस्यत्, द्विनावयवः (IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) The elision of IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word नाञ्च of IV. 1. 89 S. 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant.

So also द्वे नावौ समाह्वये = द्विनावत्, so also त्रिनावत् ॥ Thus द्विनावयवः, पञ्चनावयवः are also formed.

Why do we say 'when in a *Dvigu* compound'? Observe एवमनौः "the king's ship". The phrase अतञ्ज्ञितलुकि "when a *Taddhita* affix is not elided" of *sūtra* V. 4. 92 S. 729 applies here also. Therefore इच् does not apply in पञ्चभिर्नैभिः क्रीयः = पञ्चनौः, दशनौः ॥

८०२ । अर्धाश्च । ५ । ४ । १०० ॥

अर्धांश्चावृष्टश्च स्यात् । नावोऽर्धम् । अर्धनावत् । क्रीयस्य लोकात् ॥

802. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *ardha*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus नावो अर्धे = अर्धनावत् ॥ The compounding takes place by II 2. S. 713. The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II. 4. 26 S. 812; for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकाग्रयत्वं लिङ्गस्य) ॥

८०३ । खार्याः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विबोधार्थं खार्यादञ्चा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803. To the word *khârî*, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word *ardha*, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix *ṭach* is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians.

The words *द्विबोः* and *अर्धार्थः* are both understood here. Thus *द्वे खार्यो समाहते* = *द्विखारम्*, or *द्विखारि* ॥ So also *अर्धे खार्याः* = *अर्धखारम्* or *अर्धखारि* ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलिः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

अञ्चा स्यात् द्विर्ना । द्व्यञ्जलिः । द्व्यञ्जलिः । भवद्विचतुकीत्येष । द्व्यञ्जलिभ्यामञ्जलिः ।

804. The affix *ṭach* is added to the word *añjali*, when preceded by *dvi* or *tri*, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound.

Thus *द्व्यञ्जलि समाहते* = *द्व्यञ्जलिः*, so also *त्र्यञ्जलिः* ॥ The word *द्विर्बोः* is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply. Thus *द्विर्विभक्तलिः* = *द्व्यञ्जलिः* ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided ( V. 4. 92 S. 729 )" is understood here also. Therefore the affix *टच्* does not apply here. *द्व्यञ्जलिभ्यामञ्जलिः प्रवेष्टः* = *द्व्यञ्जलिः* ॥ ( V. 1. 28 ).

Note :—The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V. 4. 101 S. 803 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus in the alternative we have *द्व्यञ्जलिभिः* ॥

८०५ । प्रत्यक्षो जानपदादयायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

भद्रास्ताक्षरादृष्यस्यायामातेन जानपदादयायाम् भवत् । प्रत्यक्षे ब्रह्म प्रत्यक्षः ॥

805. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *brahmaya* in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country.

The word *जानपद* is equivalent to *जानपदेषु भवः* "belonging to a country." This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country. Thus *प्रत्यक्षे ब्रह्म* = *प्रत्यक्षः*, and *अवन्तिभ्यः* "a Brāhmana of Surashtra or Avanti." This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

*Note:—*Why do we say "when referring to the name of a country"? Observe देवब्रह्मा नादः 'Narada the bard of the gods'.

८०६ । कुम्हद्ब्रह्मामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा टच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुम्हितो ब्रह्म कुम्हः । कुम्हद्ब्रह्म ॥

806. The affix *tach* comes optionally after the word *brahman* preceded by the words *कु* and *महत्*, in a *Tatpuruṣa* compound.

Thus *कुम्हः* or *कुम्हद्ब्रह्म*, 'a bad Brahmana'. The word *ब्रह्म* is a synonym of *ब्राह्मण* "a Brāhmaṇa".

८०७ । आन्महत्तः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत् आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्म । महाब्रह्मा । महादेवः । महाजातीयः । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महत् सेवा महत्सेवा । तादृशिकं विज्ञाय प्रतिपक्षोक्तः सन्महत्ति सनातो महीपते इति चेत् महाबाहुर्न स्यात् । स्यात्समानाधिकरणप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्योति परिभाषा मेह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणमहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आदिति योमविभागात्सम् । प्रतिकार्यम् इति निर्वेसाद्वा । दकारश्च । महतीशब्दस्य पुंवस्कर्तृभारयोति पुंवसावे कृते आसम् । महाजातीय ॥

महदात्वे पासकविशिष्टशृषलक्ष्यार्थं पुंवस्माद्वच \* ॥ असमानाधिकरण्यार्थनिर्दिष्टम् । महतो महत्या वा पासो महापादः । मङ्गकरः । मङ्गविशिष्टः ॥

अटनः कपाले हविषि \* ॥ अष्टाकपालः ॥

यवि च युक्ते \* ॥ गोमन्त्रे परे युक्त इत्यर्थे मन्त्रेऽटन आत्मे वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागलं शकटम् । अष्टमश्वत्थेन्द्राजिति योमविभागाद्दृष्टीभावप्यच् । अष्टानां गलां समाकरः अष्टगधम् । सशक्तत्वा-च्छकटमष्टागवानिति यः ॥

807. For the final of *महत्* is substituted *आम्* (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before *जातीय* ॥

As *महाब्रह्म* or *महाब्रह्मा*, *महदेवः*, *महाजातीयः* ॥ Why do we say 'before a word which is in apposition with it'? Observe *महत्*: सेवा=*महत्सेवा* "the service of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. Obj. We shall explain the compound *महत्सेवा* by saying that the rule of *आ* substitution applies to those compounds only of *महत्* which are ordained specially by II. 1. 61 S. 740 and not to the general compounding of *महत्* with any noun.

And as *महत्सेवा* can not be compounded under II. 1. 61 S. 740 so there will be no *आ* substitution here.

Ans.—Not so; for how then you explain the *जा* in *महाबाहुः* which is also not a compound under II. 1. 61 S. 740 but = *Bahuvrīhi*, and which according to your explanation ought to be *महद्बाहुः* ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the *Pratīpadokta* *Paibhāśā* does not apply here, and this because the word *समानाधिकरण* is employed in the *sūtra*. Therefore, the present *sūtra* applies to all compounds of *महत्*, where it is in apposition with the second word.

How do you explain the lengthening in *एकदश*? Either by *yoga-vibhāga*, taking *बाहू* as a separate *sūtra*; or because *Pāṇini* himself uses it in V. 3. 49 S. 1995.

In *महती + जातीया*, the feminine *महती* is first changed into the masculine *महत्* by VI. 3. 42 S. 746; and then the *त्* is changed to *जा* by the present *sūtra*, and thus we get *महाजातीया* ॥

The compounding with *महत्* takes place under II. 1. 61 S. 740. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to *Bahuvrīhis*, when also the two words are in apposition, as in *महाबाहुः* ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word *samānādhikaraṇa* in this *sūtra*. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of *pratīpadokta*, the rule would have applied only to the *Tatpuruṣa* compounds of *mahat*, taught under II. 1. 61 S. 740, but not to *Bahuvrīhis* like *महाबाहुः* ॥ In *महद्भुतचन्द्रया = महद्बाहू महान् संवत्*, the long *आ* is not substituted, as the sense of *महत्* is here secondary.

*Vāṇī* :—*जा* is substituted for the final *महत्* before *पास*, *कर* and *विशिष्ट*, the feminine *महती* being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As *महत्या पासः = महापासः*, *महत्याः करः = महाकरः*, *महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः* ॥

*Vāṇī* :—*जा* is substituted for the final of *महत्* before *कपाल*, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As *महाकपालं परं निर्वहेत्* ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe *महाकपालं द्राक्ष्यमस्य* ॥

*Vāṇī* :—*जा* is substituted for the final of *महत्* before *नी*, when the meaning is that of 'yoked.' As, *यष्टागवेन शकटेन* ॥ But *महत्तमं द्राक्ष्यमस्य*, where 'yoking' is not meant. The *त्* in *महत्* is for the sake of distinctness.

The affix *महत्* of V. 4. 75 S. 943 is made applicable here by the method of *yoga-vibhāga*: though the compound is *Bahuvrīhi*; *महत् + गो = महा + गो + जा* ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is *अष्टगवम्* (*Samāhāra Dvandva*). The chariot is also called *महत्तमम्* because they are yoked there to.

८०८ । द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामवहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः । ६ । ३ । ४७ ॥

आस्यन् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । आधिका ष्येति च । द्वाविंशतिः । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशतिः । अवहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः क्रिप् । द्विचाः । द्व्यशीतिः ॥ प्राक्प्रतादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ नेह । द्विचतस्र । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टद् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश (= द्वौ च दश च or द्वि आधिका दश). द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टाविंशत् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows? Observe द्विचाः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

—*Ārt*:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विचतस्र, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टचतस्र, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रैलोक्यः । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

त्रिचतस्र चतस्र स्यात्पूर्वाविषये । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशतिः । बह्व्रीहौ तु त्रिंशत् त्रिंशः । द्वयं बह्व्रीहिः । चरांतौ तु त्र्यशति । प्राक् प्रतादिति च । त्रिचतस्र । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रिंशतः which is a Bahuvrīhi. (II. 2. 25 S. 843) व्यधीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिचतस्र, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृती सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

अष्टमोक्षे च प्रायुक्तं च स्वाधत्तारिंशदाक्षौ परे । द्विचत्वारिंशत् । द्वाचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । विंशत्वारिंशत् । त्रयचत्वारिंशत् । एवै पञ्चाष्टस्यष्टिसप्तन्यस्रतिषु ॥

810. The above substitution in the case of अष्ट (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टद्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिचत्वारिंशत् or त्रयः पञ्चाष्टम्, अष्टचत्वारिंशत्, अष्टाचत्वारिंशत् ॥ This is also before hundred : as, द्विचतस्र and अष्टचतस्र द्विचतस्र ॥

So also with त्रैलोक्यम्, पटि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकाद्विंशैकस्य चातुक् । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

काविंशम् प्रकृत्या स्वातृकस्य च बहुतागमस्य । अग्रा एवत्या सह समासे कृते एकपक्षेन

सङ्गे द्वितीयोति योगविभागास्तमासः । शत्रुनासिकविकल्पः । एकेन नविनतिः एकात्रार्थधातिः । एका-  
वर्णार्थधातिः । एकोनविंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

एष उक्तं दन्तशपासुचरपदविः हूलं च धातु वेति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडश । षोडश । षोड ।  
षड्धा ॥

811. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अङ्क (अङ्).

Thus एकने नविनतिः = एकान्नविनतिः, एकान्नविनत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II. 1. 30 S. 692 by the method of yoga-vibhāga taking द्वितीया as a separate śūtra. The nasal is optional, so we have एकाव् नविनतिः also, meaning "nineteen." The augment अङ्क is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकाङ् न विनति and एकाव् न विनति by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116.

Vart.—The final of वच् is changed to ङ before दृ, एच्, and धा (meaning 'location'); and the first letter of the second member is changed to ङ or ङ ॥ Thus वङ् दन्तः शपासु = षोडश; षोडश; षड्धा or षोड कुरु ॥ The addition of ङ is optional here. The putting of धातु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact, it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore, does not apply to these:—एद वपाति or धवति = षड्धा ॥

—:—

## THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS.

८१२ । परवल्लिङ्गे द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परपरस्मिन् लिङ्गे स्यात् । कुक्कुटमृगयविने । मृगीकम्बुयादिनो । भर्षपिप्पली ॥

द्विगुणाभाषनादिपूर्वगतितानां तेषु भविष्येति वाच्यः ॥ पञ्चसु कपटिषु संस्कृतः पञ्चकपालः पुरोडाशः । प्राप्ता वीरिकां प्राग्भीतिः । आपन्नभीतिः । अयं कुपयि अङ्कुमारः । अथ एव शापकास्तमासः । निष्कौशमिः ॥

812. The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction. As कुक्कुटमृगयविने 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मृगीकम्बु-  
हविने 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the preceding aphorism: As वरुणविष्णोः, भर्षपिप्पली 'half a pippali.'

*Vart*:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राज्ञ, जापन्न and, अलं. and (3) compounds with Gati words i. e. Prādi compounds; as, पंचकपान्नः 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups'; प्राज्ञ जीविकः (प्राज्ञ + जीविकः) 'has obtained living.' जापन्नजीविकः ॥ अलंकुमारिः 'who is a suitable match for the girl.' There is no special rule of Pāṇini by which अलं can be so compounded. We infer such a rule, by the implication (jñāpaka) of this vārtika. निज्ज्ञौसाम्बिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.'

८१३ । पूर्ववदम्भवद्वचौ । २ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रियन्तनतत्पद्मम् । अश्ववद्वचौ । अश्ववद्वचम् । अश्ववद्वचैः ॥

813. The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vadava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12. S. 916, in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववद्वचाविधी ; अश्ववद्वचान्, अश्ववद्वचैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

८१४ । रात्राह्नाह्नाः पुंसि । २ । ४ । २९ ॥

एतदन्ती द्वन्द्वतत्पद्मयोः पुंसि च । अन्तर्गन्तात्परवाङ्मितापवादीभ्यश्च परस्मात्तन्तुहारान्तुसकतां याधते । अहोरात्रः । रात्रेः पूर्वभागः पूर्वरात्रः । पूर्वार्द्धेः ॥ अहः ॥ संख्यापूर्वे रात्रे स्त्रीष्वम् ॥ द्विरात्रम् । त्रिरात्रम् । रात्ररात्रम् ॥

814. The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

This debars the neuter gender of Samāhāra even (II. 4. 17 S. 821) because it is a subsequent sūtra to that in the order of Pāṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II. 4. 26 S. 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II. 4. 17. S. 821. Thus अहोरात्रः ॥

These words refer to kṛit and Samasānta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + मच् (V. 4. 87 S. 787) अह is formed by V. 4. 89 S. 790 and अह by V. 4. 91. S. 788. The general rule II. 4. 26 S. 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्रः ; द्विरात्रः ; त्रिरात्रः, 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वार्द्धम्, अपरार्द्धः ; मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' अहः 'two days' त्रयः, 'three days'

*Vart*:—The word रात्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, ■

शिरात्रम् &c., गणरात्रम् ॥ यस्यानां बहुतां रात्राणां सग्राह्यः = सग्राह्यम् ॥

८१५ । अपथं तपुस्तपम् । २ । ४ । ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्वयः ॥ अपथो देशः । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशात् । अपथ्याः ॥

815. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sūtra and not Dvandva.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road.' But अपथोदेशः (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi, the word is masculine; so also अपथः where the rule does not apply, because the sūtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samāsānta affix. So where there is no samāsānta affix, the form is अपथ्याः also. The samāsānta is optional by V. 4. 72 S. 957.

८१६ । अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चादयः शरीराः पुंसि प्रीतिर्य च श्रुः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एवं शीर्षः, शरीरः, गच्छः, पीडनः, देहः, अङ्कुषः, फलक इत्यादि ॥

'816. The words 'ardharcha' &c., may be masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वजः or ध्वजम् 'a flag'. So also शीर्षः or शीर्षम् 'a place of pilgrimage'; शरीरः 'the body'; श्रुः 'a shed'; शीर्षः 'nectar'; देहः 'the body'; अङ्कुषः 'a goad for an elephant'; कलशः 'a jar' &c.

*Note*:—These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus धर्मः 'treasure,' धर्मः or धर्मम् 'lotus,' धर्मः 'treasure,' and धर्मम् or धर्मः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies, सैन्यः or सैन्यम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. शरीरः 'best' शरीर 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकस्मिन् वा बहुवचनमिति । जात्याः पुंजाः जात्याः पुंजाः ॥

817. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.



*Note:*—The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. <The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular> The anuvṛitti of saishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः or ब्राह्मणः पूज्यः

*Note:*—It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common nouns, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्ना यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववत् ब्राह्मणः प्रस्तुत्येयः or पूर्ववत्सौ ब्राह्मणाः प्रस्तुत्येयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, राजदत्तः Rajādatta. Why have we used the word आद्यव्यापकः? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the status of kāsya may also be called 'kāsyapa'; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.)

Why do we say 'ekasmin' ? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रह्मिण्यौ 'the rice and barley:' the rule does not apply.

<An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रह्मिः संपन्नः कुम्भित् करीति>

८१८ । अस्मदो द्वयोश्च । १ । २ ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽन्येषां बहुवचने वा स्वात् । वयं स्मः । एतेऽहं त्वीनि । अथां ह्ये इति वा ॥ सदिदेशगत्य प्रतिषेधः \* ॥ एतेऽहं त्वीनि ॥

818. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं त्वीनि or वयं ह्यः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus अथां ह्यः 'we two speak' or वयं ह्यः 'we speak.'

*Vart:*—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as एतेऽहं त्वीनि. 'I Patu am speaking.' Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९ । कल्मुनीप्रोद्यपदानां च तत्तत्त्वे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुवचनयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्वात् । पूर्वं कल्मुनी । पूर्वाः कल्मुन्यः । पूर्वोऽप्रोद्यपदे । पूर्वाः मोह-पदाः । मथये किम् । कल्मुनी माणविके ॥

819. And the dual of Phalgunī and Proshthapadā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्युः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshthapadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As वदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्वौ (dual) ; or वदितः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshthapadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunī and proshthapadā are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्वौ माणविके ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३ ॥

बहुतं द्विवचनमिति । तिष्यथ पुनर्वसु च तिष्यपुनर्वसु । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखाद्वयधाः । गच्छेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणविकः ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasu, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus वदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसुद्वन्द्वे the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखाद्वयधाः 'the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणविकः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Note:—There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु, पुनर्वसुद्वन्द्वे तिष्यपुनर्वसु ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus *निष्पुनर्वसवः* is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As *निष्पुनर्वसु रक्षन्ति*.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular"; for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend further.

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारि द्विर्द्वन्द्वश्च नपुंसकं स्यात् । परस्मिन्भाववाचः । पञ्चमवच । वन्तोदम् ॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदा द्विष्टः स्त्रियनिर्दिष्टः ॥ पञ्चमवच ॥

भावन्तो वा ॥ पञ्चमवच । पञ्चमवच ॥

अतो नान्येष वा द्विष्टः स्त्रियाम् \* ॥ पञ्चमवच । पञ्चमवच ॥

पञ्चाशत्तस्य न \* ॥ पञ्चमवच । द्विष्टवच । चतुष्टयम् ॥

पुण्यह्नादिनाम्नान्धः स्त्रीनिर्दिष्टः \* ॥ पुण्यह्नाम् । द्विष्टवचम् ।

पदा । संख्याध्वयविः \* ॥ संख्याध्वयविः परः कृतसमासान्तः पञ्चमवचः स्त्रीनिर्दिष्टः । पञ्चाशत् पञ्चाशद्वचम् । द्विष्टः पञ्चाशत् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्दिष्टः द्विष्टः पञ्चाशत् । अतिपञ्चाशत् ।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् \* ॥ बहुवचनम् । प्रातः क्षमनीयम् ॥

821. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II. 4. 1. §. 731 and II. 4. 2. §. 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note :—This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26. §. 812.

As, पञ्चमवच 'an aggregate of five cows,' वन्तोदम् 'the teeth and lips' द्विष्टवच 'head and neck.'

Vdr :—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short च, is employed in the feminine gender only ; as पञ्चमवच.



As, सौसमिकन्या 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śūshama.'

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative? Observe वरिणकन्या. Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśīnaras? Observe दाक्षिकन्या.

*Note*:—This debars the rule (II. 4. 25. S. 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

८२४ । उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याच्छिष्यास्तायाम् । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमास्तस्य तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् तद्योपज्ञायमानोपक्रममात्रयोरादिः प्राप्यन्मन्त्रेणैवाद्युपज्ञान्तिष्ठेत् । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञं ग्रन्थः । नन्दोपक्रमं द्रोणः ॥

824. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञग्रन्थः 'the book *i. e.* the grammar which is Pāṇini's Invention'; नन्दोपक्रमं द्रोणः 'the measure Droṇa first introduced by the king Nanda.'

*Note*:—Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.'

८२५ । छाया वाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छावान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्सर्वव्याहृत्ये । इक्षूणां छाया इक्षुच्छादय । विभावासेनोप विक्षुच्छादयनववाहः । इक्षुच्छादयानिपादिन्य इति तु भासमन्वात्रिपादिभ्य इत्याह्नन्तेनो बोध्यः ॥

825. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *chhāyā* 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, इक्षुच्छादयम् 'the sugarcane shade *i. e.* groves of sugarcane.'

The sūtra II. 4. 25 S. 828 gives *optional* neuter; this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when *chhāyā* has the sense of profuseness. In the sentence "इक्षुच्छादयानिपादिन्यः" there is also shortening, there is वा between *ikshuchāyā* and *nishādinyah*. Another reading is इक्षुच्छादय निपादिन्यः ॥

८२६ । सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजापदार्थपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वस्य समान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्त्वैवेत्येते \* ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रसुप्तसभा ।

अमनुष्यपदो रज्ज्वा रत्नविद्याप्रासीनाद् । सभा-सभम् । विद्यापसभम् ॥

826. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *sabhā* 'court' is neuter ; provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word *Rājā*, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As *इनसभम्* 'the King's Court,' *ईश्वरसभम्* 'the Lord's Court.'

But in *राजसभा* 'the King's Court,' and *चन्द्रसुप्तसभा* the word is not neuter ; for synonyms of *राजा* are only to be taken and not the word-form *राजा* ; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68. S. 25.

So also *रक्षसभम्* 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' *पिशाचसभम्* 'the Court of the *Pisāchas*.' The word is neuter. The word non-human has a technical significance meaning "a *Rākshasa* or a monster &c."

८२७ । भगाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

सपातायो वा सभु तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः स्त्रीर्षं स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसपात इत्यर्थः । भगाला किम् । धर्मसभा । धर्मसमित्यर्थः ॥

827. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *sabhā*, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, *स्त्रीसभम्* 'the concourse of ladies.' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house'? Observe *धर्मसभा* : here *सभा* means a house or an institution.

८२८ । विभाया सेनासुराच्छायाशानिधानम् । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः स्त्रीर्षं वा स्यात् । व्याघ्रसेनम् । व्याघ्रपत्तना । यक्षसुरम् । यक्षसुरम् । सुरस्य-  
पत्तनम् । सुरस्यपत्तना । गन्धालम् । गोघालम् । अग्निशम् । अग्निशम् । तत्पुरुषोऽनन्तकर्मधारय इत्यनुवृत्ते-  
र्नेह । रहसिनी राज्ञः । भसेना । परमसेना ॥

828. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words *senā* 'army,' *sarā* 'wine,' *chhāyā* 'shadow,' *śāli* 'house' and *niśā* 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle *nañ* (II. 2. 6) and the *karmadhāraya* compound.

As *ब्राह्मणसेना*, *ब्राह्मणसेनम्* 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' *यवसुरम्*, *यवसुरा* 'the barley wine,' *कुडम्बच्छायाम्*, *कुडम्बच्छाया* 'the shadow of the wall,' *गोशालम्*, *गोशाला* 'the cow house,' *इदृनिशम्* *इदृनिशा* 'tomorrow night.' But *वृद्धसेनोपाशा* *असेना* 'non-army,' *परमसेना* 'good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a *karmadhāraya* compound. For II. 4. 19 S. 823 applies here also.

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpurusha Compounds.

# अथ बहुव्रीहि समास प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XIX.

### BAHUVRĪHI COMPOUNDS,

८२६ । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । २३ ॥

अधिकृतोऽयम् । द्वितीयाभितेत्यादिना वक्तुं त्रिकल्पे विशिष्य समासो नीकः सः शेष-  
प्रथमात्मनिवर्त्यः ॥

829. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

*Note:*—A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above 1. c. from S. 686 downwards will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing euphorism.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. A triad (of singular, dual and plural) whose compounding has not been taught in the previous sūtras 686 and the rest, is the śeṣha or "remainder." Now the compounding of all the triads beginning with the Accusative and ending with the Locative have been taught in the preceding sūtras. The only case that remains is the Nominative. The compounding of nouns, both of which are in the Nominative case, is therefore governed by this sūtra, and gives rise to Bahuvrīhi.

*Note:*—Under sūtra I. 4 79 S. 780 there is the vārtika वादयो वक्ष्याम्यर्थे प्रथमम् ॥ It teaches the compounding with the Nominative case. But it is a vārtika and not a sūtra. Moreover according to Kṛsikā, the sūtra refers to "all where no other compounding is ordained, the words which do not give rise to compounds like avyayibhāva &c. will form Bahuvrīhi."

The Bahuvrīhis like कण्ठेकाक्ष are exceptional.

८३० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २ । २ । २४ ॥

अनेक प्रथमानामन्यस्य पदार्थार्थे वर्तमानं वा संपद्यते स बहुव्रीहिः । अथवावाचिभन्यर्थे  
२२. वाहिनिने वागवागिहसमावाचिनि च कन्तिम् । भाष्यमुक्तं ये प्राप्नोन्तो वायः । ऊरयोऽम्बुजान् ।  
उपहनपय हृत् । उदृत्यैः वन स्थानी । पीताम्बरो हरिः । शीतपुरुषको वायः । प्रथमार्थे ह न । कुट्टे देवे  
गान् । अथितरसमावाचि न । पञ्चमिर्भुक्तस्य ॥

प्राथिव्यं पातुमस्य वाच्ये वा पौलस्त्यपञ्चमे ॥ प्रथमिदपणं । प्रपणेः ॥

नमोऽन्यपार्थि वाच्ये वा पौलस्त्यपञ्चमे ॥ अर्धवत्पञ्चमस्य । अप्वः ॥

प्रमृतिनि विभक्तिर्धनैकपञ्चमस्य । अमितीय नी ॥



830. Two or more words, ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, (denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually) and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्राप्तावस्थं ग्रामं = प्राप्तावस्थो ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊरुद्वयोऽनङ्गात् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' रुद्रतपयस्सुहः 'Rudra to whom cattle is offered.' वृष्टौतैश्वा स्थानं 'a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बराङ्गरी. 'Hail wearing yellow garments.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

The Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

The Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as वृषाणिर्जु-  
क्तमस्य ॥

*Var1* :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after व &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As वृषाणिर्जु-  
क्तमस्य = वृषाणिर्जु-  
क्तमस्य 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.'

*Var2* :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also शभाश्वः wife-  
less.'

Compounds like अस्तिशीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्ति-  
शीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmanī having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

*Note* :—Why have we used the word "anyu" in the sūtra? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpurusha and the Bahuvrīhi may be indicated. A Tatpurusha denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपरार्थे हि सप्तम्याद्ये तत्पुरुषः); while a Bahuvrīhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound.

८३१ । श्रियाः पुत्रह्रापितपुत्रकादन्तुत् समानाधिकरणे श्रियामपूरीप्रिया-  
दिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

भाषितपुत्रकादन्तुत् कडोडभावे गत्यानिनि बटुदीहि' निपाननापुत्रकादन्तुत् । पदशब्द-  
लुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते बहुलपुत्रक सस्यात्पर कडोडभावे यत् तथानुसन्ध स्त्रीशङ्कनानुसन्ध  
पुत्रावकस्यैव रूप स्यात्समानाधिकरणे स्त्रीनिहि वसतपणे । नतु वृत्त्यां प्रियाई च पत्नः । गीतायोरनि  
हरत् ।

विद्या गावो यस्येति लौकिकविग्रहे विद्या अम् भो अयं इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । विद्ययुः । रूपव-  
र्थाय । विद्या जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोन्निर्वहनामपि बहुव्रीहिः ।

अथ केचित् । चिन्ताजरतीयुः । जरतीचिन्तायुर्वा । एवं दीर्घातन्वीजङ्घः । तन्वीशीर्षाजङ्घः ।  
विपदे बहुव्रीही प्रथमं न पुंवत् । उत्तरपरस्व नप्यगेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदत्वामावात् ।  
उत्तरपदवाच्यो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रुडः । पूर्वपदवाचस्तु प्रथमावयवे रुडइति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदवाचिष्यते । मानङ् पठत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्तस्य पुंशेव ।  
चिन्ताजरद्विरत्यादि । अत एव चिन्ताजरल्यै गावो यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चिन्ताजरद्विरिति भाष्यम् ।  
कर्मभाष्यपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरविद्ययुः । कर्मचार्योत्तरपदे तु विचित्रजरद्वीकः ।

विद्याः किर । ग्रामणि कुलं हृदिरस्य ग्रामणिहृदिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कारिकम् । गङ्गाभार्यः ।

अष्टरू किम् । वानोरुभार्यः ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्यः भगता कल्याणीभगता ।

विद्यो किम् । कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is  
(a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and  
does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by  
another feminine word in the relation of apposition with  
it;) but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral,  
nor स्त्रिय &c. (see under 835 for the list of Priyādi  
words)

*Notes*—The words of this sūtra require some analysis for better  
comprehension. विद्यः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine,"  
i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word.  
भाषितपुंस्कारिकम् = भाषितपुंसाद्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of, i. e. a word  
which has an equivalent masculine, (the correspondence must be in the form  
(भाकृति) and the connotation (भावान) of the two words; that is when  
both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same  
objects, but of different genders.) A word which has not the affix  
ऊङ् is called अङ्गु ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a  
corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of  
course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कारदङ्गु स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The  
word भाषितपुंस्कारदङ्गु is a Bahuvrīhi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously,  
while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously.  
If such a भाषितपुंस्कारदङ्गु feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine  
form. Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i. e. a word in  
apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियम्) of the feminine gender; with the exception  
of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of स्त्रिय &c.)

Thus चित्रशुः "He who has brindled cows." Here गो is shortened by 1. 2. 48. S. 656. The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागवो यत्सु; while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + जस (PI) + गो + जस् (PI). Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र; and गो is shortened to शु. Similarly रूपवद्भार्यः.

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य. Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीशुः or जरतीचित्राशुः. So also वीर्षातन्वीशुः or तन्वीशीर्षाशुः. "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrīhi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word' is the technical name of the last member of a compound; while पूर्वपद "first word," is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an *uttarapada* in relation to the first, is not called *uttarapada*; similarly this second term though a *pūrva-pada* with relation to the third, is not called *pūrva-pada*" Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sūtra any such word as *pūrva-pada*; and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sūtra, it would similarly qualify VI. 3. 25 S. 921, and therefore though we could form श्वेताश्वत्थै by आदश्; we could not form श्वेताश्वत्थैः, but श्वेत् + उद्गाताः. But in the Mahābhāṣya we find श्वेताश्वत्थैः. Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine; and the proper form is चित्राजरशुः &c. Therefore in चित्राजरश्वौ गवौ यत्सु "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a *dvandva* compound, we have चित्राजरशुः only. This is in the Mahābhāṣya. But when the first member is a *Karmadhāraya* compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरतिचित्रशुः "He who has an old brindled cow." The compounding here is by II. 1. 49 S. 726. But when the last term is a *Karmadhāraya* compound, we have चित्रजरतीशुः. First we combine जरती and गो in a *karmadhāraya* compound, जरती गौरी श्वेत् - जरती which is formed by adding the feminine affix लीप् to the word जरति formed by the *samāsānta* affix टच् (V. 4. 92 S. 729). Then we form the Bahuvrīhi चित्रा and जरती यत्सु = चित्राजरतीशुः the affix कप् is added by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

So also दर्शनीयभार्यः (= दर्शनीयभार्यो यत्सु) Here दर्शनीय is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix लीप्, but in the affix न्; it is followed by another feminine word भार्य which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the *विद्यादे* class; hence this

word दर्शनीय is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्रद्धाचूडः, दीर्घजतुः ॥

Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe घातयि घातयकलेहिरस्य = घातयिहिरसि ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe गङ्गाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानाद्यमाहुते"? Observe द्वौणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वौण has not the same significance as द्वौणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in कहु? Observe वानोक्तभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याणमाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi." Why do we say स्त्रियान् followed by a feminine word? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानः यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधानः ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sūtra applies to ordinals.

८३२ । अत्पूरणीप्रमाण्योः । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रमाण्यन्तं यन् स्त्रीनिर्दिष्टं तदन्तात्मनाप्यन्तात् बहुव्रीहौ स्थात् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी याता रात्रीणां साः कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाणः । पुंवशादप्रतिषेधोऽप्यस्य प्रधानपुंशदानिव । एभिः पूरणी वाच्यं चेत्पुंशोरक्षणे भ्रूयता । अन्यच्च तु ॥

832. The affix *ap* comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word *pramāṇi*.

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix ( V. 2. 48 S. 1849 &c ). प्रमाणी means 'a witness, 'a principal'. Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी यातां रात्रीणां = कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः "the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious." कल्याणीदद्यात् रात्रयः ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषा = स्त्रीप्रमाणाः कुड्मिनः meaning भार्याप्रधानः "having a woman for authority".

The affix *ap* and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (*pradhāna*) member in a compound. When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal. The prohibition of *puṁvad-bhāva*—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI. 3. 34 S. 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is *pradhāna*. Therefore, the affix is not added here. यथायद्वननीयः यथा = कल्याणी पञ्चमो यस्मिन् पञ्चे ॥

But when it is not so ; then instead of कप् we have कृप् as by the next sūtra.

८३३ । नद्युत्तत्र । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नद्युत्तरपदादन्तोत्तरपदस्य बहुव्रीहिः कम्प्यात् । पुंयज्ञात् ॥

833. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a ) nadi word, or which ends in a short अ ॥

*Note*.—The word नदी is defined in I. 4. 3. S. 266. Thus बहुकुमारीको देशः (बह्व्यः कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मवन्धूकः ॥ बहुकर्तृकः ॥ The त in क्त् is for the sake of euphony.

There is punvad-bhāva (masculine substitution) in such compounds.

Thus कल्याणी + पंचमी + कप् ॥ Now at this stage, the next sūtra requires that the long ई be shortened.

८३४ । केऽणः । ७ । ४ । १५४ ॥

के वेऽणो ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इति माने ॥

834. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

*Note*.—As कृका, (VII. S. 47 S. 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मवन्धूकः ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only ? Observe गौका, बौका ॥ The words सका, भाका are irregular being formed by Unādi dissimilarity. with the affix क added to स and भा (Up. III. 40)

By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप् ; it therefore implies that कप् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṛit क of the Unādi, as राजा, याका ; but Unādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽनुत्पन्नानि मातृप-रिक्तानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

Therefore कल्याणी + पंचमी + कप् = कल्याणी + पंचमि + कप् ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sūtra.

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १५५ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यात् । कल्याणपंचमीकः पञ्चः । अथ विद्योदिसाकमेदस्य पञ्चस्यान्तपदा-र्थतया रात्रिप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृकः । अभियाहिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रियः । प्रिया । मनोहा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्तिः । सन्निधौ । स्वभा । काम्या । शान्ता । सत्ता । अपत्ता । दुदितः । दाता । जयता । सताया ॥

सामान्ये नृपुंसकम् ॥ हर्दं भक्तिर्द्वयस्य च हर्दभक्तिः । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षायां तु हर्दभक्तिः ॥

835. But before the *saṁāsanta* affix कप् coming after Babuvrihi compounds, the अच् vowels are not shortened.

As कल्पाक्षरवचनीक पच् ॥ बहुकुसारीकः, बहुवृषलीकः, बहुतर्भक्तिः ॥ The shortening ordained by I. 2. 48 S. 656 even does not operate when कप् follows. Here सच्चिः is not principal, but secondary; because पच् is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared.

Note :—For had there been *opasarjana* shortening (I. 2. 49), the present sūtra would be useless. Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening. Obj. The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the *opasarjana* by I. 2. 48 S. 656; namely before non-feminine affixes, as बहुवृषलीकः; but there should be shortening in feminine affixes. Ans. The shortening of I. 2. 48 will not take place before कप् affix. Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound, and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member. So there is no *prātipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I. 2. 48, S. 656 does not apply, because the *prātipadika* now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix.

Similarly बहुककुम्भः ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्पाक्षरवचनीक पच् ॥ The *saṁāsanta* affix ञच् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word; and therefore the above compound does not take ञच् ॥ Why do we say not before द्विज &c. Observe कल्पाक्षरवचनीकः ॥

1 शिवा, 2 श्रीवृद्धा, 3 कल्पाक्षरी, 4 सुवृद्धा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सच्चिदा, 8 ह्वा (स्वता), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 द्वा, 12 चन्द्रा, 13 दुर्दिता, 14 वामना (वना) 15 ह्मदा, 16 ण्मदा ॥ The compound हर्दभक्तिः is anomalous.

When the word हर्द is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as हर्दं भक्तिर्द्वयस्य च हर्दभक्तिः ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have हर्दभक्तिः ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । सत्सिलादिभ्यारुत्वमुनः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

सत्सिलादिभ्यारुत्वमुनः परेषु तिदाः पुरस्सम् । परिगमने कर्तव्यम् । षष्ठायातिव्याप्ति-  
प्रतिपत्त्यः । भिद्यते । गमयते । चट्प्रासीदते । चट्प्रासीदते । चट्प्रासीदते । धात् । तिदायते  
भक्तिः । ८३६ । हर्दभक्तिः कर्तव्यम् । ८३७ । हर्दभक्तिः

परुणोति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्वः परस्वारसुवक्ष्यं बाधते । पट्टितम् । पट्टितम् । पट्टचरी । पट्टजातीया । दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेवीया । दर्शनीयकृपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुधा । प्रसस्ता इकी वृत्तिः । अजाभ्यो हिता अजध्या ॥

शास्त्रे बहुवचनस्य पुंवजायो वक्ष्यः ॥ वहीभ्यो वेहि बहुवचनः । अल्पाभ्यो वेहि अल्पवचनः ॥ स्वतलोऽयुग्मवचनस्य \* ॥ शुक्लत्वा भावः शुक्लत्वम् । शुक्लत्वा । युगवचनस्य किम् । कर्ज्या भावः कर्जस्वित् । शरद् कृतार्थतयावै तु सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥

अस्याहे तद्विरे \* ॥ इतिनीनां सभूतो हास्विकम् । ऋडे किम् । रीहिण्यः । स्त्रीभ्यो णिति ङीष्ण शृणोते । अत्रेतिगिति ङिकि ह पुंवदेव । अत्राभ्यो देवताऽस्य स्थास्तीपाकस्यात्रेयः । सपत्नीशब्दास्त्रिधा । शत्रुपत्यायास्तपत्रास्त्रायाश्चार्ज्यैवास्त्रिधा । अत्रेति । समानः पालेकस्या इति विमर्शे विवाहनिबन्धनं पतिव्रतं नाभिध्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गे द्वितीयः । स्वामिपत्यापतिव्रतयेन माषितपुंसकस्त्वनीयः । आद्ययोः शिवाद्यम् । सपत्न्या अपत्यं सापन्नः । कृषीत्यान् लिङ्गविवाहितपांभाषया पत्युत्तरपत्न्यतो ऽय एव । न स्वप् । शिवावै रुद्रयोरेव प्रख्यात् । सापत्यः ।

उक्तुर्लोभ \* ॥ नवत्याऽङ्गाया मापत्काः नवरीयाः ।

एतद्वार्तिकेकमहिने चेति सत्त्वं न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनाम्नी वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवजाव इति भाष्यकारोऽप्य गताभ्याम् । सर्वकाम्येति । सर्विकाभ्याम् यस्य स सर्वकाम्यः । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वैवेति । भक्त्योऽङ्गिनि लिङ्गात् । त्रिनाकामि एकवचनौ च न । सर्विका । सर्वाः ॥

कुपकुपदाक्षिनामण्डादिषु \* ॥ कुपकुप्या अण्डं कुपकुपण्डम् । वृथाः पदं वृगपणम् । वृगशीर्षम् । काकाद्याम् ॥

836. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c. (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) and ending with कृत्वञ्चुञ् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085).

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and सम्, तर्प्, and तम्, चर्प्, जानीयर्, कल्पप्, (हेरप्), ऐसीयर्, कपप्, वाचप्, (यम्), यात्, (वा and ईर्त्त), तिल्, ध्यम् (कात्तिल्) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender.

Thus (1) च=बहुव, (2) वृत्=वृत्तः both with the force of locative वहीषु ॥ (3—4) तर्प् and तम्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयत्वम् ॥ These affixes are called च and so the rule VI. 3. 43 S. 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even. Thus not पट्टतरा and पट्टत्वम्, (as given in some texts); but पट्टितरा and पट्टितम् ॥ (5) चर्प् (V. 3. 53. S. 1999) as पट्टचरी ॥ (6) जानीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) as पट्टजातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) ऐसीयर् as दर्शनीयदेवीया ॥ (9) कपप् (V. 3. 66 S. 2021) as दर्शनीयकृपा ॥ (10) वाचप् (V. 3. 47. S. 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) यात् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) as बहुधा ॥ (12) तिल् (V. 4. 41 S. 3505) as वृत्तिः (=प्रसस्ता एकी) ॥ (13) ध्यम् (V. 1. 8. S. 1669) as, अजध्या (=अजाभ्योहिताः) ॥

*Vart.*—The feminine of बहु and नल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस् :—as क्लीबो वेहि = बहुषो वेहि ; अल्पो वेहि = अल्पोवेहि ॥ See V. 4. 42. S. 2109.

*Vart.*—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes स्व and नम् ॥ शुक्लया भावः = शुक्लम् so also शुक्ला ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्मा भावः = कर्मस्वम् ॥ In the example "निरीह्य मेने शरः कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance. For though शरः is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थता ॥

*Vart.*—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ह्, when the word gets the designation of न् ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां सपुत्रः = हस्तिकम् by ह् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256). Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its इ (VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) the word इ of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI. 4. 22. S. 2183) and also by I. 1. 57 S. 50 sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144 S. 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ह'? Observe रोहिणेयः the masculine being रोहिण ॥ To रोहिण is added डीप् and ह् changed to न् by IV. 1. 39 S. 1296 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been putvad bhāva, रोहिणेयः would have been the form. The ह taken here is the ह of the sūtra IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 and not the ह् of IV. 2. 31 S. 1236. Thus आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अथवा स्थायीपाकस्थ) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings. (1) Formed by adding डीप् under सार्द्धसाहि class to सपय meaning 'an enemy.' सपत्नी 'a female enemy.' (2) ॥ co-wife, सपयः पतिवर्ध्याः ॥ It shows marital relation, and is always feminine, having no corresponding masculine. (3) where पति means 'lord' (not husband); and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine. It means a female servant of the same master. The first two take the कण् of सिद्धादि As सपय्या सपयः = सपय. 'the son of a female-enemy or of a co-wife.' In the case of the third, the affix will be ष्य, and not ष्य् because सिद्धादि ष्य् applies to rudhī words only, and not to the youngika word. Its form will be सपय्यः ॥

*Vart.*—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ष्य and ट् ॥ As सपय्या सपयः = सपय्यः, सपय्याः ॥ This Vārtika and the sūtra एकतद्धितेषु (VI. 3. 62 S. 1000) need not have been made. Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (itihī) of the Bhāṣyakāra (Patanjali): "there is masculination of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function." As (1) सर्वयः (2) सर्वकाम्ययः, (3) सर्वकाम्यार्थयः ॥ सर्वयः = सर्वकाम्ययः In spite of VI. 3. 37 S. 838. (4) सर्वयिः &c. In the first the



affix is नयद् which is not included in Tasilâdi class of this sūtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI. 3. 34 because VI. 3. 37 S. 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रियः in spite of the exception of VI. 3. 34 S. 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रियः &c.

If a sarvanāman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तदग्रा ॥ Here इतरा and अग्रा ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pūrva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a *first* member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII. 3. 47 S. 466. That sūtra contains two pronominals एषा and इह and if they were to become masculine even in Taddhita function (i. e. when क is added), there would have been no scope for the इ of that sūtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanāma does not necessarily become masculine before अवकाच् or in ekasesha; as सर्विका with akach; and सर्वाः plural being eka-śesha

*Vart* :—The words कुक्कुली &c. become masculine before अण्ड &c. as, कुक्कुल्या अण्डं = कुक्कुल्याण्डम् ॥ वृक्षाः पर्वे = वृक्षपर्वन्, वृक्षाः सीरे = वृक्षसीरम्, काम्याः शानः = काम्यशानः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

### प३७ । वयङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयोः परतः पुंसतः । एनीवापरसि एतावते । श्वेनीवापरसि श्वेतावते । स्वभिन्नां कांश्चिदर्थं नीयां मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीयां स्त्रियं मन्यते दर्शनीयवानी चैव ॥

837. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative वयङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतावते, श्वेनी—श्वेतावते ॥ मानिन्—दर्शनीयवानी अद्यतस्याः "He esteems her as handsome". दर्शनीयमानिनीकस्याः (इयम् अस्याः) "She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome." The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words :—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यत्तदत्तां = दर्शनीयवानी अद्यतस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यत्तदत्तां = दर्शनीयमानिनी अद्यतस्याः ॥

*Note* :—The affix वयङ् is added under III. 1. 11 S. 2665. Thus in एनीवापरसि, श्वेनीवापरसि, the feminine words एनी and श्वेनी become एत and श्वेत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII. 1. 25 S. 2298. and we have एता and श्वेता ॥

The word *नानिन्* is separately used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words, and non-feminine (masculine) words ; which was not the case under the last sūtra.

८३८ । न कोषधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोषधायाः स्त्रियाः न पुंवात् । पाथिकाभार्यः । रसिकाभार्यः । मद्विकाभार्यः । मद्विकानानिनी ॥  
कोषधमन्त्रियेधे तद्धित उपहणम् \* नेह । पाक्ता भार्या यस्य ॥ पाक्ताभार्यः ॥

838. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाथिकाभार्यः, रसिकाभार्यः, मद्विकाभार्यः, मद्विकानानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

*Vat:*—The rule applies to the क् of the affix वु and the Taddhita क् and not to every क् ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाक्ताभार्यः (पाक्ताभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाक्ता means "young" and is formed by the Upādi affix क् (Up V. 53). This is neither a Taddhita क् nor a क् of वु affix.

८३९ । संज्ञापुरण्योश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

काम्योर्न पुंवात् । दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तानानिनी । शानक्रियानिनिचः स्त्रियां पुंसि च संज्ञाभूतसौजन्यमिति भाषितपुंस्त्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाठा ॥

839. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तानानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhāshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा 'to give', so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त; though both may be proper Names. So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाठा ॥ Here the affix पाठा is added by पाथ्येपाठ ( V. 3. 47 S. 1993 ).

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिघटनेन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तेतुर्गततद्धिताऽऽक्तविकारार्थस्त्वन्ता स्त्री न पुंवात् । सौम्रीभार्यः । माधुरीभार्यः । माधुरीनानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य क्त्वि । गज्यगभार्यः । तद्धितस्य क्त्वि । वृद्धिघटनेन क्त्वि । सायनभार्यः ॥ रक्तं तु ॥ क्तापायी वन्या मस्य स क्तापायवन्त्यः । रिक्ता तु देशी वृद्धिः यस्मिन् हेमवृद्धिः । वृद्धिघटनेन वृद्धि मनि क्तापकीयवन्ताभावादिह पुंवात् । दत्ताकरणभार्यः । सौम्यभार्यः ॥

840. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vṛiddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus सौमित्राभ्याः, मातुरीकते, and मातुरीमातुरिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vṛiddhi'? Observe मन्त्रभाष्यः ॥ मन्त्रे मन्त्रा-  
= मन्त्रना formed by the affix न IV. 3. 8. S. 1378 which does not cause Vṛiddhi.  
Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डकावभाष्यः (काण्डं लुनाति=काण्डकावी  
with ञ् (कर्मणश्च) and डीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored  
there with' or 'made there of'? Observe. कषायेन रक्ता=कषायी, काषायी कन्धा  
यस्य=काषायकन्धा, हेमस्य विकारोद्देयी, हैमशुक्रिका=हैमशुक्रिकः (IV. 3. 140 S. 1520).  
What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वाच्य" ? The  
word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha,  
i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or म् or क् &c which  
causes Vṛiddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तादकार्यः (तादृशी  
भावा यस्य) ॥ Here the affix बहुप् V. 2. 39 S. 1840 added to तद् does not cause  
Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi, but by VI. 3. 91. S. 430 which says "आ  
is substituted for the final of a pronoun before बहु" ॥ Though आ is a  
Vṛiddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vṛiddhi, but  
simply as आ ॥

But in सौमित्राभ्याः "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौमित्रभाष्यः  
"whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman." there is masculine  
substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vṛiddhi by using the  
word Vṛiddhi. The word निमित्त in the sūtra denotes "causing or producing  
the result or fruit." Now when तद्वीति तद्वेदमण् (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) is added  
to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्ये मण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) is added to स्वप्न, there would be  
Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII. 3. 3 S. 1098 which  
says:—"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative म्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi  
is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows द् or द्, but  
ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels." Thus though the  
Taddhita ञ् would cause Vṛiddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the  
rule does not apply in व्येकाकरण्य भावा यस्य, and सौमित्र भावा यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाद्येतः । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्य ईकारस्तपन्ता स्त्री न पुंयत् । सुकेशीभाष्यः । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । बहुभाष्यः । ईतः किम् ।  
अयेचभाष्यः ॥ ममागिनीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ सुकेशमगिनी ॥

841. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a  
part of body, does not become masculine.

Thus सुकेशीभार्यः । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body' ? Observe पदुभार्यः (पदु not denoting any bodily member). Why do we say 'a feminine in ई' ? Observe अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

*Vārtika* :—There is an exception when the word मानिन follows. Thus सुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेभ्य । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातेः पते यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तं न पुंशू । शूद्राभार्यः ॥ आठ्याणी भार्यः ॥ सौमस्यैवार्थं निषेधः । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हस्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्याडे—इति नु भवत्येव ॥

842. A feminine noun expressing jāti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine.

Thus शूद्राभार्यः, आठ्याणीभार्यः ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हस्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas. Here the *vārtika* भस्याडे given under VI. 3. 35 S. 836. will apply of course.

८४३ । संख्यायाऽप्ययासन्नादूरतधिकसंख्याः संख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

संख्येयार्थया संख्ययाऽप्ययासः समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहिः । दशानां त्रीण्ये सन्ति ते उपदशाः नव एकादश येत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहिं संख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाख्यो ऽच् ॥

843. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' addura 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपदशाः ( V. 4. 73 S. 851 ) those who are near ten i. e. nine or eleven. Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' ( VI. 4. 142 S. 844 ).

By V. 4. 73 S. 851, the affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral.

८४४ । ति विशतेर्दिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विशतेर्भस्मतिपदान्म लोपः स्यादिति । आसताविंशः । विशतेरसता इत्यर्थः । शतूरविंशः । अधिकपञ्चाविंशः । द्वा वा त्रयो वा द्विधाः । द्विपञ्चा शत द्विधाः । त्रिपञ्चा इत्यर्थः ॥

844. Of the Bha stem विशति. before an affix having an indicatory ऽ, the ति is elided.

Thus वासत्रविंशः 'nineteen' or 'twentyone'; अत्रविंशः 'twenty-nine or thirty one'; अधिकचत्वारिंशः 'forty-one.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विः 'two or' 'three.' द्विंशः 'twenty.'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले चाध्ये गान्त्व । शशिः पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तरालं दक्षिणपूर्व । नाममहा-  
द्योमिकाणां न । एन्द्राश्च कौबेर्योश्चान्तरालं दिक् ॥

845. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakṣiṇa-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तर 'north-east.'

The word मन्त्र is introduced in the sūtra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; ■  
ऐन्द्राश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्द्व्यन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सारूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सन्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सारूपे षडे तृतीयास्ते च ग्रहणविषये एवं युज्यं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे सप्तत्वेते  
कार्त्तव्यतितद्विः षोडशे च षट्पञ्चादिः । इतिग्रन्थस्य विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846. 'Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सारूपे or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*; and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking*; the word indicated by the word इति is युद्धः ॥ Now applies the following sūtra :—

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

वीर्यं इत्यनुवर्तते । इति कर्मव्यतिहारं बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य वीर्यः । इप् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते ।  
विपुद्गुणमर्थविरुद्धस्य वा वादव्ययीभावस्त्वमन्वयस्य च । केसेषु केसेषु मूलीत्येवं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं केसकेषि ।  
इन्द्रेणैवैव प्रहृत्येवं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं वण्डावधि । वृष्टीवृष्टि ॥

846 A. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

(This sūtra is taught in S. 3539 also ).

The word *dirgha* is understood in this sūtra from the preceding Aṣṭādhāyī sūtra VI. 3. III. The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrīhī compound is lengthened, before the samāsānta affix इप् when reciprocity of action is meant. The samāsānta इप् will be taught later on ( V. 4. 12; S. 866 ). The इप् affix is read in the Tīgṛhadga class ( II. 1.17. S. 671 and so these compounds are Avyayibhāvas and Indeclinables.

As केसेषुकेसेषु च मूलीत्या इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = केसकेसि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; इन्द्रेण इन्द्रेण प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = वण्डावधि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave: ' so also वृष्टी वृष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुणः । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उपनिषत्सु भवत्युगुणः स्वाचक्षिते । अवादेशः । बाहूपाहवि । ओतेति दत्तत्वे तुनोक्ति संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरभिन्न इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वात्ममुपनिषत्सु सिद्धम् । सम्यगे इति किम् । इति उक्तम् ॥

847. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाहूपाहवि "hand to hand." Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओतेन् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुण in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरभिन्नः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anūtya and we have forms like मय्यमुगुः from मय्यम् without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

Why do we say in the preceding sūtra S. 846 सम्यगे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: इति मय्यमुगुः इति मय्यमुगुः इति मय्यमुगुः ॥

८४८ । तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे । २३ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे शर्तमाने सहैवेव तृतीयकमेने प्राम्बत् ॥

848. The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह + पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । सोपसर्जनस्य । ६ । ३ । ८२ ॥

बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य सहस्य संः स्वाहा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्रो वा आगतः । तुल्ययोगवचने प्राथिक्त्वं । सवर्गकः । सलोपकः ॥

849. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—सपसर्जन—is a सवर्गसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound; because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood; Thus पुत्रेण सह = सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, आगतः ॥

Note:—Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? 'Observe सहपुत्रस्य, सहकृत्स्न ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्स्नविद्यः or सहपुत्रविद्यः ॥

How do we get the forms like सवर्गकः, सलोपकः, सपुत्रकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचने प्राथिक्) ॥

Note:—Thus सह पुत्रेणगतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सपुत्रस्यः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सवर्गकः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दधमिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though 'here exists her ten sons.'

८५० । प्रकृत्याशिचि । ६ । ३ । ८३ ॥

सहस्यस्यः प्रकृत्या स्वाशिमिदि । स्वस्ति पते सहपुत्राय सहमात्माय ॥ अमीपराहोदिदिदि धारयम् \* ॥ सवर्गः । सवस्त्राय । सहस्याय ॥

850. The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction.

Thus स्वस्ति चले संवत्सराय, सदायसाय ॥

*Vartika* :—But optionally so when it is सो, वत्स or हस्तः—as, स्वस्ति भवेत् संवत्सरे or 'संवत्सरे, सहवत्सराय or संवत्सराय, सहवत्सराय, or सदायसाय ॥

प३१. बहुव्रीहौ संख्येयं ज्ञवहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

संख्येये यो बहुव्रीहस्तस्याहुंश्च स्यात् । उपसर्गः । अजह्वर्णोऽधिकश्च । उपसर्गः । उपसर्गः । अथ लोपः । संख्यावास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्यः ॥ विभक्तानि विभक्तौ विभक्तानि वर्षाणि चैवस्य । निर्गतस्त्रिंशत्ततोऽह्युक्तिः विभक्तः सङ्ख्यः ॥

851. The affix ḍach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gaṇa.

This Bahuvrīhi is formed by rule II. 2. 25. S. 843. Thus उपसर्गः ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say 'denoting a numeral' ? Observe चित्रसुः, वाचसुः ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gaṇa' ? Observe, उपसर्गः, अथवाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had अच् been added, it would have made the final of उपसर्ग acute by चित्र accent (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first.

*Vart* :—The Tatpurusha compounds of numerals like चित्रसु &c, take also the affix अच् ॥ Thus विभक्तानि विभक्तः = चित्रसु चित्रसु वर्षाणि चैवस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतस्त्रिंशत्ततोऽह्युक्तिः = चित्रसुः सङ्ख्यः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long.'

प३२. बहुव्रीहौ सक्थशब्दोः स्वाङ्गात् अच् । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

अथवेन चर्तौ । स्वाङ्गात् अचिन्तयन् अङ्गनाहुंश्च स्यात् । दीर्घं लविष्यतीत्यस्य लदीर्घसकथः । अथवाः । स्वाङ्गात् अच् । दीर्घसकथि अकथम् । लङ्गुत्तरे अकथः । अङ्गनाहुंश्च स्यात् ॥

852. The affix shach comes after the words sakthī and akshī, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus दीर्घं लविष्यतीत्यस्य = दीर्घसकथः, so also अथवाः Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body ?" Observe दीर्घसकथि अकथम् । लङ्गुत्तरे अकथः ॥ The affix अच् is added by V. 4. 76 S. 944.



*Note*.—The word सकृदक्षरौः is genitive dual, while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi compound”? Observe परमसक्तिः, परमाक्षिः ॥ Why do we say “after sakthi and aksai? Observe क्षीर्यशायुः, सुबाहुः ॥

The new affix एच् is employed instead of टच् for the sake of the accent. Thus चक्रसक्थी स्त्री, क्षीरसक्थी स्त्री ॥ By sūtra IV. I. 41, S. 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicative च् is formed by ह्रीच् and not क्षीच् ॥ Had the affix here been टच्, then the feminine would have been formed by क्षीच् (IV. I. 15 S. 470), which is anudatta (III. 1 4). Now by rule VI. 2.198 S. 3902 the second term ‘saktha’ has optionally udatta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrīhi. When therefore, it is not oxytone, then by adding ह्रीच् the final of क्षीरसक्थी would have been anudatta, so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone, in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when ह्रीच् is added, it is always udatta, which is desired: and removes the anomaly. The anuvṛtti of Bahuvrīhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३ । अङ्गुलिर्वाङ्गि । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ता इदमीदृशेः एच् स्यादाक्यर्थे । परञ्चाङ्गुल्यो यस्य सप्तङ्गुलाङ्गुलं शत । अङ्गुलिस्तद्वशात्परं धान्यादिविहङ्गकामङ्गुल्यन्ते । इदमीदृशेः क्त्वि । इ अङ्गुली प्रमाणावस्था अङ्गुलका वादृः । यन्नित्यर्थे तत्पुत्रवे तत्पुत्रवरस्याङ्गुलैरित्यच् । शक्यणि क्त्वि । परञ्चाङ्गुलिर्विस्तः ॥

853. The affix shuch comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word *āṅguli*, when the compound means “a piece of wood.”

Thus परञ्चाङ्गुलं शक्य ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi”? Observe अङ्गुलवादिः = इ अङ्गुली प्रमाणावस्था ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V. 4. 86 S. 786 by adding एच् as *samāsānta* affix, the *āṅguli* meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say “when meaning a wood”? Observe परञ्चाङ्गुलिर्विस्तः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां च सूदक्षः । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां द्विर्भः चः स्याद्विद्वीदौ । द्विभूयः । त्रिभूयः ॥ त्रिभूयश्च अक्षयः \* एते त्रिभूयः यथाः त्रिभूयः यथाः यथाः । पुत्र्यवेवा- ॥

854. The affix *sha* comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in *mīrdhan*, and preceded by *dvi* and *tri*.

Thus द्विभूयः । त्रिभूयः ॥ The feminine is formed by क्षीच् and the accent is regulated by VI. 2. 197.

*Note* :—Why do we say “preceded by dvi and tri ?” Observe वृक्षेर्नृपा ॥

*Var* :—The affix खप् comes after नेतृ when preceded by a word denoting asterism. As वृक्षनेत्रा रात्रयः = वृक्षो नेत्रा भ्राता रात्रीणां “the night whose leader is the asterism mṛiga”; so also वृक्षनेत्रः ॥

*Note*—Why do we say “an asterism”?—Observe वृक्षनेत्राः ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोभः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

भा०भां लोभोऽस्याद्वहृदीशे । अन्तर्लोभः । बहिर्लोभः ॥

855. The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrīhi ending in loman and preceded by antar and bahis.

Thus अन्तर्गतानि लोभाम्बु = अन्तर्लोभः गतः ‘a cloak having the hairy surface inside’. Similarly बहिर्लोभः पटः ॥

८५६ । अञ् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नस् स्थाप्यल्लत् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्वहृदीशे स्थात् नासिकाञ्ज् नस् प्राप्नोति नहु स्थूलपूर्वात् ॥

856. The affix ach is added to the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nāsikā, but not so when the word sthūla precedes the word nāsikā.

Thus हु + नासिका = हु + नासिका + अच् = हु + नस् + अच् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra by which न is changed to च ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थप्रतिनितात्वरस्य नस्य चाः स्थात्संज्ञायां नहु गकारव्यवधाने । इति नासिकाप्रत्ययस्य । अण्यस्यः । अगः क्तिन् । अच्चायनये अच्चायनम् । अणुभयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् नत्वाभाव्या धित् अग इति पत्यास्यार्थं माध्य । अस्थूलान्तिक्य स्थूलान्तिकः । स्त्रिस्तथायां वा नत् \* ॥ स्त्रिणाः । स्त्रिणाः ॥ पञ्च अक्षरीप्यन्ते ॥ स्त्रिस्तथायां वा नत् \* ॥ स्त्रिणाः ।

857. So also, न् is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter न ॥

Thus इतर नासिकाप्रत्यय = हुणतः । स्त्रिणाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न्'? Observe ;  
हृगयनम् ॥

In the Mahābhāṣya, Patañjali has shown that the word हृगः is superfluous in the sūtra, for the non-change of न् to ञ् in हृगयनम् can be established by the nipātana of IV. 3. 73. S. 1452, where Pāṇini himself has used the word हृगयनम् showing that न् is not changed to ञ् ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after लृत्'? Observe ह्यूननासिको वराहः ॥

*Vast* :—After the words लृत्. and लृत् ; for नासिका is substituted नन् but no affix is added : as, लृत्लृत्, लृत्लृत् ॥

*Vartika* :—In the alternative affix नन् is added, as लृत्लृत्, लृत्लृत् ॥

*Iṣṭi* :—The forms शिनिना, नर्पणाः and सुहिनाः are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas).

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११९ ॥

प्रायेषो नासिकासम्पत्तदनाहृषीदेष्ट् नासिकाया नसादेष्ट् । अस्तंहाये वचनम् । उभयतः नासिका यत्न स उभयतः । उपसर्गादुभयत् इति स्वं तद्वत्त्वा भावकारः साह ॥

858. The affix *ach* comes after the word *nāsikā* final in a Bahuvrīhi, when an *upasarga* precedes it, and नन् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a *sajjīḥ*, as it was in the last. Thus वृत्ता नासिकाऽन् = वृत्तः ॥

The next sūtra is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादुभयत् : "after an *Upasarga*, the न् of नन् when not preceded by or followed by an *ṣ*, is changed into ञ्" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya.

*Note* :—For जोत्वरः may have two meanings :—(1) जोत्वारन् वरः, that which comes after जोत्वरः ; (2) जोत्वारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by जोत्वरः ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ञ् change would be required in वृत्तो वृत्तः ; in the second case, there should be no ञ् change in वृत्तवर्तिवत् ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणी as well as प्रनी ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

८५६ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ८ । ५ । २५ ॥

उपसर्गस्यात्रिभित्तास्त्वस्य नसो नस्य षः स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणतः ॥ प्रेपो वक्ष्यते ॥ विगतं नासिकास्त्व विमः ॥ खयम् \* ॥ विखयः । कपे तर्हि विनसा इत्यन्धोति भट्टिः । विगतमा नासिकयोः प्लुतिर्निति स्यात्खयम् ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ष, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणतः

*Part* :—The न is substituted for नासिकम् when वि precedes it, As, विमतानासिकास्त्व=विमः ॥ *Vdt* :—So also विखयः in the same sense.

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhaṭṭi :—  
"विनसा इत्यव्ययः" It should be explained as विनसा नासिकयोः प्लुतिर् ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, (but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिकम् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.)

Thus प्रणतः प्रणी यथा ॥ The change does not sometimes take place, as, प्र नी बहुलम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, ॥ distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणतं बहुलम् ॥ The word उपसर्गि does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणतं बहुलम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose.' See V. 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुमातसु श्वसु दिवशरिक्शु चतुरधैपिपराजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ ।  
' १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहयश्चतुर्धा नित्यं निपादन्ते । सोमने प्रातस्त्वं सुमानः । सोमने श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः । सोमने दिवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शरिरे चतुरस्रं चारिक्शुः । चतुर्धा श्वोऽस्य चतुरश्वः । प्रोष्ठं गौः तस्यैव पाशपात्रं प्रोष्ठपदः ॥

860. The following Bahuvrīhis are irregularly formed by adding ach :—su-prāta, su-śva, sudiya, śārikuk-sha, chaturasra, eni-pada, aja-pada, and prosthā-pada.

In some of the above compounds the हि (syllable) is elided. शोभनं प्रातरस्य = सुपातः, शोभनं शोभस्य = सुश्वः, शोभनं विवोऽस्यै = सुविनः ॥ शोभनं कुक्षिरस्य = शोभिकुक्षः, श्वेतलोऽध्वोऽस्यै = चतुश्चः, एष्य इव पादावस्य = एषीपवः, So अजपवः, गोक्षि means 'cow' तस्यैव पादावस्य = ॥ ३११ ॥ " whose feet are like cows."

६६१ । नम्रदुःसुभ्यो हलिर्लक्ष्म्योरन्यतरत्वेनाम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

नम्रः स्वात् । अहलः । अहलिः । अलक्ष्यः । अलक्ष्यः । एवं दुःसुभ्याम् । अस्त्योरिति पाठोऽस्ति । अशक्तः । अशक्तिः ॥

861. The affix *ach* comes optionally after the words *hali* and *sakthi*, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words *duṣ* and *su*.

Thus अविद्यानां अलक्ष्य = अलक्षः or अलक्षिः, दुर्लक्षः or दुर्लक्षिः, सुलक्षः or सुलक्षिः ॥ So also अलक्ष्यः, अलक्ष्यः, दुःलक्ष्यः or दुःलक्ष्यः, सुलक्ष्यः or सुलक्ष्यः ॥

Some read the text as हलिर्लक्ष्योः ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्तिः or अशक्तिः, दुःशक्तिः or दुःशक्तिः (विद्या शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्तिः or सुशक्तिः ॥

६६२ । नित्यमसिन्धु प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नम्रदुःसुभ्य (सिन्धु) । अमेधः । अमेधः । अमेधः । अमेधः । अमेधः । अमेधः ॥

862. The affix *asich* (अस्) comes invariably after *prajā* and *medhā*, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when the above particles *नम्र*, *सु* and *दुस्* precede them.

Thus अविद्यानां प्रजासिन्धु = अमेधः, so also दुष्प्रजाः, सुप्रजाः, अमेधः, दुर्मेधः, सुमेधः ॥

Note :—The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvritti of the word "optionally" of the last sūtra does not run here. The word *nitya* also indicates that the affix *ach* comes after *prajā* and *medhā* even when preceded by other words. As the word *अल्पवक्त्रः* in the following.

अल्पवक्त्रस्यैव ते राजन्मन्त्रस्यैव तस्यैव शक्तः ॥

अल्पवक्त्रस्यैव तस्यैव तस्यैव तस्यैव तस्यैव ॥

Note :—The *य* of *असिन्धु* is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it *य* ॥ Therefore in *सुप्रजस्यो* the *य* is elided by *असिन्धु* *य* (VI. 4. 148. S. 311). According to Kās.kā the base is *अमेधस्*, &c.

८६३ । धर्मोऽनिच्छेदितत्वात् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलार्थपूर्वपदांपरो धर्मस्यैवस्तान्तादृशद्वितीयेनैव स्यात् । कस्याप्यर्थः । केवलात्किम् । परमः सौ धर्मो यद्येति त्रिविधं बहुव्रीहौ या भूम् । स्वधर्मो हीनः न केवलः पूर्वपदे (किंतु मध्यमत्वाभावेति-  
कात् । संक्षिप्तसंध्यधर्मत्वात् तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे बहुव्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मत्वायै साधवेव ।  
निवृत्तिधर्मा अत्रुचित्तिधर्मस्यादिवत् । पूर्वपदे तु बहुव्रीहिणास्त्वित्येते ॥

863. The affix *anich* (अन्) comes after the word *dharma*, when it is the last member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word.

Thus *केवलात्* धर्मोऽस्य = *केवलाप्यर्थे* nom. sin. *कस्याप्यर्थः* ॥ Why do we say *केवलात्* "when it alone is the last member"? Observe *परमः सौ धर्मोऽस्य* = *परमस्वधर्मः* ॥ Here the word *स्य* is not alone a *pārvaspada* but a middle term; also it is not an independent word; it is not a *pārvaspada* and *pārvaspada* only, but something else also. The word *केवलात्* according to some qualifies the word *पूर्वपद* and according to others the *uttarapada* also. That is the first member must be *one* word though a compound word, and they explain such forms as *संक्षिप्तसंध्यधर्मा*; *निवृत्तिधर्मा*; *अत्रुचित्तिधर्मा* (e. g. *अविनाशी वा धर्मस्याप्यत्रुचित्तिधर्मा*) as valid. According to *Kaumudī* the *purvaspada* is like *संक्षिप्तसंध्य* are *Karmadhāraya*. In this view *परमस्वधर्मः* is also valid and correct, like the words *निवृत्तिधर्मा*, *अत्रुचित्तिधर्मा* ॥ According to *Prasādakāra* *केवलात्* qualifies both the words *धर्मो* and *पूर्वपदात्* ॥

*Notes*:—The necessity of *अ* in *अनिच्* is not very apparent. The affix *निच्* would have served the purpose equally well: for *धर्म + निच् = धर्मन्* ॥ But others say, that the word is not *धर्म* ending with a vowel, but *धर्म* ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix *क्तिप्* to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun *धर्म* by *सङ्करोति* &c. S. 2578  $\sqrt{\text{कष}}$  ॥ Therefore *परमो धर्मो यस्य सः परमधर्मः* ॥ The word *धर्म* though defective in one limb, is the same as *धर्म* for grammatical purposes, on the maxim *एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्वयत्वात्* ॥ When in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, the last member is *धर्म* and the first member a single word, then the affix *अनिच्* is added. The word *केवलात्* qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by *केवलात्* ॥ The author of *Prasāda* also has explained *Kevalāt* as an adjective qualifying both the word *dharma* and the *pārvaspada* or the first member. But both these are very problematic: for there is no proof that the word *kevalāt* should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word *dharma*. Moreover there is no necessity that the word *dharma* should be qualified by this term *Kevalāt*. For it cannot

be said that the word *kevalāt* should qualify *Dharma*, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word ending in *dharma*. For in such a case, the word *dharma* does not stand as a member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound. Therefore the word *kevalāt* qualifies the *purvapada* only. The *purvapada* must be a *single* word: and not two or more words. Therefore in *परमस्वो धर्मो यत्* the *Bahuvrīhi* will not be governed by this rule. Because the word *स्व* is not here the only *purvapada*, but being in the middle is relative.

८१४ । जम्भा सुहरितगुणसोमेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भोर्वि कृततमासान्तं निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये वन्ते च । सोमनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा । हरितजम्भा । तृयं भक्ष्यं यस्य गुणमिव वन्ता यत्येते वा सुजम्भा । सोमजम्भा । शक्तिभ्यः किर । पतितं-जम्भा ॥

864. The word “*jambhan*” stands at the end of a *Bahuvrīhi*, when preceded by *su*, *harita*, *trīṇa*, and *soma*.

The *जम्भ* is a word that has already taken the *samāsanta* affix *ञ* irregularly, and means ‘food’ or ‘tooth.’ Thus *सुजम्भञ्*, as (सोमनो जम्भोऽस्य), *सुजम्भा* *वेदवत्*: so also *हरितजम्भा*, *गुणजम्भा*, (तृयं भक्ष्यं यस्य) *सोमजम्भा* ॥ When it means ‘tooth,’ the compound should be analysed as, *गुणमिव* or *सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य* ॥ Why do we say when preceded by *su* &c.? Observe *शक्तिजम्भा* ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मां दुग्धयोगे । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईदं प्रण यस्य दक्षिणेर्मां दूयः । द्वाधेन कृतप्रण इत्यर्थः ॥

865. The form “*dakṣhiṇerman*” is an irregularly formed *Bahuvrīhi*, when used in conjunction with a hunter.

The word *दुग्ध* means *द्वय* or a fowler, a hunter. Thus *दक्षिणैर्मनस्य* = *दक्षिणेर्मां दूयः* ‘a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank.’

*Note*:—But in the following verse:—*वागी देवाकृज्जगती गुणमिपित्तुणामिर्विनी दक्षिणेर्मां*, it denotes merely hunting. The word *ईदम्* means ‘a wound.’ Why do we say ‘in reference to a hunter’? Observe *दक्षिणेर्मन् सकृत्* ॥

८६६ । इच्छ कर्मव्यतिहारि । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारि यो बहुव्रीहस्तस्मादिच्छ स्याद्यमासान्तः । केशकोक्षि । सुवन्तपुसति ॥

866. The affix *इच्छ* comes after a *Bahuvrīhi* when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II. 2. 27. S. 684 Thus *केशकिञ्च* = *केशेऽपि केशेषु गृहीत्वा इदं उद्धे गृह्यते* ॥ So also *सुवन्तपुसति* ॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayibhāva compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिङ्शब्द words II. 1. 17. S. 671.

८६७। द्विदण्डादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १२८ ॥

साधये चतुर्थेऽथ । एषां सिद्धपर्यायिन् च मत्वयः स्यात् । द्वौ कण्डौ वस्तिग्रहणे तद् द्विरिति प्रहरणम् । द्विदण्डलि । उभयाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867. The words dvidanḍi &c., are valid forms in ich.

The word द्विरण्यार्थिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II. 1. 37 S. 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विरण्यपर्यायिन् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidanḍi &c." i. e. it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidanḍi &c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विरिति प्रहरति, द्विदण्डलि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा दाला ॥

Notes.—Though the context is that of Bahuvrīhi, yet some of these words are Tatpuruṣas: as निकुण्ड कालोपायति = निकुण्डकर्णं धारति ॥ मोक्षपादौ दक्षिणं बाह्वति = प्रोक्षपायति दक्षिणं बाह्वति ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72.

1 द्विरिति, 2 द्विदण्डलि, 3 उभयाहस्ति, 4 उभयाहस्ति, 5 उभयाहस्ति, 6 उभयाहस्ति, 7 उभयाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभयाहस्ति, 10 उभयाहस्ति, 11 उभयाहस्ति, 12 उभयाहस्ति, 13 उभयाहस्ति, 14 उभयाहस्ति, 15 एकद्वि, 16 बाह्वति, 17 बाह्वति, (बाह्वति), 18 तपति, 19 निकुण्डकर्णं, 20 तद्वत्पुच्छि, 21 धनंदाति ॥

८६८। प्रसंभयां जानुनोष्ठः । ५ । ४ । १२९ ॥

भाषायां परयोर्जानुनामोष्ठोऽर्थः स्वाह्वट्टीक्षे । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रभुः । सनुः ॥

868 After the words pra and sanu, there is the substitution of jānu for jānuu, when forming the Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus प्रसंभयां जानुनी यस्य = प्रभुः, So also सनुः ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वादिभाषा । ५ । ४ । १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वः । ऊर्ध्वानुः ॥

869. The substitution of jānu for jānuu is optional, when the word ūrdhva precedes it.

Thus ऊर्ध्वं जानुनी यस्य = ऊर्ध्वानुः or ऊर्ध्वानु ॥

८७०। धनुष्या । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥



धनुस्तस्य बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञायाः स्वात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870. The 'anañ' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrīhi.

As शार्ङ्ग धनुस्त्व = शार्ङ्गधन्वात् nom. s. शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871. The substitution of शतध् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrīhi is ■ Name.

This declares an option, where the last sūtra had made the substitution compulsory. As शतधनुः or शतधन्वाः । ददधनुः or ददधन्वाः ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

आयान्तस्य बहुव्रीहिर्निष्ठायाः स्वात् ॥

872. For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in ■ Bahuvrīhi.

Thus पुवतिर्जायास्त्य = पुवति + जाया = पुवति + जा + वि ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which ■ is elided before वि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वलि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकार्यकारयोर्लोपः स्वाह्वलि । पुवङ्गायः । पुवतिर्जाया स्तस्य पुवङ्गायि ॥

873. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus पुवतिर्जाया स्तस्य = पुवङ्गायि (जाया + निङ् = जा + विङ् = जा + ति, the व् being elided by the present rule.) So also पुङ्गवायिः ॥ There is punvad-bhāva also by which पुवति (feminine) is changed to पुव (masculine). ;

Note:—The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c., beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिङ् + वल् (III. 2. 107) = दिङ् + वल् + वल् = दिङिवल् nom. singular दिङिवान्, दिङिवान्ते, दिङिवान्तः ॥ Thus उष् + त = ऊत, 'spun,' कृ + त = कृते 'made a noise.' So also the affix वल् comes after लोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129 S. 1135). Of the affix वल्, व is replaced by व् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus लोधा + एल् + र = लोधेरः (the व् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पथेरल् the व् of लिङ् (III. 1. 102 S. 2255) is elided before रल् (III. 4. 105 S. 2256). So also व् is elided in the following:—from जीव—जीवरावः (by Upādi affix जीवे र्जावल्) from लिङ्—ल्लिङ्गवल् formed by the Upādi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1 S. 3169), there is not ऋ substitution for वृ as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except वृ?" Observe कृयते, कृयते when वृ is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of वृ and लृ should take place prior to the elision of the appikta वृ taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डू + किं = कण्डू वृ and वृ (VI. 4. 48 S. 2308) = कण्डू + वृ = कण्डू : ॥ So लोप्य × किं वृ = लोपः ॥ Why वृ of वृष is not elided before र् which is a वृल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of वृ been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रव instead of वृष ॥ If you say the वृ is taught for the sake of forms like वृषति by samprasāraṇa, and वृष्य by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by ह्रस्वविधौः at Bahiranga.

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुत्पत्तिमुत्तुरभिध्वः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एवमेव गन्धस्य इकारोऽन्तर्दिशः स्थान् । उद्गन्धिः । पुत्तिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुत्तुरभिध्वः ॥ गन्धस्येवेति त्वेकान्तमवधारणम् ॥ एकान्त एकैव इव अदिनामिन लक्षणायां दृश्यते । सुगन्धिं पुत्तं सजितं च । सुगन्धिर्वपुः । नैव :—शोभना गन्धः द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आधायिकः ॥

874. For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उद्, पुत्ति, सु and सुत्तुरभि in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus the न of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पुत्तिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुत्तुरभि-गन्धिः ॥

Note:—Why after these only? Observe लीङ्गगन्धा वातः ॥

Vart:—The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् विनदि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः 'having the scent of sandal.' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute. सुगन्धिं पुत्तं सजितं च, सुगन्धिर्वपुः ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धाद्रिधाये अत्र=सुगन्ध आधायिकः 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale.'

Note:—The इ of इत् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that इत् is an affix, and not a substitute (ālopa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by दृष्टेति च (VI. 4. 48 S. 311). The word ekānta in the vārtika means "a portion," in short the rule applies when gamlha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain ekānta by "natural," i. e. when an object naturally possesses scent, and not when artificially accented. Therefore not here: अत्रायि वान् गन्धवद्गन्धः ॥

८७५ । अद्वयव्यापाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सुगन्ध गन्धो नतो मन्त्रिस्तन् सुगन्धिं भोजयाम् । पुनर्गन्धिः । गन्धो गन्धक जायेति भेदे सगन्धमर्धोक्तिं विधायः ॥

875. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little.'

Thus सूषोऽस्त्वोऽस्मिन् = सूषगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth." So सूक्ष्मगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee." Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viśwakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (i. e. scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance.'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पदस्येव गन्धोऽस्य पदगन्धिः ॥

876. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared.

As पदस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = पदगन्धिः, उत्पलगन्धिः; कटीपगन्धिः ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिक्रयः । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्त्यादिवर्जितादुपमानांतरस्य पादस्योऽस्य लोपः स्वाहहृश्रीको । स्वाभिदादेनायं लनालम्बः । व्याघ्रस्येव पादस्य व्यञ्जनात् । अहस्त्यादिभ्यः किय् । हस्तिपादः । कुम्भपादः ॥

877. The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c.

The word उपमायात् is understood here. The लोप substitution is a samāsānta affix in a way. Thus व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य = व्याघ्रपात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति? Observe हस्तिपादः, कुम्भपादः ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुम्भन्, 3 अश्वः, 4 कश्चित्, 5 कुम्भ, 6 कटील, 7 कटीलकः, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलकः, 10 कण्डोल, 11 कण्डोलकः, 12 अन्नः, 13 कपातः, 14 आलः, 15 गण्डः, 16 अक्षेपा, (मक्षिका), 17 ससी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुम्भ ॥

Note :—This elision is a samāsānta. For if it were not a samāsānta, then by the rule नादेः परस्य (I. 1. 54 S. 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पाद, namely, of प. ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपादीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपादौ पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पद् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किय् ।  
कुम्भपादः ॥

878. The words kumbhapadi &c., have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद्, in the Feminine.

The forms कुम्भपदी &c., are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद् and then substituting प् for पात् before the feminine affix ई by VI. 4. 130. S. 414. Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else.'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note :—These words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V. 4. 138 or V. 4. 140. In their case, this sūtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words; so that the optional rule IV. 1. 8 S. 457 does not apply to them.

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 घालपदी,\* 5 कुत्तिपदी, 6 तुल्यपदी,\* 7 रातपदी, 8 सून-  
पदी, 9 गीधापदी\*, 10 कलपीपदी, 11 विपदी,\* 12 लज्जपदी\*, 13 द्विपदी, 14 त्रिपदी\*, 15 चरपदी\*,  
16 हासीपदी 17 क्षितिपदी\*, 18 विष्णुपदी\*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदी, 21 गार्हपदी, 22 कुम्भपदी,  
(कुम्भपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 ह्यविपदी\*, 25 द्वाजपदी, (द्वाजीपदी), 26 द्रुपदी, 27 सूक्तपदी, 28  
घटपदी, 29 मद्रापदी, 30 सूर्यपदी, (सूर्यपदी), 31 नपदी\*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 नाजापदी, 34  
गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 ह्यपदी, 37 वक्रपदी, 38 अर्धपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंशपदी, 41  
विपपदी ॥

८७६ । संख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्त्रियामात्मन्तो षट्श्रीक्षे । द्विपात् । तृपात् ॥

879. The final अ of पाद् is elided by samāsānta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दो वाक्पादस्य—द्विपात्, त्रिपात्, so also दोभवे वाक्पादस्य—तृपात् ॥

८८० । ययसि दन्तस्य दत् । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

संख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्तस्य दत् इत्यदिपः स्यादयसि । द्विदत् । तृदत् । यद् इत्या भव्य षोडश ।  
पुदत् । तृपदी । ययसि किय् । द्विदन्तः कति । पुदन्तः नटः ॥

880. For दन्त is substituted दत् as a samāsānta in a Bahuvrīhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life i. e. an age.

Thus दो दन्तादय—द्विदत् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिदत्, तृदत् षोडश । See vārtika under VI. 1. 76 S. 88; for

षोडश् ॥ शोभनादन्ताभस्व समस्ता जाताः—सुदन् कुमारः "a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully." So also सुवर्ती. Why do we say denoting 'age'? Observe द्विवन्तः करी । सुवन्तो नटः ॥

*Note*:—The द् of दन् is indicative, making rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before द् in declining these words in *sarvanāmasthāna* cases; and rule IV. 1. 6 S. 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to उगिद् apply to these.

८८१ । स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दद् स्थास्तमांस्तान्ते बहुव्रीहौ अयोवती । कालवती । संज्ञायाम् किर । समवन्ती ॥

881. For *danta* is substituted "dat" as a *samā-sānta* in a *Bahuvrīhi*, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name.

Thus अयोवती, कालवती ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Name"? Observe समवन्ती, स्त्रियाम् ॥

८८२ । विभावा इयावारोकाश्चाम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दद् वा बहुव्रीहौ । इयावन्तः । अरोकवन्तः । अरोकवन्तः ॥

882. Optionally "dat" is substituted for "danta," in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, when it is preceded by the words *īyāva* and *aroka*.

Thus इयावन्तः or इयावन्तः, अरोकवन्तः or अरोकवन्तः ॥ अरोक means 'dark,' "without holes or spaces."

*Note*:—The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place; as इयावन्तः, अरोकवन्तः ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दद् वा । कुङ्कुमामरम् । कुङ्कुमामरम् ॥

883. The substitution of "dat" for "danta" is optional in a *Bahuvrīhi*, when it is preceded by a word ending in *अग्र* or by *शुद्ध*, *शुभ्र*, *वृष* and *वराह* ॥

The word "optionally" is understood here also. Thus कुङ्कुमामरम्, or कुङ्कुमामरम्, so also शुद्धवन्तः or शुद्धवन्तः; शुभ्रवन्तः or शुभ्रवन्तः; वृषवन्तः or वृषवन्तः, वराहवन्तः or वराहवन्तः ॥

*Note* :—The *ष* of the sūtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated : as *बहिर्वन्तः* or *बाहिर्वन्*, *मृषिकदन्तः* or *मृषिकदन्*; *गर्भवन्तः* or *गर्भवन्*, *शिखरदन्तः* or *शिखरदन्* ॥

८८४ । ककुदस्यावस्थायाम् लोपः । ५ । ४ । १४६ ॥

अजातककुन् । पूर्णककुन् ॥

884. The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrīhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals.

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c. Thus अजातं ककुदस्य = अजातककुन् = बालः "the young of an animal." पूर्णककुन् = मध्यमवया "middle-aged animal"; उन्नतककुन् = वृद्धवया "old"; स्थूलककुन् बलवान् 'strong,' खट्वककुन् = नातिस्थूले नातिकृशः ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say when denoting a condition? Observe श्वेतककुन् ॥

८८५ । त्रिककुत्पर्वते । ५ । ४ । १४७ ॥

त्रीणि ककुदान्यस्य त्रिककुन् । संक्षेपा पदेन विशेषस्य । त्रिककुतोऽस्यः ॥

885. The Bahuvrīhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain.

त्रीणिककुदान्यस्य = त्रिककुन् "a three-peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump." All three-peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill. When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुदः ॥

८८६ । उद्विष्टां ककुदस्य । ५ । ४ । १४८ ॥

लोपः स्यात् । उत्काकुन् । विककुन् । काकुद मालु ॥

886. After ut and vi, the final of kākuda is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus उद्विष्टककुदस्य = उत्काकुन्, so also विककुन् ॥ The word काकुद means 'palate.'

८८७ । पूर्णाद्विमाया । ५ । ४ । १४९ ॥

पूर्णककुन् । पूर्णककुदः ॥

887. After pūrṇa, the final of kākuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus पूर्ण ककुदस्य = पूर्णककुन् or पूर्णककुदः ॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुहृद्भ्यो हृदयस्व हृदावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्निचयः । दुर्हृदनिचयः । अन्यच्च सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

888. The words *suhrit* and *durhrit* are irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively.

The word *सुहृद्* is derived from *सु* + *हृदय*, the *अय* of *हृदय* being elided in the Bahuvrīhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also *दुर्हृद्* is derived from *दुर्* + *हृदय*, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe *सुहृदयः* कारुणिकः 'the kind-hearted, merciful,' *दुर्हृदयश्चोरः* "the evil hearted thief."

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

बहुदोरकः । दिवसार्पिष्कः । इह पुमान्, अमुद्गान्, पयः, गौः, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठन्ति । दिवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु रोषादिभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । हिपुमान् । हिपुंस्कः ॥ अर्धार्पिष्कः ॥ अन्वयार्पिष्कः । अयः किम् । अन्वयार्पिष्कः । अन्वयार्पिष्कः ॥

889. The affix *कप्* comes after *uras* &c., final in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus *बहुदोरकः* = *बहुदोरोऽस्य* (VIII. 3. 38 S. 152). So also *दिवसार्पिष्कः* (VIII. 3. 39 S. 153) *अन्वयार्पिष्कः* ॥

The words *पुमान्*, *अमुद्गान्*, *पयः*, *गौः* and *लक्ष्मीः* are exhibited in the list of *Urasādi* words as nominative singular, and not in their crude-forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix *कप्*, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix *कप्* is optionally added by force of *sūtra* V. 4. 154 S. 891. Thus *हिपुमान्* or *हिपुंस्कः*, *बहुपुमान्* or *बहुपुंस्कः* ॥

1 उरः, 2 सौर्पिष्कः, 3 उपायकः, 4 पुमान्, 5 अमुद्गान्, 6 पयस्, 7 गौः, 8 लक्ष्मीः, ॥ राधे 10 नद्य, 11 शालि, 12 अर्धार्पिष्कः ॥ (The affix *कप्* is added to *अर्थ* when preceded by the Negative particle *नञ्*, as *अन्वयार्पिष्कः*) : Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle *नञ्* ? Observe *अन्वयार्पिष्कः* or *अन्वयार्पिष्कः* ॥

८९० । इनः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुदण्डिका नमती ॥ अग्निस्तुन्महत्त्वान्यर्थवत्ता पानर्थकेन च तदन्तर्निधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ बहुदण्डिका । स्त्रियो किम् ॥ बहुदण्डी बहुदण्डिको घातः ॥

890. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when ■ feminine word is denoted.

Thus बहुव्रीहिनोऽस्यां नगरीम् = बहुव्रीहिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुव्रीहिका समा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुव्रीही or बहुव्रीहिकी यामः ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V. 4. 134 S. 891.

*Paribhāṣā*:—Wherever जन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I. 1. 72 ; S. 26 something that ends with जन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, ■ meaning. ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' viz. the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes जन् &c.)

Therefore the rule applies to वाग्मिन् also. As बहुव्रीहिका समा ॥

८६१ । शेषादिभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासनाम्नेषाधिकारस्याद्वयीहेः कप् वा स्यात् । महावचस्कः । महीदशाः । बहुके-  
स्यादि किम् । व्याघ्रवान् । ह्यगन्धिः । मियपयः । शेषाधिकारस्थानिकम् । उपबहवः । उत्तरदूर्वा । सजुषः ।  
सन्वादिना शेषशब्दोऽभिहितः ॥

891. After all other Bahuvrīhi compounds formed under II. 2. 23 S. 829, and not covered by the foregoing samāsānta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महावचस्क. or महावचा-

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रवान् ; ह्यगन्धिः ; मियपयः, Here these words are formed by special samāsānta rules given before §. 874, 877 and 940.

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrīhis about which no special rule has been given above. How do you explain the forms अर्धदं शाम, पदद्वयं हर्ष, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V. 4. 74, S. 940 and ought to have taken the samāsānta affix अ? The affix अ is added to कप् when the compound has a special meaning; such as अर्धदः means '■ boy', पदद्वयः 'charanā.'

Why have we used the words "stśādhikāraṭṭat" in explaining the sūtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrīhi falling under the scope of the rules of *Stśā* Bahuvrīhi" II. 2. 23 S. 829." Observe उपबहव. ॥ This i



a Bahuvrīhi not formed under the śesha rule II. 2. 23 S. 829, but by a special rule II. 2. 25 S. 843 : and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा Bahuvrīhi formed by II. 2. 26 S. 845, and सपुत्रः formed by II. 2. 28 S. 848. In fact the word शेषः of II. 2. 23 S. 829 governs only II. 2. 24 S. 830 and not the remaining sūtras like 843, 846, 848 &c.

The word शेषान् of this sūtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrīhis for which no samāsānta has been taught:" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrīhis which are formed under "śesha Bahuvrīhi " rule." The word शेषान् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point: one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word शेषान् twice in this sūtra (āvritti.) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is सत्यव्यवर्णेन शब्दस्याभेदः ॥ This gives rise to हन्व or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आधुनिक view.

८९२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कन्यावन्तरस्य इत्यो वा त्याज्य । बहुनामाकः । बहुनामकः । कन्यार्थे बहुनामः ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in अस् is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुनामाकः or बहुनामकः 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुनामः ॥

८९३ । न संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

शेषादिति नामः कप् न स्वल्पसंज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्व विश्वेदेवः ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V. 4. 154 S. 801 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्व = विश्वेदेवः ॥

८९४ । ईयस्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयस्यन्तोऽप्येताः कप् । बहुवः शेषांतोऽस्य बहुश्रयान् । गोत्रियोऽपि इत्येवास्ति ॥ ईयस्यो बहुव्रीहिर्निति शास्त्रम् ॥ बहुवः शेषस्योऽस्य बहुश्रयसी । बहुव्रीहिः किय । अतिश्रयसीति ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules i. e. both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बह्वः श्रेयांसोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयान्. (V. 3. 57 S. 2005) Here rule V. 4. 154 S. 891 is debarred. बह्व्यः श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V. 4. 135 S. 833 is prohibited. By rule I. 2. 48 S. 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vārtika.

*Vart*:—In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसि ॥

८६५ । वन्दिते भ्रातुः । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

पुत्रितेऽप्येवो धामृशब्दस्त्वन्तात् कप् स्यात् । भ्रातृतो भ्राता यस्य प्रसिद्धभाता । ॥ पुत्रनांशिते निवेपत्तु बहुव्रीहि सैकप्रत्ययोरित्यतः प्राप्तेवेति वक्ष्यते । यन्निवे किम् । सूर्यभ्रातृकः ॥

895. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi ending in the word *bhrātri*, when it means 'praised.'

The word वन्दितः means 'praised,' 'respected' &c. Thus सोमनाभाता इत्यनुवृत्त्या 'one having a good brother.' As a general rule, *samāsānta* affixes are not added, when respect is meant. See V. 4. 69 S. 954. But the prohibition of that sūtra has its scope only upto V. 4. 113 S. 852, and not on sūtras after that. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe सूर्यभ्रातृकः, दुष्टभ्रातृकः ॥

८६६ । नाडीतन्त्रीयोः स्याद्धे । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एवम्पि यो नाडीतन्त्रीयोः तदन्तात् कप् न स्यात् । बहुवाङिः कायः । बहुतन्त्रीर्मात्रा । तन्त्रीर्यमनी शरीरप्रत्ययान्तराभावाद्भावात् । एवम्पि किम् । बहुनाडीकः स्वप्न । बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896. The affix कप् does not come after the words *nāḍi*, and *tantri* final in a Bahuvrīhi, when they mean organs of body.

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । २ । ४ । १६० ॥

कचमायोऽयं निष्प्रवाण्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्धितेऽर्जुनः । प्रवाणी तन्तुवाययलका । निर्मिता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणिः पदः । सनाप्रदानः नव इत्यर्थः ॥

897. The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप्, though the last word is a Nadi word.

The word प्रवाणी means either श्रीयतेऽस्य or प्रवयन्ति तया ॥ Here म्पृ is added to the root वृ 'to weave': and 'denotes the instrument of weaving i. e. 'a shuttle.' निर्मिता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणिः पदः, निष्प्रवाणिः कम्पतः = अरनीतयलकः "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted, fresh from the loom. The व is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 29. S. 2835.

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणे च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वे प्रथोऽक्षम् । कण्ठकालः । अत एव शापकाद्याधिकरणपदो बहुव्रीहिः । निबन्धः ॥

सर्वनामसंज्ञयोरुपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ सर्वरहितः ॥ द्विगुणः ॥

निधोऽन्तर्धे । सप्तमे संख्या पूर्वम् । शक्यपरविप्रविधेभ्यः ॥ व्ययः ॥

संज्ञया मल्पीयत्वाः \* ॥ द्विधाः

इन्द्रेण । शरत् ॥

वा विद्यत्य \* ॥ ह्युप्रियः । निबन्धः ॥

गङ्गादेः परा सप्तमी \* ॥ गङ्गाकण्ठः । कनिष्ठ । वीर्यदुः ॥

898. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasargana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठकालः 'who is black in the throat.' From the jñāpaka of this sūtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikaraga Bahuvrīhi—a Bahuvrīhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as शक्रराजिः, चंद्रमौलिः &c. So also वरसिलेना, पिबन्तुः, यवनहन्तः.

Varṣ :—The sarvanamās and the numerals stand first; as सर्वरहितः द्विगुणः.

*Vart*:—In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वात्रिंशः.

*Vart*:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विषाः 'two and three.'

*Vart*:—Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first); thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve.'

*Vart*:—The word विष may optionally stand first; as छत्रविषः or विषछत्रः.

*Vart*:—After the words गद्गु &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गद्गुकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गद्गुक्षिराः &c.

\* How is then the word शिरोदधुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्तं बहुव्रीहिं पूर्वं स्यात् । कृतकृत्यः ॥ आतिकासश्चुल्लिख्यः परा निष्ठा वाच्यः \* ॥  
साहज्यजम्भी । मासजातः । शुल्लज्जातः । प्रायिकं चन्दन । कृतकटः । पीतौदकः ॥

899. What ends with a Nishthā (I. 1. 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कृतकृत्यः ॥

So also शुल्लयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

*Vart*:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, साहज्यजम्भी, मासजातः and शुल्लज्जातः &c.

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकटः and पीतौदकः also.

९०० । आहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

आहिताग्निः । अग्न्याहितः । आहूतगोत्रोऽग्रजः ॥ अहव्यर्थेभ्यः परे निष्ठावाच्यो \* ॥ अस्त्युद्यतः ।  
अहव्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ अग्निः । विद्वत्प्राप्तेः ॥

900. In the compounds āhitāgni and the like, the Nishthā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'



"Red picture and ornament." Here two substances are collected under one attribute.

2. When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called *anwāchaya* : as, *मिक्षामदः साँ चानय* "Go for aims and bring the cow." Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped. But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow. So going out a begging is the principal action.

Therefore, in *मिक्षामदः साँ चानय*, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another. The want of *sāmarthya* here is want of *ekārthibhāva*.

In *पवज्जदिते* "the Mimosa and the Grisea," *संज्ञापरिभाषम्* "an appellative and a maxim of interpretation," there is compounding, as *itarētara* and *samāhāra*, respectively.

The Dvandva compound of the four words *होतृ*, *पोतृ*, *नेटृ* and *वज्राहू* may be either *होतृपोतृनेट्रोवज्राहूः* or *होतापोतानेट्रोवज्राहूः* ॥ The first denotes many *hotṛis*, *potṛis* &c. The second is an example where *hotṛi* and *potṛi* are first compounded as ॥ Dvandva, and then *नेटृ* and *वज्राहू* as another Dvandva. Then these two compound words are again compounded ॥ a larger Dvandva.

In the first example, there is not *आनङ्ग* substitution for the final of *होतृ* and *पोतृ* (VI. 3. 25 S. 921) because there is no *uttarapada* after them. See S. 921 and 831.

६०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वयोगाई परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राज्ञां राजदन्तः । धर्मादिपरविषयः\* ॥ कार्यधर्मी । धर्मायौ । धर्मनी । जन्मनी । जायायनी । जायायनस्य जन्मायां दन्तावयुः प्रा विपात्यते । अलङ्कृतिगणोऽयम्\* ॥

902. The *upasarjana* is to be put last in the words *Rājadanta* &c.

Thus *राजदन्तः* (दन्तानां राज्ञां) 'a chief of teeth' (*i. e.*, an eyetooth). It is not merely the *upasarjana* that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अग्नेयवम्. 3. सिद्धतासितम्. 4. यमप्रथितम्. 5. सिद्धरं-  
धम्. 6. धृष्टलुपितम्. 7. अचक्षितम्. 8. धर्मधर्मी. 9. (धर्मधर्मी). 10.  
रामगायम्. 11. अद्वैतलुपितम्. 12. सप्तदशकम्. 13. दण्डपत्रम्. 14. गंगारू-

यने. 15. (भारग्यायनवम्भकी). 16. विवरयवाल्मीकम्. 17. अवन्त्यद्वयम्. 18. पाद्वयम्. 19. सातकोराजानो. 20. विषयस्तेनार्तुवै. 21. अक्षिभुवम्. 22. शरणम्. 23. शरणार्थी. 24. धर्मार्थी. 25. कामार्थी. 26. अर्थार्थी. 27. अर्थधर्मो. 28. अर्थकामो. 29. वैकारिवम्. 30. माजवाजम्. 31. गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-  
धानपूजासम्. 33. (गोपालधर्मपूजासम्). 34. पूजासकारणम्. 35. पूजासकम्.  
रणम्. 36. स्थलासम्. 37. (स्थलपूजासम्). 38. वक्षोस्वीजम्. 39. (जिह्वादि).  
40. सिङ्गासम्. 41. (सिङ्गासस्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वातो. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).  
44. भार्यापत्नी. 45. दम्पती. 46. अम्पती. 47. आयापती. 48. पुत्रपत्नी. 49.  
पुत्रपति. 50. कोलदनम् or हनुकुकेतो. 51. शिरोविह. 52. शिरोवीजम्. 53.  
शिरोजातु. 54. सार्धविधुनी. 55. ननुसार्धिनी. 56. आशम्भे. 57. आशम्भे. 58.  
हनुपत्नी. 59. वृद्धिहनु.

*Vartika*:—"In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus अर्थधर्मो or धर्मार्थो 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth.' So also दम्पती, अम्पती or आयापती. The word अम्प is changed to जम् or हम् irregularly. These belong to *ākṛitigaṇa*.

*Note*:—दम्पती is really a compound of दम् "home" and पति "master or mistress" दम् is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic." दम्पती means "the two masters of the house—i. e. the husband and wife."

६०३ । हन्ते वि । २ । २ । ३२ ॥

हन्ते विभक्तपूर्वे स्यात् । हरिश्च हरिश्च हरिश्च ॥ अनेकपदभावेकम् नियमोऽभिधानः, हेदे \*॥  
हरिश्चहरिश्च । हरिश्चहरिश्च ॥

903. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called वि (1. 4. 7 S. 243) stand first.

As हरिश्च 'Hari and Hara.'

*Vartika*:—Where there are more than one such वि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरिश्चहरिश्च or हरिश्चहरिश्च :

*Note*:—Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्मयपदः which is a Tat-parusha.

६०४ । अलावदन्तम् । २ । २ । ३३ ॥

हर्ष हन्ते पूर्वे स्यात् । हर्षकृष्णो । \*

यदुपनिषदः \* । अन्वयेन्द्राः । इन्द्राभ्याम् ॥ \*

\* यन्तादभ्यामन्तं विभक्तिपेधनं ॥ इन्द्राभ्याम् ॥

904. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, ईशकृष्णो 'Iśa and Kṛṣṇa.'

*Vart* :—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As अक्षरध्वजाः or इन्द्रवरदाः ॥

*Vart* :—In the Dvandva compounds, the वि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाअन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी. Here अग्नि though वि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. S. 175.)

*Note* :—Why do we say 'अन् with a वृ' (I. 1. 70 S. 50.)? This rule does not apply when it is long वा as, अदवा + वृषः = अवत्तवृषौ or वृषावदे.

६०५ । अक्षराक्षरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशवौ ॥

अतुल्यशक्तौ समशक्तौ तत्तुल्यम् ॥ ॥ हेमन्तशिविरसन्ताः । अक्षराक्षरौ । अक्षराक्षरौ । अक्षराक्षरौ ॥

अक्षराक्षरौ पूर्वम् ॥ ॥ अक्षराक्षरम् ॥

अक्षराक्षरौ ॥ ॥ अक्षराक्षरौ ॥

अक्षराक्षरौ ॥ ॥ अक्षराक्षरौ ॥

अक्षराक्षरौ ॥ ॥ अक्षराक्षरौ ॥

905. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels is to be placed first.

Thus शिव + केशव = शिवकेशवौ ॥

*Note* :—When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As अक्षराक्षरौ ॥ ॥ अक्षराक्षरौ ॥ ॥

*Vart* :—Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिविरसन्ताः ; अक्षराक्षरौ ॥

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe अक्षराक्षरौ, Here the shorter has been placed first.

*Vart* :—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first.



As, कुशकाशे ; 'a bundle of Kuśa and Kāśa grasses.' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass.

*Vart* :—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as तापस पर्वतो "Tāpasa and Parvata." वासुदेवाञ्जुनौ "Vāsudeva and Arjuna" (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478).

*Vart* :—The castes are placed according to their order : ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद् शूद्राः 'Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya-Vaiśya and Śūdra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

*Vart* :—The name of the elder brother is placed first ; as युधिष्ठिराञ्जुनौ 'Yudhishtira and Arjuna.'

६०६ । इन्द्रश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां इन्द्र एकवस्त्वात् । प्राणिपादम् । मार्गजिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वादेहम् ॥

समाहारस्यैकत्वादेकत्वे तिङ्गे नियमार्थे प्रकरणम् ; प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

306. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोमूर्ध्नि 'the head and neck' मार्गजिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mridanga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिपादवरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' शीष्पापादकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपादकम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only ; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29 S. 901) A Samāhāra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule. That is, the samāhāra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c., need not be singular.

*Note* :—In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional ; (II. 4. 12. S. 916). The present rule also gives an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like रथिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14 S. 918). are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva ; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12 S. 916) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

६०७ । अनुवादे चरखानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां हन्द् एकवत्स्थान्निष्पन्नस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्पेणोर्हुतीति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ इदमात्कठकालपम् । प्रत्यष्टात्कठकौधुनम् ॥

907. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

*Note*:—The word चरख means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called *anuvāda*. Another meaning of this word is "the recitation of the chapters as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time."

*Vart*:—This aggregate is used with the acrist of the roots ह्या and ह्य only; as इदमात् कठकालपम् (इदमात् कठेषु कालेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु आचार्यां यत्र गन्तव्यं निश्चि संकेतविरता सन् संकेतं विस्तृत्याखीर्णं प्रतिवदुष्यन्ते) ॥ प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौधुनम्, 'katha and kauthuma established again.'

*Note*:—Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe इदमात् कठकालपम्: or प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौधुनाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the acrist of ह्या and ह्य which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs: as:—अवशिष्टुः कठकालपम् and इदमस्ति कठकालपम्: ॥

Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

६०८ । अध्वयुक्तुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

अध्वये विहितो यः क्रतुस्तर्पणचानामनपुंसकविज्ञानां हन्द् एकवत्स्थाय १ आर्काश्वमेधम् ।  
अध्वयुक्तुः किम् । इत्युक्तौ सामने विहितौ । अनपुंसकं किम् । राजसूययाजने ॥ आर्षपर्वी ॥

908. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender.

As आर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्जी 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sāma-Veda.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.' अर्धर्चादी (1). 4 31 S. 816).

*Note* :—Why have we इषुवज्जीमासौ ? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Pauruṣamśa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

६०६ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना आख्य देवां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदक्रमकम् ॥

909. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement.

*Note* :—Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकर्णौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

६१० । जातिप्रमाणानाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

मात्रिवर्जजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । भाग्यसम्पत्ति । प्राणिनां तु विद्वद्भा । द्वन्द्वजातीयानामेव । द्वे । रूपसौ । गमगन्तुवर्धने । जातिप्रमाण्य एवाश्वेकवशातः । द्वन्द्वविशेषविषयानां तु बहुवचनकानि ॥

910. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus भाज्यसम्पत्ति 'fried rice and barley cake.'

*Note* :—Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Pāṇchajanya.' These are Saajña words or Proper Names.

When denoting living beings then विद्वद्भाः (and not विद्वद्भ्यः) 'Vaiśyas and Sudras.' Here there is plural number by I. 2. 58. S. 817, though the words are jāti denoting.

This rule applies to the *jāti* or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजातिः) and not the *jāti* names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजातिः), Thus रङ्गरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्जने 'going and contraction.'

Even with *jāti* names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, बद्धमलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV, 3. 163 S. 1541. The feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. See also II. 4. 12 S. 916.

*Note* :—The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. *Jāti* has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

६११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

मानववर्ज्यनदीदेशायाश्चिना<sup>१</sup> भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहृति इत्येकवक्ष्यात् । उद्दया इरावती च उद्देय-  
वति । गङ्गा च यामुनश्च गङ्गायामुनम् । कुरुवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गायामुने  
भद्रक्षेत्रम् । ग्रामाः । निम् । आम्बवं नगरम् । शाकुत्तिनी ग्रामः । आम्बवशाकुत्तिनी ॥

911. A samāhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus उद्देयवति "The Uddhya and Irāvati," The Uddhya is a river (nada).

So also. गङ्गायामुनम् 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुक्षेत्रं  
'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गायामुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuṇa.' Both being feminine gender; so also भद्रक्षेत्रम् ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other is country.

The word विशिष्ट of the sūtra is derived from the root सिधि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the peahen'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवत्पाकुकिम्यौ 'Jāmbaba (a city) and Sālukini (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.

*Vart*:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

*Vart*:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यक्षेत्रवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

६१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः।२।४।८॥

एषां क्षमादारे द्वन्द्व एकवक्तव्यः। सूक्तानिबन्धः। अथ कुतस्तुक्षुद्रजन्तवः॥

912. A Samāhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus सूक्तानिबन्ध, 'the louse and the nit.'

*Note*:—The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size.

All below the mongoose are kshudrajanta.

६१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः।२।४।९॥

एषां मान्यम्। अश्विनकुम्भः॥ गोध्यामम्॥ काकोत्कामित्यादी परस्परद्विभाषा वृत्तव्येति मान्यं चकारेण बाध्यते॥

913. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i. e. natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular.

The word विरोधः means enmity: and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, अश्विनकुम्भं 'the snake and the mongoose.' गोध्यामम् 'the cow and the tiger.' काकोत्कम् 'the crow and the owl.'

*Note*:—Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गोपालिशालकायनाः कलहयन्ते 'Gaupali and Śāṅkāyana are quarrelling.' देवासुरैर्मृतममृनिधिर्मन्ये ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co-operated in churning the ocean.

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II. 4. 12 S. 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4. 2. S. 173) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as गीव्याम्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' कलकोक्यम् 'the crow and the owl.'

६१४ । शूद्राणामनिरक्षितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

चरद्विष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्रायश्च । सन्नायस्कारम् । पाषाद्विष्कृतानां तु चण्डालद्वयम् ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, सन्नायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith.'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालद्वयम्: 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa.'

*Note*:—The word अनिरक्षित means one not expelled (from the dish). This shows that there was interdining between the Śūdras and the twice-born in the days of Pāṇini.

A Śūdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anīrākṣita Śūdra.

६१५ । गवाश्चप्रभृतौ च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोपादिनानि साधूनि स्फुः । गवाश्चम् । क्षवीरासनिगवै ॥

915. The word gavāśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्चम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also क्षवीरासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I. 2. 67 S. 935 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pāṇini specifically in the subjoined list.

1. शवाश्वम् ॥ 2. शवाविकम् ॥ 3. श्वैडकम् ॥ 4. शज्जविकम् ॥ 5. शजैडकम् ॥  
 6. कुञ्जवामनम् ॥ 7. कुञ्जकैरातकम् ॥ 8. पुचपौत्रम् ॥ 9. श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥  
 11. दासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12. दासीपिच्छकम् ॥ 13. उच्छसम् ॥ 14. उच्छशम् ॥  
 15. मूत्रशक्तम् ॥ 16. मूत्रपुरीषम् ॥ 17. शकुन्मरु ॥ 18. मांसशोणितम् ॥ 19. वर्मशरम् ॥  
 20. दर्मपूरीकम् ॥ 21. शकुन्निशिरीषम् ॥ 22. नृणोत्तम् ॥ 23. दासीशसम् ॥  
 24. कुटीकुटम् ॥ 25. भगवतीभाषवचम् ॥

*Part:—* In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As शोभम् or शोभो ॥ In this form of शो and शम् the next rule applies and option is allowed.

९१६ । विमाणा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्वचण्डवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् । २ । ४ । १२ ॥

वृक्षादीनां सप्तानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्वचण्डव्यादि द्वन्द्वस्य च प्राग्वह्यः । वृक्षादीं विरोधानामिव ग्रहणम् ।  
 प्लक्षन्वयोधम् । प्लक्षन्वयोधाः । रुरुपतम् । रुरुपताः । कुसकाशम् । कुसकाशाः । त्रीहियम् । त्रीहि-  
 यदाः । दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषाः । शुक्रवकम् । शुक्रवक्ताः । अश्वददम् ।  
 अश्वददयः । पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अपरोत्तरम् । अपरोत्तरे ॥

फलस्यैवमदत्तपुष्पफल्गुनिहृत्तज्जन्तुधान्यवृणानां बहुवचनविशेष इन्द्र एकवचसि वाच्यम् \* ॥  
 बदराणि प्यामलकाणि च बदरामजकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामिदं कथ्यते । नह् बदरामजके ।  
 रथिकाभ्यारोहो । प्लक्षन्वयोधो इत्यादि । विमाणावृक्षेति मूत्रे वेऽप्राण्यन्वयोधो ग्रहणं । जातिरप्राणिनामिति  
 नित्ये प्राप्ते विद्याल्लभ्यम् । पशुमरणे हस्त्यभ्यादिषु सेवाङ्गत्वात्प्रित्ये प्राप्ते । शृगाणां वृषैरेव  
 शकुनीनां शैरेवोभयम् इन्द्रः । शयैरेव सहेतरेतयोर्ग एवेति । नैवार्थे मृगशकुनिमहणम् । एवं  
 पूर्वापरमपरोत्तरमित्यदि । अश्वचण्डवग्रहणे तु पक्षे मनुष्यकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परस्वाद्युपदेशश्चय-  
 पविति ह्यात् ॥

916. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1. trees, 2. wild animals, 3. grass 4. corn, 5. condiment, 6. domestic beasts and 7. birds, and the compounds, 1. *śva-vadava*, 2. *purvā-para* and 3. *adharottara*, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षन्वयोधम् or प्लक्षन्वयोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees';  
 रुरुपतम् or रुरुपताः 'the Rura-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुसकाशम् or  
 कुसकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass'; त्रीहियम् or त्रीहियदाः 'the rice  
 and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वाः 'the  
 cow and the buffalo'; शुक्रवकम् or काः 'the parrot and the crane birds';  
 अश्वददम् or माः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the  
 last'; अपरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

*Part:—* The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is

singular, (when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of) that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as बदराणि आमलकानि = बदरामलकम्. Here there is singular number by II. 4. 6 S. 910. But not so in the following बदरामलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an amalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्वात्तौ 'a charioteer and a horseman'; प्लक्षान्यग्रोधौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुप्रतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्राकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravāka bird'; शूलानिक्षौ 'a louse and a nit'; ब्रीहियवौ 'a brīhī and yava grain'; कुशकाक्षौ 'the kuśa and kāśa grass. In this sūtra, those words which denote non-animate beings such as trees, and corn &c., would have taken compulsory singular by II. 4. 6. S. 910; the present sūtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II. 4. 2. S. 906, because they form component parts of an army corps. This sūtra ordains option. Why are the words वृत्त, वक्तुनि mentioned separately in the sūtra; when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II. 2, 29 S. 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that वृत्त words are compounded with वृत्त words only, and वक्तुनि with वक्तुनि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samāhāra.

Thus this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samāhāra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samāhāra; but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with वृक्षवृक्ष and वृक्षवृक्षम् ॥

The compound वृक्षवृक्ष is read in the sūtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For वृक्ष and वृक्ष being both पुल्लिङ्ग would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use वृक्षवृक्ष in the singular, the rule II. 4. 27 S. 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II. 4. 17. S. 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the subsequent sūtra II. 4. 27 S. 813 is set aside by the prior sūtra II. 4. 17 S. 821 because the singular वृक्षवृक्ष is a pratipada vidhāna samāsa.

६१७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं ज्ञानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । ६३ h

विश्वार्थानामहन्ववाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवचनं स्वात् । त्रीतोष्णम् । त्रीतोष्णे । वैकल्पिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तः स विश्वार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि भद्रपदवाचिनामेवेति नियमार्थविश्वम् । तेन द्वन्द्ववाचिनामित्येतन्नियोग एव । त्रीतोष्णे उदके स्नः । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । गन्दकाभ्यन्तरी । इह पालिकाः समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥



917. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. The word *adhihikarāna* means material things a *dravya*. च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra. By sūtra II. 2. 29 S. 901, the samāhāra Dvandva is optional; for that sūtra is governed by the great option of II, 1. 11 S. 665. When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance. Thus the present sūtra creates a *niyama* or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samāhāra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, शीतोष्ण-जलो which are not of contrary significations. Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samāhāra Dvandva also.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे वक्त्रे 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samāhāra also.

६१८ । न दधिपयसादीनि । २ । ४ । १४ ॥

एतानि भक्ष्यवस्तुः । दधिपयसी । इण्वादिर्वी । निपातवादीर्षः । अक्षयसि । वाद्यमनसि ॥

918. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; इण्वादिर्वी 'the fuel and the ghee.' The short अ of इण् is lengthened irregularly. So also अक्षयसि 'the Rig and the Sama-Veda'; वाद्यमनसि "the speech and mind."

Note.—With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sūtra would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी ॥ 2. गविर्धनुर्वा ॥ 3. मयूरवक्राक्षी ॥ 4. विपरी-  
यस्य ॥ 5. मयूरवक्राक्षी ॥ 6. वसिष्ठद्वयोद्वयो ॥ 7. मयूरवक्राक्षी ॥ 8. सुखदुःखी ॥
9. इण्वादिर्वी ॥ निपातवादीर्षः ॥ 10. शीतोष्णवरी ॥ 11. अक्षयवरी ॥ 12. वाद्यमवरी ॥

13. अभयनवपत्नी ॥ 14. चतुर्मुखसुते ॥ 15. भाषावसान ॥ 16. अज्ञानमे ॥ 17. फलसाने ॥ 18. वाह्यमने ॥

६१६ । अधिकरसैतावत्वे च । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

इत्यसंख्ययावगमे एकपदेवेति नियमे ॥ स्यात् । दश वन्तोष्ठाः ॥

919. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etāvatva) of material things (adhikarāṇa) is not singular.)

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular.

As, दश एन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; Compare II. 4. 2.

६२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरसैतावत्पदस्य समीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवंकृते विधौ वा स्यात् । उपदश एन्तोष्ठाः । उपदशाः एन्तोष्ठाः ॥

920. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular.

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samāhara only.

Thus उपदशास्तोष्ठम् or उपदश एन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e. nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips.'

६२१ । आनङ् ऋतोद्वन्द्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ।

विद्याद्योनिर्बन्धव्यापिनापृक्षानां द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । हेतापोषादे । हेतुपोषे-  
दोस्तादा । नातर्पितदे । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यागिततो मण्डूकान्मुखा पुत्रे इत्यद्वन्द्वोः विद्यापुत्रो ॥

921. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus हेतापोषादे, नेपोषादे, but हेतुपोषेनेपोषादः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of हेतु only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्वन्द्वत्, and not the ऋ of हेतु and पोष which are not followed by an uttarapada. मन्त्रास्तापदिहर्षादि मातापित्रोः । The anuvṛtti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI. 3 21 S. 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in ऋ ॥ As पितापुत्री, मातापुत्री ॥ आत्मानान्तरौ ॥ The anuvṛtiti of पुत्रे is read in this sūtra by the method of frog leap.

The substitute is really अ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I.

1. 51, by which a र comes after every simple vowel substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ' ? Observe वितृषितामहौ ॥

६२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इतोत्तरपदे चो आनङ् । निवाचनौ ॥

बाहुषास्मयोपे पतिदेवः \* ॥ अग्निवायू । वायवरी । पुनर्हृत्प्रहणे प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिवहार्थम् ।  
तेन अग्नयवापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतच्च देवतादिर्नामित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धं साहचर्यम् ॥

922. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatās.

Thus निवाचनौ ॥

Vdti:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to बाहु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वायवरी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvṛtiti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like अग्नयवापती विश्वेदेवर्षी ॥ < These Devatās are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to-gether. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatās whose companionship is well-known.

६२३ । ईदयोः सोमवचनयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923. For the final of ईद्वि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वचन follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which ई is changed to ए ॥

६२४ । अग्नेः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

अग्नेः परितोमसं वचन एः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः । अग्निष्टुतः । अग्निस्तोमः । अग्निचिन्तः । अग्नीवचनौ ॥

924. *य* is substituted for the *स* of *सुत*, *सोम* and *सोम* when preceded by *अग्नि* in a compound.

Thus *अग्निष्टुत*, *अग्निधोमः*, *अग्नीषोमौ* । *अग्निवह्नौ* ॥

*Ishti*:—The *इ* of *अग्नि* is lengthened before *सोम* and it is after such lengthened *इ*, that the *स* of *सोम* is changed to *य*, otherwise not. As *अग्निषोमौ मायवकौ* ॥ So also *अग्निषोमौ तिष्ठतः* (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have *अग्ने सोमः* ॥

The word *अग्निष्टुत* is formed by *क्तिष्ट*, the *sacrifice* in which *Agni* is praised (*स्तुतवै*) is so called. *अग्निष्टोमः* is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (*संध्या*) of the *Soma-yāga*. *अग्नीषोमः* is a *देवता-द्वन्द्वः*: so where there is no *Devatā-Dvandva*, the *य* change will not take place. Thus where *Agni* and *Soma* are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb, According to *Āśvalāyana* there is lengthening and *य* change in the last case also, = *अग्नीषोमौ यणेष्टामि* ॥

६२५ । इदृश्वकौ । ६ । ३ । २८ ॥

*इदृश्वकौ* *देवता-द्वन्द्वः* । *अग्निमह्नौ* *देवते* *अस्य* *आग्निनाहते* *कर्म* । *अग्निवह्नौ* *देवते* *अस्य* *आग्निनाहते* । *देवताह्नौ* *मिथुनयपवह्निः* । *शक्तीकिते* *वाक्ये* *आमहनीयं* *य* *वतिथरा* *हन्* । *इद्री* *क्तिष्ट* । *आग्नेन्द्रः* । *नेमू* *स्य* *पस्ते* *मिथुनयपवह्निः* *वतिथरा* । *विष्णौ* *न* \* ॥ *आग्निविष्णवम्* ॥

925. The short *इ* is the substitute of the final of *अग्नि*, in such a *Dvandva*, in which both members take the *Vṛiddhi*.

The substitution of *इ* for *इ* may appear superfluous; but it is really for the sake of debarring the long *इ* of the last *sūtra*.

Thus *आग्निमह्नौ*, which would have required long *इ* by the last rule: *आग्निनाहते*, which would have required *आनह* by VI. 3. 26. Thus *आग्निवह्नौ* *मिथुनयपवह्निः*, *आग्निनाहते* *कर्म* *क्रियेत* ॥ *अग्निमह्नौ* *देवते* *अस्य* (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226), takes the *Taddhita* affix, *जन्* and by VII. 3. 21, S. 1239 both members of the compound take *Vṛiddhi*. When both members do not take *Vṛiddhi*, the rule does not apply: as *आग्नेन्द्रः* (*आग्निन्द्रः*), because *इन्द्र* does not take *Vṛiddhi*, by VII. 3. 22 S. 1240.

*Part*:—Prohibition must be stated when the word *विष्णु* follows: as *आग्निविष्णवम्* *अहं* *निर्वहेत्* ॥ The *इ* being prohibited, there comes *आनह* of

९२६ । दिवो द्यावा । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

देवतादन्ते उक्तपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावाचने ॥

926. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatās, when it is followed by a second member.

Thus द्यावासाय, ( Rig Veda X. 36. 1 ) द्यावाभूमी ॥ ( Rig Veda VII. 62. 4 ).

९२७ । दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३० ॥

दिव इत्यं च द्यावा । अद्वितो अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य स्वयं नाभूदित्यर्थम् । योश्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टादुपनिधिः ॥ द्यावा चित्समै पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योरपि-  
रितश्च पदकारादित्यसौ पठन्ति ॥

927. For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् ( as well as द्यावा ) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatās

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस् ending in स्, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or visarga or upadhmānya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा चित्समै पृथिवी नमते ॥ ( Rig Veda II. 12. 13. ) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule. In दिवस्पृथिव्योरपिः the authors of Pada Pāṭha read the दिवस् as दिवः with a visarga.

९२८ । उपासोपसः । ६ । ३ । ३१ ॥

उपस्योपास्योपासादिना देवतादन्ते । उपासाद्यर्थम् ॥

928. For उपस् is substituted उपास् in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus :—उपासाद्यर्थम्, उपासानन्त ॥ ( Rig Veda X. 36. 1 ) These are samāhāra compounds of उपा and स्वयं &c.

९२९ । मातरपितराबुदीचाम् । ६ । ३ । ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीचां किव । आतापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by मरच् substitution of the षच् of मातृ ॥ Why do we say " according to Northern authors " ? The other form is आतापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वेन्द्राच्छुद्धहास्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

ववर्गान्तादपहान्ताच्च द्वेन्द्रादिच् स्वात्समाहारे । वाक् च लक् च वात्तिवचम् । स्वसजम् ।  
शमीदृषदम् । वात्तिवचम् । छत्रोपानदम् । समाहारे किय । प्रावृद्धरदौ ॥

930. The affix *tach* comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a *दृ* or a *च* or a *हृ*; when the compound is a Samāhāra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity).

The anuvritti of Tatpurusha which commenced at V. 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्वम् "an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular; and not to द्वेन्द्वसंयुक्तम् "or mutual conjunction". Thus वाक् च लक् च = वाक्लक्चम्, so also स्वसजम्, शमीदृषदम्, वात्तिवचम्, छत्रोपानदम्, Why do we say "in a Samāhāra Dvandva"? Observe प्रावृद्धरदौ ॥

Note :—Why do we say "after a Dvandva"? The affix will not come after a Tatpurusha, as, ऐष वाचः समाहृतः = ऐषवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of *च* class, or *दृ*, *च*, *हृ*"? Observe वाक्स्वसिति ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds.

## अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXI.

#### ON EKAŚEŚHĀS.

सकृपाणाम् ॥ रामौ । रामाः ॥ विकृपाणामपि सन्मानार्थमात्रं \* ॥ एकदण्डश्च कुटिलदण्डश्च  
चक्रदण्डौ । कुटिलदण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of *eka-śeśha*, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The *eka-śeśha* is the reverse of *Dvandva* compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of *eka-śeśha* rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ; similarly राम+राम+राम=रामाः ॥ See I. 2. 64, S. 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सकृप ॥

The rule is not confined to *sarūpa* words only. Sometimes though the *forms* may be different, there takes place *eka-śeśha*: as by the following *Vārtika*.

*Vārtika*:—There is *eka-śeśha* of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As एकदण्डः+कुटिलदण्डः=एकदण्डौ or कुटिलदण्डौ ॥ This *Vārtika* would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सकृप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

६३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना राहोती गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रवृद्धप्रत्ययमायकृतं चैतयोः कृत्स्नं च कृत्यं स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च  
गार्ग्यादिष्वपि गार्ग्यः । वृद्धः किम् । गर्गमाग्योपणी । यूना किम् । गर्गमाग्यी । सप्तशतः किम् ।  
भागविंशतिभागविंशती । कृत्स्नं किम् । गार्ग्यवाग्वायनी ॥

931. The *vṛiddha* (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes *ekaśeśha*, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called *yuvan*, (provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only).

The word *śeśha* of the *sūtra* I. 2. 64 S. 188. is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The *yuvan* word is dropped when read along with a *Vṛiddha* word. The word

Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an. apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV, 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं वृद्धपश्यति गोत्रम् ॥ अत्राति तु यवने युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which, is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if'. The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विद्येत् in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यवृद्धः = गार्ग्ये ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix वृद्ध IV, 1. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix कृत् denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्त्यः + वास्त्यवृद्धः = वास्त्ये ॥

This Ekāśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

This rule of ekāśeṣha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यवृद्धः = गर्गगार्ग्यवृद्धे ॥

Similarly *vice versa* वास्त्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्ग्ये ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, i. e. form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not



applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 S. 1172 says " a Vriddha word may optionally take the affix इक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvāra." Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिग-  
वदित्तिको ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix इक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्धः ( a Vriddha word ) + वासवायनः ( a yuvan word ) = गार्धवासवायनो ॥

६३२ । स्त्री पुंवश्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

युना सहोक्ती युना स्त्री शिष्यते तदर्थं पुंवश्च गार्धं च गार्धवायनां च गर्गाः । कश्चिदासि-  
ह्वरर्हान्ने यमजोच्येति लुक् । सक्ती च सचायनश्च सक्ती ॥

932. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vriddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained ; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्धो + गार्धवायनो = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यम् is elided by II. 4. 64 S. 1108 which applies to non-feminine words only, because the anuyukti of कश्चिदास्मि is understood in that sūtra from II. 4. 63 S. 1193. (The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculination.)

Similarly सक्ती + सचायनः = सक्ती ( masculine dual of सक्ति ) ॥

६३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

दिदा सहोक्ती पुमान् शिष्यते तद्वचन एव विवेचयेत् । हंती च हंतश्च हंती ॥

933. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣa, and the latter is dropped.

As हंसी + हंसः = हंसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातौ । पुत्रश्च दुहिता च पुत्रौ ॥

934. 'The words *bhrātri*, brother,' and *putra*, 'son,' when spoken of along with *svasri*, 'sister' and *dūhitri* 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this *sūtra* ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in 1. 2. 65 S. 931. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an *ekāśeṣa* under special circumstances. Thus *भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातौ* ( brother and sister or brothers ), similarly *पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ*, ( son and daughter or sons ).

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसके नैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

भ्रातृभिरु सखीकौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तद्य वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण-एव विशेषधत् । शुक्लः पदः । शुक्ला घाटी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तस्मिन् शुक्लम् । तागांशानि शुक्लानि ॥

935. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix ; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

The words *तल्लक्षणधेर्वेव विशेषः* of 1. 2. 65 S. 931 governs this *sūtra* also ; thus *शुक्लः पदः*, *शुक्ला घाटी*, *शुक्लं च वस्त्रं* ॥ "The white ( masculine ) cloth, the white ( feminine ) wrapper, and the white ( neuter ) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as *शुक्लं* ( neuter ) ; or in the Plural *शुक्लानि* ॥

*Notes* :—A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them ; provided that, the words differ in gender signs only ; but radically they be the same. Thus *प्रातस्त्रयो, नेयुनं, निद्रा, सेव्यमानं दिवर्द्धते* 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective '*sevyamānam*' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words '*śāntya*' which is in the masculine ; '*maithunam*' which is in the neuter, and '*nidra*' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter *ekāśeṣa* may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply. Thus पुत्रं + पुत्रं + पुत्रं = पुत्रानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

६३६। पिता माता । १। २। ७० ॥

माता सहोक्तौ पिता वा सिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936. The word *pitri*, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with *mātri*, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ ॥

६३७। श्वशुरः श्वश्वरः । १। २। ७१ ॥

श्वश्वरः सहोक्तौ श्वशुरो वा सिष्यते तत्तत्र एव विशेषयेत् । श्वशुरश्च श्वश्वरश्च श्वश्वरौ । श्वश्वरौ ॥

937. The word *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with *śvaśrū*, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्वरः may be either श्वश्वरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्वरश्वरौ ॥

६३८। त्वयादीनि सर्वनिर्णयम् । १। २। ७२ ॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ त्वयादीनि निर्णयं सिष्यन्ते । स च द्वैवत्तत्र सौ ॥

त्वयादीनां नियः सहोक्तौ यत्रैव तच्छिष्यते \* ॥ स च यत्र सौ ॥

पूर्वोक्तोऽपि इत्येत इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यत्र सौ ॥

त्वयादितः द्वे प्रपञ्चकौ लिङ्गवचनानि \* ॥ सा च द्वैवत्तत्र सौ । तत्र द्वैवत्तत्र यस्याच्चा च सानि । प्रपञ्चकयोस्तु परस्परप्रपञ्चकं सिष्यते । तत्र द्वैवत्तत्र सौ ॥

आह्वयतुष्टुपविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ कुक्कुटमवुर्वादिभिः । मयूरीकुक्कुटादिनी । तत्र सा च गर्भविन्दव्यौ सौ ॥

938. The pronouns 'tyad' &c., when spoken of along with any other noun, {pronoun other than 'tyad &c.'} are always retained as *ekasheṣa*, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim' When these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or = pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate universality; i. e.

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

*Vart* :—When सङ्गति words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus सः + सः = यौ; यः + कः = तौ ॥ Thus सङ्ग is read after सङ्ग (see I. 1. 27 S. 213), so सङ्ग will be retained and not सङ्ग; similarly किम् is read after सङ्ग, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of सङ्ग ॥

*Vartika* :—In the ekaśeśha of tyādadi words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine; and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तः = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तः यत्रत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine सङ्ग च देवदत्तः = तौ ॥

*Vartika* :—It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpuruṣha compounds. In the case of these, the sūtra II. 4. 26 S. 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुम्भकुम्भद्वयं (इने feminine dual), but नद्वयं (इमौ masculine dual). Similarly विप्लवद्वयं (neut) + विप्लवद्वयं (neut) + अर्धविप्लवः (feminine) = अर्धविप्लवः (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be तः ॥

६३९ । प्राप्यपशुसङ्घेयतस्तेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एष सङ्घविद्यमानः स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् शिष्येत्यस्यापवादः । यावद् इमाः । प्राप्येति किम् । सङ्घ इमे । पशुसङ्घः इति । प्राप्येति । सङ्घेयुः किम् । एतेषां स्त्री । अनेकसङ्घेयुः इति । प्राप्येति यावद् ॥ अत्रा इति ॥

इदं सर्वं एकैवैव इति लोकसङ्घान्ताभावाद् वृत्तिः न । तेन शिरसी शिरासीत्यादी समस्तस्य स्थानोदासः प्राप्यपशुसङ्घेयतस्तेषु न । पश्यान्ते पश्यान् इत्यादी समस्तान्ता न ॥

939. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I. 2. 67 S. 933). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders; the feminine noun is preferred; provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गव्य इन्द्रः 'these cows (and bulls).' अजग इन्द्रः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya animals) and not to *wild* animals ; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As ह्य इन्द्रः, 'these wild deers' (male and female), वृषभ इन्द्रः, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणः, 'the Brāhmanas' (male and female) क्षत्रियः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I. 2. 67. S. 933.

*Vart*:—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्व इन्द्रः, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गव्यौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? वल्गव इन्द्रः 'these calves'; बकरा इन्द्रः 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I. 2. 67. S. 933.

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the *eka-śeṣha* takes place, there is no longer *Dvandva* compounding, as these are not *many* nouns. The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to *eka-śeṣha* words. Thus द्विरुक्ती (dual), द्विरुक्ति (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI. 1. 123 S. 3734 would have applied. Nor is there *eka-vadbhāva* of these words, though they denote members of living beings, (II. 4. 2. S. 906) Similarly in वन्यानी वन्याः &c. there is not the affixing of *samāsānta* (V. 4. 74. S. 940).

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESHA.

# अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XXII.

### ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL.

कृतद्विनसदसैकशेषसमासशेषाधुनारूपाः पञ्च वृत्तवः । परार्थविधानं वृत्तिः । पूर्वार्थविधाने धर्कं वाच्यं विग्रहः । स द्विविधः । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिमित्तत्वास्ताधुनैकिकः । प्रयोगानर्णोऽज्ञातुर लौकिकः । यथा । राज्ञः पुत्रः । राजन् यन् पुत्रश्च ह्यस्ति । अविग्रहो निश्चलमासः ॥

अन्वयविग्रहो वा समासशेषविधि इति तु मायैवायः । अन्वयविधानवत्पुनर्वचनद्वितीयः । धिकाद्याईधुनामायि सहसुपेति समासविधानाद् ।

पूर्वपदार्थविधानोऽन्वयीमायः । उत्तरपदार्थविधानस्तत्पुत्रः । अन्यपदार्थविधानो बहुव्रीहिः । सम्यक्पदार्थविधानो ह्यहः इत्यादि प्राचां प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः । नृपति इत्यन्यगङ्गमित्याद्यन्वयीमादि, कतिनाकावौ तत्पुत्रे, द्विषा इत्यादिबहुव्रीहौ क्तांशनिष्ठादिहन्ते चाभावाद् । तत्पुत्रविशेषः, कर्मधाये, सहसुपेतिः द्विष्टः ॥ अनेक पदार्थ इह बहुव्रीहिरिति । तत्पुत्रश्च कश्चिद्वैष्टुक्तम् । किञ्च ॥

सुपा सुपा विज्ञा नामा धातुनाञ्च विज्ञां विज्ञां । ह्यन्वयेति विज्ञेयः समासः पञ्चिधो दुधैः ॥ १ ॥

सुपां सुपा, राजपुत्रः । विज्ञा, पर्यभूयत् । नामा, कुम्भकारः । धातुना, कदम्ब । अञ्चलम् । विज्ञां विज्ञा, पिबन्त्याश्वा । आश्वत्थमाश्वा । विज्ञां सुपा, कुम्भविषयणीति पत्न्यां विज्ञायां सा कुम्भविषय्या । एहीराद्येऽन्वयपदार्थे इति मधुरगन्धकावौ स्यात्तत्पुत्रः ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (*vṛtti*) is of five sorts, namely, 1. *Kṛit*—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root. 2. *Taddhita*—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun. 3. *Samāsa*—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun. 4. *Ēka-śeṣa*—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded. 5. Lastly *Sanādyanta dhātus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb; such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs.

⟨The word *vṛtti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word. When a word undergoes a *vṛtti* or modification, it gains an additional sense. This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word. Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding लि &c. affixes is not a *Vṛtti*: because here the root does not undergo any change of sense. To express the sense of another word by a different word is a *vṛtti*.

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called *vigraha* or the analysis of a word. The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone.

The *vigraha* or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical. That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis. That which is shown by technical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis.

Thus *सप्तसुहृद्* when analysed logically will be *सहः सुहृद्*; but when analysed grammatically, it will be *सप्त+सु+सुहृद्+सु* ॥

That which is not capable of *laukika* analysis is a *nitya samāsa*; or a *nitya-samāsa* is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words.

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1. *Avyayibhāva*, 2. *Tatpurusha*, 3. *Bahuvrīhi* and 4. *Dvandva*. But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule *सहस्रस्य* ॥ (S. 649).

"An *Avyayibhāva* is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant."

"A *Tatpurusha* compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant."

"A *Bahuvrīhi* is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant."

"A *Dvandva* is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant."

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians; they are not however strictly accurate. For these definitions do not hold good in the case of *Avyayibhāva* compounds like *सप्तसुहृद्*, *Tatpurusha* compounds like *सहस्रस्य*, *Bahuvrīhi* like *सप्त*; and *Dvandva* like *सुहृद्* ॥

*Karmadhāraya* is a subdivision of *Tatpurusha*. *Deigu* is a particular case of *Karmadhāraya*.

The *Dvandvas* and *Bahuvrīhis* only can consist of many words. The *Tatpurusha* seldom consists of more than two words as in *सहस्रस्य* ॥ For this it is said.

## VERSE.

1. The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2. Or with a tense inflected word, 3. Or with a crude noun. 4. Or with a root. 5. The tense-inflected word may be compounded with another tense inflected word 6. Or with a case-inflected word. Thus compounds are of six kinds.

1. *सुपां सुपा*, Declined noun with another declined noun, as *राजपुरुषः* ॥

2. *सुपां लिङ्ग*, A noun with a conjugated verb, as, *परि-लभ्यमानः* ॥

3. *सुपां नाम्ना* A noun with a nascent noun or upapada samāsa, as, *कुम्भकारः* ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of *सुप्* ॥

4. *सुपां बाहुवा*, A noun with a root as *कटूः* । *अजलम्* ॥ This compound *कटू* is so exhibited in Vārtika under sūtra III. 2. 178 S. 3158, and the word *अजलम्* is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 167 S. 3147.

5. *लिङ्गं लिङ्ग* । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as *विबल पारता*, *खातनीवता* ॥ See Mayūravvyansaka class of compounds II. 1, 72 S. 754.

6. *लिङ्गं सुपा*, A conjugated verb with a noun, as *कुम्भदिक्कना* ॥ In the Mayūra vyansakādi class, we find the rule *पृथीवाद्यैः स्तब्धवर्गार्थे* ॥ The compound is formed under that rule.



# अथ सर्व समासान्न प्रकरणम्॥

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### SAMĀSĀNTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL.

६४० । अण्वुपरधूःपथामानक्षे । ५ । ४ । ७४ ॥

अ अमथे इति छेदः । अण्वुपरधूः समासस्य अण्वुपरधूः अन्तावयवः स्यात् । अक्षे यः पूस्तावन्तस्य  
७ म । अर्थः ॥ अण्वुपरधूःपावध्वेनयेव ॥ नह अण्वुपरधूः । बहुक् सूक्तम् । विष्णोः पूः विष्णुपुरम् ।  
प्रतिपत्त्यं होवात् । विमलाय सरः ॥

940. The affix अ comes after rik, pur, ap, dhūr and pathin, when finals in a compound, but not so when dhūr is in conjunction with aksha.

The anuvṛtti of the word bahuvrīhi does not enter here. it applies to all compounds in general. The word अण्वुपरधूः qualifies पू, as it cannot qualify the words क्व &c.

Thus (1) rik :—अर्धः, 'half a hymn', अण्वुपरधूः, बहुक् :

Note:—Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अण्वुपरधूः?" Observe,  
अण्वुपरधूः = अण्वुपरधूः, बहुक्परधूः ॥

The words अण्वुपरधूः and बहुक्परधूः apply to students of Rik: thus अण्वुपरधूः means "a boy who has not read the Rig Veda." बहुक्परधूः "One who has read the Rig Veda." The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as अण्वुपरधूः साम, "the Sāma Veda which is not divided into hymns." बहुक्परधूः सूक्तम् ॥  
"a hymn consisting of many Rig verses."

(2) pur :—विष्णोः पू-विष्णुपुरम् 'the town of Viṣṇu.' So also अण्वुपरधूः  
अण्वुपरधूः ॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word पू is feminine.

(3) Ap :—As विमलाय सरः 'a lake with pure water.' For other compounds of अण्वुपरधूः see the following sūtras.

६४१ । अन्तरूपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ६७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तरूपसर्गस्य कृत्करणम् । अन्तरूपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् । द्विगता अपो यस्मिन्निति रूपम् । अन्तरूपम् । प्रतीपम् । समीपम् । समापं देवयजनमिति तु समा अपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम् । कृतसमासान्तरूपसर्गस्य ईत् । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्तान्ताश्च \* ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । वरापम् ॥

941. After द्वि, अन्तर् and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samāsanta अ, i. e. अप् + अ = अप् ॥ The nominative अप् has the force of the genitive here. That is अप् = अपस्य ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74. S. 940. By I. 1. 54. S. 44. ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् *vis* अ only. Thus द्वीपम् 'an island,' अन्तरूपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' i. e. 'adverse,' समीपम् ॥ 'near.'

Note :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods.'

The word समापं may be analysed as समा + अप्, i. e. समा प्रापो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply. It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजनं means the ground where Devas are worshipped "Holy land" "sacrificial ground."

As the word अप् is exhibited in the sūtra with the samāsanta अ; the ई substitution will not take place where the samāsanta अ is not added. Thus V. 4. 69 S. 954 prohibits samāsanta when 'honor' is indicated. Therefore ह्य + अप् = स्वप् ; Fern. स्वपी ॥

Vārtika :—Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle,' वरापम् or परेपम् 'an outlet of water'. The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप् ; here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means अ &c.

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies.

६४२ । ऊदनोदेशे । ६ । ३ । ६८ ॥

अनोः परत्वापस्य ऊत्स्योदेशे । अनुषो देशः ।

राजपुरा । अन्ते तु अक्षरः । दक्षरः । सखिपयः । स्वयम्यो देशः ॥

942. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for ( the अ of ) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देवः । 'a marshy place.'

*Note* :—But अनूपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊवः=अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु+उव=अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

The word पुर् also takes अ by V. 4. 74. S. 940. As:—राजपुत्र 'the king's load (of Government)'; but when relating to अश then अशपुः 'the yoke attached to the fore-part of the pole of a car'; दृष्टपुः 'a car with strong poles.'

The word पथिच् also takes, अ by V. 4. 74 S. 940. As:—सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देवः 'a place the road of which is pleasant.'

६४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्ववर्षात्सामलोच्चः । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामन्त्रेमान्तात्समास्तवच् स्यात् । प्रविशानम् । अदुशानम् । अवशानम् । प्रतिलेनम् । अदुनीनम् । अवज्ञानम् ॥

ऊष्णोदकपाण्डुलक्ष्याभ्यां वा भूमेरपिप्यते \* ॥ ऊष्णभूमः । उदभूमः । पाण्डुभूमः । द्विभूमः । प्रासादः ।

संक्षयाया नदीगोदावभ्यां च \* ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोदावरम् ॥

अजिति योगविभागाद्व्यवसाये । पञ्चनाभः ॥

943. The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them.

As प्रविशानम्, 'harshly' अदुशानम्, 'in a friendly way,' अवशानम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलेनम्, 'inversely' अदुनीनम् 'directly.'

*Ishti* :—The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words ऊष्ण, उदच्, पाण्डु, and also 'a numeral. Thus ऊष्णभूमः 'a place having the ground black,' उदभूमः 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूमः 'having white ground' द्विभूमः प्रासादः 'a palace of two floors.'

*Vartika* :—And also after the words गोदावरी and नदी when preceded by a numeral. As पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers, i. e. the Panjab,' सप्तगोदावरम्, the name of a country, (see II. 1. 20).

६४४ । अक्षणोद्दर्शनात् । ५ । ४ । ७६ ॥

अथ ह्यप्युक्तं तस्योऽपि स्यात्पुनरास्तान्तः । नवामर्त्यवि नवामर्त्यः ।

944. 'The affix *ach* comes after the word *akshi*, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole.'

The word गवक्ष is understood here. Thus गवक्षः 'a hole for the rays of light, i. e. a small window.' The word श्लो here means 'ray of light.' गवक्षः किरणः । Or a gavāksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows.

Note:—The word दृष्ट in the sūtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but 'is a synonym of 'eye.'

६४५ । अचतुरविधतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनडुहर्षतामवाङ्मनसाक्षिभुषदार-  
मवोर्यष्टावपदप्रीवनकंदिधरात्रिदिवाहर्विवसरजसनिश्चयसपुरुषायुषध्यायुष्यायुष्य-  
क्षुषजातोक्षमवोक्षप्रक्षोक्षपशुनगोष्टम्भाः । ५ । ४ । ७७ ॥

एते पञ्चावशिष्टिरङ्गता निपात्यन्ते । आध्यात्मनो बहुजीव्यः । अविद्यमानानि चत्वार्यस्य अक्षरः । विषयः । सूक्ष्मः ॥

इदुवाभ्यां अतुष्टोऽजिष्यति\* ॥ निचतराः । अतुष्टौ समीपे ते संन्ति ते दपचतुः ।

सत एकादश इन्द्राः । एपीशुभौ । येभ्यश्चक्षुः । कृत्स्नाये । वाङ्मनसे । आंशिणी यजुषौ यं भाशि  
भ्रमम् ।

हाराय गायत्र्य वास्यवम् ।

कुरु च धृष्टीवन्तो च कर्षणीवम् । निपातनाह्निलोपः ।

पदवृत्तिः । निपातनात्पादस्य पञ्चाशः ।

मत्स्यं च दिव्यं च मन्त्रान्वितम् ।

राशौ च दिवा च रात्रिर्दिवसः । रात्रेर्भास्वत्ये निपात्यते ।

अएनि य विषा य अहर्निवत् । क्षीप्तावां शृङ्गा निपात्यते अह्न्यहनीत्यर्थः ।

सुरजसमिति सावत्येऽप्यर्थाभासः । बहुव्रीहिं तु सुरजः पद्वजम् ।

निमिसे मय्यो निःश्रेयसस्य । हृत्पुरुष एव । मेह निःश्रेयान् पुरुषः ।

पुरुषस्यायः पुरुषायर्षम ।

सप्तो द्वियः । वृषाग्र्यम् । श्याग्र्यम् ।

सर्वो ह्यस्यः । नमस्तस्यै ।

सहस्रयः कर्मपारायः । जालोचः । महोक्तः । नृक्षीक्षः ।

इति समीपे दृश्यमानम् । द्रिलोपाभावात् सम्प्रसारणात् च निपात्यते ।

साधे स्था गौहम्यः ॥

945. The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach*:—*achatura*, *vichatura*, *suchatura*; *stri-puṇsau*, *dhenv-anaḍubau*, *rik-sāme*, *vān-manase*, *akshibhruvam*, *dāra-gavam*, *ūrvashṭhivam*, *padā-śhṭhivam*, *naktamdivam*, *rātrim-divam*, *ahar-divam*, *sara-jesam*, *nih-śreyasam*, *purushā-yusham*, *dvyā-yusham*, *tryā-yusham*, *rig-yajusham*, *jāto-kshaḥ*, *maho-kshaḥ*, *vridhdho-kshaḥ*, *upāsunam*, and *goshṭhaśvaḥ*.

The first three of these words are *Bahuvrīhi*: (1) *अचतुरः* = *अहर्दाम्नाविद्यमानानि वा अत्यारि यस्य* 'that whose four are absent or non-existent.' (2) *विचतुरः* = *विद्यमानानि अत्यारि यस्य* "whose four are gone." So also (3) *सुचतुरः* = *शौभाग्यानि अत्यारि यस्य* 'whose four are good.' Had these been *Tatpuruṣa*, the forms would have been *अचत्यारः*, *विचत्यारः* &c.

*Īshī*:—The affix *अच्* comes after *चतुर* when preceded by *वि* and *उप*. Thus *विचतुरः* and *उपचतुरः* "near the four."

The next eleven words are *Dvandva* compounds. They are clear. Thus (4) *स्त्री य पुमांस* = *स्त्रीपुंसौ* 'the man and woman'; (but not *हेतुः स्त्रिया पुमान् क्रिये नति पुमान् दूतः*) = *स्त्रीपुमान्* "a brave towards women only";

(5) *पितृव्य मगद्वौ* = *पितृमगद्वौ* "cow and bull."

(6) *रिक् स्याम य* = *रिक्सामौ* "the *Rik* and the *Saman*."

(7) *वाङ् मयस* = *वाङ्मनसौ* "the speech and mind."

(8) *मत्सिनीय भ्रुवौ य* = *मत्सिभ्रुवम्* "the eyes and the brows." The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II. 4. 2 S. 905).

(9) *सामस्य गवाम* = *सामगवम्* "the wives and cows." Here the final syllable (called *रि*) is elided.

(10) *ऊरु ५ शरीरयो* + *अच्* = *ऊरुशरीरम्* "Thighs and knees" ||

(11) So also *पादौ* + *शरीरयो* = *पद्* + *शरीर* + *अच्* = *पद्शरीरम्* "Feet and knees." ||

(12) *नक्तं य दिवा य* = *नक्तदिवा* 'by night and day.' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular.

(13) *रात्रि य दिवा य* = *रात्रिदिवा* "By night and day" ||

(14. The words *महर्* and *दिवा* both mean 'day'; the compound *महर्दिवा* is not, however, a *suppletive* compound of two synonyms. It is used here in a distributive sense = *महर्दिवा* "day by day."

(15) The word सरजसम् is an Avyayibhāva, meaning 'with the pollen' i. e. 'all,' as सरजसकव्यहिरत् ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrīhi: as सह+रजसा=सरजः पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word निः श्रेयसे=निश्चितं श्रेयः 'sure-(never failing) happiness,' and is a Tatpurusha: but not so in निः श्रेयान् पुरुषः ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha=पुरुषस्यायुः ॥ 'limit of a man's life.' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च चायुश्च=पुरुषायुदी ॥

The words (18) ज्ञायुषम् and (19) ज्ञायुषम् are Samāhāra Dvīga compounds. Therefore not here, इत्येवम्=ज्ञायुः, ज्ञायुः ॥

(20) The word कर्मयुषम् is a Dvandva. Therefore, not here कर्मयुषोन्मयुषम्=कर्मयुषश्च युषः (य कर्मोपलब्धिं यन्दते) ॥

The three words ending in वृक्ष are Karmadhāraya. (21) जातोवृक्षः "a young bull;" (22) महोवृक्षः "a big bull;" (23) वृद्धोवृक्षः "an old bull." Not so when these are Bahuvrīhi: as जातोवृक्षा ब्राह्मणः "Brahmanas possessing young bulls."

(24) The word वृषयुषम् is an Avyayibhāva=युषः समीपम् ॥ Here the non-ellipsis of the final syllable, and the change of व of वृष् into व (Samprasāraṇa) are irregular.

The word गौद्वेषः is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गौद्वेषा=गौद्वेष ॥ "a dog in a cowpen, a slanderer."

६४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्यसः । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

पद् स्यात् । ब्रह्मवर्षसम् । हस्तिवर्षसम् ॥

पदराजभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ पदवर्षसम् । राजवर्षसम् ॥

946. The affix ach comes after the word varchas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brabma or hasti.

Thus ब्रह्मवर्षसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्षसम् 'strength of an elephant.' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength.'

Vārt:—So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and rājan: as, पल्यवर्षसम्, राजवर्षसम् ॥ The word पल means 'meat;' पल्य 'meat-eater;' पल्यवर्षसम् "the strength of the meat-eater."

६४७ । अक्षसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । संतमसम् । अन्धयतीत्यन्धं पचायाच् । अन्धं तमः अन्धतमसम् ॥

947. The affix ach comes after the word *tamas*, when preceded by the words *ava*, *sam* and *andha*, in a compound.

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' सन्तमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight.'

The word अन्ध is derived from the *churādi* root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III. १. 134 S. 2896) ॥

९४८ । श्वसोवसीयश्रेयसः । ५ । ४ । ८० ॥

पशुश्रेयः प्रशस्तप्राची । नमः ईयसुनि वसायः । श्वसशब्द उत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसामासीद्विपयतामाह । श्वसुरभ्यस्तकादिप्रास्तमासः । श्वोवसीयसम् । श्वःश्वसे ते श्वान् ॥

948. The affix *ach* comes after the words *vasi*yas and *śreyas*, when they follow the word *śvas* in a compound.

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्वश्रेयसम् ॥ The word वसीयः is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," "rich," by adding the affix ईयसुन् (V. 3- 57 S. 2005). The word श्वः is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term. These compounds belong to the class of *Mayūravysakādi* (II. 1. 72 S. 754) Thus श्वः श्रेयसम् ते श्वान् = वसीयन् श्वसे ते श्वान् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्वः श्रेयसम् ॥

९४९ । अन्यघतमाद्रुतः । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अश्वरुतसम् । अवरुतसम् । तगरुतसम् ॥

949. The affix *ach* comes after the word *rabas*, when it follows *anu*, *ava*, and *tapta* in a compound.

Thus अनुरुतसम् 'secluded' अवरुतसम् 'a little secluded' तगरुतसम् 'a hot place of seclusion' i. e. which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter.

९५० । प्रतिरुतः सममीस्थान् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

प्राणि प्राणि पशुप्राणम् । विनयवर्धेन्द्रवर्धभाषः ॥

950. The affix *ach* comes after the word *uras*, when it follows the word *prati* in a compound, and it has the force of the locative.

Thus मत्सुरसह—वर्षति वर्चते 'against the heart.' This is an Avyayibhāva compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II. 1. 6 S. 652.)

*Note* :—Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe मत्सुरः = प्रतिगतसुरः ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते दीर्घत्वे । ऋतुगवं यानम् । यस्य चायान इति समासः ॥

951. The word *anugava* is irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach*, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows."

Thus ऋतुगवं यान "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen." This compound is formed by II. 1. 16 S. 670.

*Note* :—Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, यानं पचादू = ऋतुगु ॥

६५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अथप्रथमद्वितीयः समासश्च निपात्यते । आवती प्रकृतौ वेदिस्त्वतो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽध्वनेष्वपि द्वेदं निपातयन् । वेदिमिति किम् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

952. The words *dvistāvā* and *tristāvā* are irregularly formed, when qualifying a *vedi* or 'altar.'

The affix *चच्* is added and the final syllable (*i. e. दि*) is elided. Thus द्विस्तावा वेदिः "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one." त्रिस्तावा वेदि "thrice as big as an ordinary altar." Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* &c. The words are compounds of द्विः and त्रिः plus तावन् meaning "as much." Why do we say "when applied to an altar?" Observe द्विस्तावती रज्जुः, त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गादध्वनः । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वनं प्राप्यो रथः ॥

953. The affix *ach* comes after the word *adhvan*, preceded by an *upasarga* in a compound.

Thus प्रगतोऽध्वनं = प्राप्यो रथः, 'a chariot.'

*Note* :—Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga*?" Observe वरमाणा वरमाणा ॥



९५४ । न पूजनात् । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

पूजनार्थत्वेभ्यः समासान्ता न स्युः । सुपञ्ज । अतिरज्ज ॥

सतिभ्यामेव \* ॥ नेह । परमराजः ।

पूजनात्किम् । भावतिष्ठान्त्वोऽस्तिमयः । बहुवीक्ष्यै सक्थ्यक्षोरिस्थितः प्रागेवायं निषेधः । नेह । सुसम्पः । स्वसः ॥

954. The samāsānta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise.

The present rule prohibits the application of the samāsānta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise. Thus V. 4. 91 S. 788 ordains the affix सप् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, मह + राजन् = महा + राजन् + सप् = महाराजः, and not महाराज ॥ But सुपञ्ज 'a good king' अतिरज्ज, 'an excellent king.'

*Vart* :—The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general. Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराजः and परमसः ॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise' ? Observe अस्तिमयः 'a fool ;' literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly.' This prohibition applies up to सूत्रा V. 4. 113 S. 852 exclusive. Thus सुसम्पः 'having handsome thighs ;' स्वसः, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix सप्. (V. 4. 113 S. 852) is not prohibited.

९५५ । किमः क्षेपे । ५ । ४ । ७० ॥

क्षेपे यः किराप्तरतः परं यस्यदन्तास्समासान्ता न स्युः । कुरित्तो राजा 'किराजः' । किरसा । किरी । क्षेपे किम् । किराजः । किरासः । किमयः । किमयः ॥

955. The samāsānta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach.

Thus कि + राजन् = किराजन् as किराजो यो न रक्षति "He is no-king who does not protect." किरसा योऽभिदुष्यति, किरीर्था न यद्वति ॥ (V. 4. 91, S. 788 V. 4. 93, S. 729 11. 1. 64 S. 743). The compounding here takes place by Rule 11. 1. 64. S. 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach' ? Observe कस्य राजा = किराजः ; किरासः, किमयः ॥

९५६ । नमस्तत्पुरुषान् । ५ । ४ । ७१ ॥

नमस्तत्पुरुषान् ॥ नमस्तत्पुरुषान् । नमस्तत्पुरुषान् । नमस्तत्पुरुषान् ॥

956. The samāsānta affix does not come after a tatpuruṣa compound of words like rājan &c, herein taught, when the negative particle न precedes them.

Thus नराज 'a no-king, i. e. one who is not a king ;' असखा, 'one who not a friend ;' (V. 4. 91 S. 788 prohibited). Why do we say "after ■ Tatpuruṣa compound?" The same words preceded by the negative particle न take the samāsānta affix when forming compounds, other than Tatpuruṣa, as नधुरं यकदम् 'a car having no yoke.'

६५७ । पथो विभाषा । ५ । ४ । ७२ ॥

मरुदूर्वालयो वा समासान्तः । अपयम् । अपन्थाः । सयुक्तादित्येव । अपयो देवाः । अपयं  
सि ॥

957. The samāsānta affix does not optionally come after a Tatpuruṣa compound of the word पयिन् with  
सि ॥

This declares an option, where under the last sūtra the omission could have been necessary. Thus अपयम्, or अपन्थाः 'absence of road' (see V. 4. 74 S. 940 and II. 4. 30 S. 815). But अपयोदेवः 'having unsafe roads.' Here it is Tatpuruṣa.

Here ends the Samāsānta.

## अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXIV.

#### ON NON-ELISION OF CASE-AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS.

६५८ । अलुगुत्तरपदे । ६ । ३ । १ ॥

अलुगुधिकारः प्राधान्यः उत्तरपदधिकारस्त्वापावसमासः ॥

958. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 S. 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase, "the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound."

*Note:—*The words अलुक् 'there is no elision,' and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words jointly govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, S. 982; while उत्तरपदे singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1. S. 200). This sūtra VI. 3. 2 S. 959 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c." The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c., are not elided before the second member of the compound." Thus स्तोकाङ्गं दन्तः = स्तोकाङ्गमुक्तं. अङ्गान्मुक्तं ॥ Why do we say "before the second member" ? Observe निष्कान्तः स्तोकाङ्गं = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

६५९ । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २ ॥

पञ्चम्याः अलुक् स्वादुत्तरपदे । स्तोकाङ्गमुक्तः । एवमित्यर्थार्थकृत्तुम् ॥

उत्तरपदे विम् । निष्कान्तः स्तोकादिस्तोकः ॥

प्राधान्यादप्यस्य उत्तरपदावयवः ॥ तादृशे विहितानि श्रव्यानि उपपात्तं प्राधान्यानि ; साधे शेषतीति प्रक्रियादृष्टौ स्त्रीरिति शेषः । द्वितीयार्थे पञ्चम्युपसंख्यानविव ॥

959. 'The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c. is not elided before the second member of a compound

Thus स्तोकाङ्गमुक्तः, अङ्गान्मुक्तः, अङ्गित्याद्यङ्गः ; अङ्गाद्याद्यङ्गः, इत्याद्यङ्गः, विमलुटा-  
द्याङ्गः, इत्याद्याङ्गः ॥

*Note:—*By I. 2. 46. S. 172, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called pratipadika, and by II. 4. 71 S. 650 the endings of a Pratipadika

are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकाद् युक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक् &c., in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां युक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः युक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have one accent, for in one word, there is only one acute. Thus while स्तोकाद्युक्तः being one compound word will have one acute (VI. 1. 158, III. 3650 VI. III. 144 S. 3878), the word स्तोकाभ्यां युक्तः being treated as two words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39 S. 701.

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्कालः स्तोकाद्=निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here.

*Vart*:—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणे विद्विहानि शास्त्राणि=ब्राह्मणानि ; सादि वाचसि=ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a-kind of Ritvic priest."

*Vart*:—अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् 'done correctly.'

*Vart*:—The compounds पुंसाजुः and अजुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनाजुः=पुंसाजुः 'having an elder brother' अजुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः=अजुषान्धः 'blind from birth'. The word अजु is another name of अन्मन् 'birth.'

६६१ । मनसः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसायुता ॥

961. After मनस् when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसायुता ॥

*Notes*:—Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe मनोवृत्तः, मनोयुता ॥

६६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनसः इत्येव । मनसा आज्ञातु शील्यस्य मनसाज्ञादी ॥

962. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन्=मनसाऽऽज्ञायितु शील्यस्य ॥ 'One knowing by mind.'

६६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनःकृत्याया अतुल्य स्थान् ॥

पूरण इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ पूरणवर्धयान्ति अक्षरपदे इत्यर्थः । आत्मनःपञ्चनः । अनादौगस्त्वानप्यतुये ऐवेति षट्श्रीहिर्वाच्यः ।

पूरये विप । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided.

*Vartika*:—"When an Ordinal Numeral follows" should be added

Thus आत्मनःपञ्चनः, 'himself and four others.'

*Notes*:—The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vartika तुमिवादिषो षट्पदविःप्राप्तद्वयम् (11. 3. 16 Vart S 561) And the compounding takes place by 11. 1. 1. 5 § 1-2 by separating इति from that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra as in 11. 3. 1. 5 § 1—आत्मनः कृतः पञ्चनः=आत्मनःपञ्चनः ॥

How do you explain the form **आत्मचतुर्थ** in **अनाईचस्वात्मचतुर्थ एव** ? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = **आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य** ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows'? Observe **आत्मकृतम्**.

६६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

**आत्मन्** इत्येव । **आत्मनेपदम्** । **आत्मनेभाषा** । तादृशे चतुर्थेया । चतुर्थीति योगविभागात्समासः ॥

964. The Dative case-ending is not elided after **आत्मन्**, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus **आत्मनेपदम्**, **आत्मनेभाषा** ॥ The compounding takes place by the *yoga-bibhāga* of *sūtra* II. 1. 36, S. 698 and the force of the Dative is here that of *tadartha*. If we do not read the *anuvṛtti* of **आत्मन्**, we can then dispense with the subsequent *sūtra*, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar."

६६५ । परस्म्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

**परस्मैपदम्** । **परस्मैभाषा** ॥

965. The Dative ending is not elided after **एव**, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus **परस्मैपदम्** "The *Parasmaipada*." &c.

९६६ । ह्रस्वदन्तात्सप्तम्याः सप्तम्याम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

**ह्रस्वदन्तादन्ताच्च सप्तम्या अलुक् सप्तम्याम्** । **स्थितारः** ॥

966. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short **अ**, when the compound is a Name.

Thus **स्थितारः** :

९६७ । गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

**आर्था स्थिरस्य सस्य चः इत्यान्** । **गविष्ठिरः** । **अथ गव्योवि वपनविषादकः** । **युधिष्ठिरः** । **गणद स्थिरः** । **अथ सहायार्थानि सप्तमीसमासः** ॥

**ह्रस्वदन्ताच्च** " ॥ **ह्रस्वदन्तः** । **ह्रस्वदन्तः** ॥

967. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to स् after the words नवि and युधि ॥

Thus नविस्थिर, 'firm in the sky.'

Though नो does not end in a consonant and so VI. 3. 9. S. 966 does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule. So also अ ending words: as युधिस्थिरः and अरण्ये वसतः ॥ The compound-ing takes place by II. 1. 44 S. 721 and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9 S. 966.

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ" ? Observe मया कुक्कुटिका = मयीकुक्कुटिका. मृषां पापः = मृषिपापः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe मत्तुषीष्टः ॥

Vart:—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and तदि; as हृदिस्त्वं, तदिस्त्वं = हृदये तदिं च स्तूयति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative.

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII. 3. III S. 2123.

६१८ । कारनामि च प्राचां हलादी । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचां ऐवै प्रत्यक्षानाम तत्र इनाशुनरपे हस्तन्नाश्वमन्वा वायुश्च । वृद्धिकादपि नम् । हवि मादकः । एतेन तिष्ठे नियमार्थम् । कारनाम्येव प्राचामिव हस्तानवेवेति । कारनामि किम् । अन्वाहितवस्तुः । कारान्यथैतदेवम् नाम । प्राचां किम् । दूयवस्तुः । हलादी किम् । अतिकदीरणः । हस्तान्नाश्वमन्वा । मयां रोहः मरीचिहः ॥

968. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus वृद्धे कार्वाणम्, रपिषावकः ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax ? Observe अन्वाहितवस्तुः = अन्वाहितवस्तुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people" ? Observe दूयवस्तुः = दूयवस्तुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant' ? Observe

अविकटे उरणः = अविकटोरणः The word उरण means 'sheep.' A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = मेघसंधात) ॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ' ? Observe नधां शीहः = नदीशीहः ॥

६६६ । मध्यादगुरौ । ॥ ३ । ११ ॥

मध्येगुरः ॥ अन्ताद्य\* ॥ अन्तेगुरः ॥

969. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुर follows.

As मध्येगुरः 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle.'

*Vart* :—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरः ॥

६७० । अमूर्धमस्तकास्वाङ्गान्कामे । ६ । ३ । १२ ॥

कण्ठेकालः । दरसिलोना । अमूर्धमस्तकास्तिका । मूर्धेशिखः । मस्तकशिखः । अकामे किम् । दुषे कानोऽस्य ह्रस्वान्तः ॥

970. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कानोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः दरसिलोना ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक' ? Observe मूर्धेशिखः, मस्तकशिखः ॥ Why do we say 'other than काम' ? Observe :—दुषे कानोऽस्य = ह्रस्वान्तः ॥

*Note* :—When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अन्तशीर्षः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अङ्गुलिवाणः, अङ्गुलिवाणिः ॥

६७१ । दन्धे च विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १३ ॥

हलन्तास्तन्म्या गल्लुक् । हस्तबन्धः । हस्तबन्धः । हलन्तेति किम् । एतियन्धः ॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before दन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः ॥

*Note* :—This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrīhi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19 S. 977 when the compound is a Tatpuruṣa, whether the first be एतन् or not. The word दन्धः is a घञ् formed word.



Why do we 'say the first member ending in a consonant or vowel ज' ?  
Observe सुनिदम्भः ॥

६७२ । तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १४ ॥

रत्नमेरुः । कर्षेजः । कविज । कुम्भरः ॥

972. In a Tatpuruṣa compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As रत्नमेरुः 'an elephant.' कर्षेजः "a secret traducer." But also कुम्भरः ॥

९७३ । प्राबृद्धशरत्कालादिर्वा जे । ६ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाद्रपदः । शरदिजः । कालजः । शिविजः । पूर्वस्वाद्ये पञ्चमः ॥

973. The Locative ending is retained after प्राबृद्ध, शरत्, काल and दिव्, when ज follows.

Thus प्राबृद्धजः "produced in the rainy season; a storm." शरदिजः, "autumnal," कालजः, "produced in proper time"; "Heaven-born." This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

६७४ । विभावा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् । ६ । ३ । १६ ॥

एषा लाम्बा अमुक् जे । वर्षेजः । वर्षजः । क्षरेजः । क्षजः । क्षरेजः । क्षरजः । वरेजः । वरजः ।

974. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्षै, क्षर, शर, and वर, when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षज, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः "produced by distillation or from a cloud," वरेजः or वरजः, "Kārtikeya." वरेजः or वरजः 'blessing-born'.

९७५ । धकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । १७ ॥

समया विष्णुवाञ्छुक स्थान् । ये पूर्वार्द्धनरे । पूर्वार्द्धनरे । पूर्वार्द्धनरे । पूर्वार्द्धनरे । काले । पूर्वार्द्धनाम्ने । पूर्वार्द्धनाम्ने । पूर्वार्द्धनाम्ने । पूर्वार्द्धनाम्ने ॥

975. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time, ending in a consonant or अ, when तर्प् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन् follows.

The affixes तर्प् and तमप् are called च (I. 1. 22). Thus च पूर्वार्द्धनरे or पूर्वार्द्ध-

ज्ञेते, पूर्वाज्ञेते 'or पूर्वाज्ञते ॥ कालः—पूर्वाज्ञेकाले or पूर्वाज्ञकाले ॥ वनः—पूर्वाज्ञेते or 'पूर्वाज्ञ-  
ते ॥

*Note:*—Why do we say 'after a time-name' ? Observe शुक्रतेरे, शुक्रतेने ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in एवितरायाम् ॥ The word काल means the word-form काल and not time-denoting words in general. The affix वन is taught in IV. 3. 23. §. 1391.

६७६ । शयवासवासिष्यकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

लेशयः । लशयः । शयेशयः । शयवासः । शयेशयी ॥ शयवास्यी ॥ ह्यन्तादिभ्यश्च ।  
भुनिशयः ॥

अपो योनिद्वन्द्वत्तु ॥ अण्डु योनिद्वन्द्वत्तुर्लक्ष सोऽण्डुयोनिः । अण्डु भवोऽण्डुश्च । अण्डुनन्ता-  
वाच्यभाषी ॥

976. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन्, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus लेशयः, or लशयः, शयेशयः or शयवासः, शयेशयी or शयवास्यी ॥ After a time-name we have पूर्वाज्ञयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भुनिशयः ॥

*Var:*—The Locative case-affix is retained after अण् when योनि, or the affix वन् or मण्व् follows. Thus अण्डुयोनिः, अण्डुश्च, अण्डुनन्ता ॥ The affix वन् is added by treating अण् as belonging to the शिवादि class (अण्डु भवः, IV. 3. 54 S. 1429). Some give अण्डुनः and अण्डुचरः as additional illustrations. The two mantras अन्तरे सपिष्टव (Rig VIII. 43. 9) and अण्डु मे सोमो अन्नवीम् (Rig I. 23. 20, X. 9. 6) are called अण्डुमन्दौ verses: the oblations offered with these are also so called.

६७७ । नेन्सिद्धवन्धातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इन्तादिषु सप्तम्या अतुम । स्पष्टिलवायी । साध्नाभ्यसिद्धः । अकवन्धः ॥

977. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from वन्ध् ॥

Thus स्पष्टिलवाचिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare sthāṇḍila or sacrificial ground." । इन्ताभ्यसिद्धः, अकवन्धः ॥

*Note :—*The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 40 S. 717. Some use the word चक्रवन्तः as an illustration under this rule : वन्त then is derived by वच् of III. 1. 134 S. 2896. The वन्त ending in वच् is governed by VI. 3. 18 S. 971. This sūtra is an exception to Tatparasha VI. 3. 14 S. 972. In the Bahuvrīhi, option of S. 971 takes place.

The prohibition of this sūtra applies to Tatparasha compounds only.

६७८ । एवे च आपायाम् । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

सप्तम्या षष्ठम् । सप्तम्यः । आपायाम् किय । कृष्णोऽस्वाखरेष्टः ॥

978. The Locative ending is not preserved before ॥ in the spoken language.

Thus सप्तम्यः ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe आखरेष्टः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोऽस्वाखरेष्टः ॥ ख is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106 S. 3643.

६७९ । पशुव्या आक्रोशे । ६ । ३ । २१ ॥

चौरस्य कृतम् । आक्रोशे किय । आक्रान्तुलम् ॥

पाणिपदपदयोः युक्तिरन्तरेष्टः \* ॥ पाचोयुक्तिः । विशाखः । पशवोहरः ॥

आहुव्यापनःऽऽहुव्यापिकाऽऽहुव्यापिकिन्ति च \* ॥ अहुव्यापनं आहुव्यापनः । नडादित्वात्कः । अहुव्यापनस्य भावः आहुव्यापिका । ननाज्ञादित्वात्कः । एवमाहुव्यापिका ॥

देवानामिय इति च मूर्खे \* ॥ अन्वय देवमियः ॥

वोपुच्छनाहर्गुण्डु ह्यनः \* ॥ ह्यनःवोपः । ह्यनःपुच्छः । ह्यनोनाहर्गुण्डः ॥

दिवश्च सति \* ॥ दिवासातः ॥

979. The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult.'

Thus चौरस्यकृतम् ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"? Observe आक्रान्तुलम् ॥

*Vart :—*The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्तिः after हिच् before षष्ठः, and after षष्ठम् before हच् ॥ As, पाचोयुक्तिः, विशाखः, पशवोहरः ॥ पशवन्तमनारब्ध इति "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith." The compounding is by II. 3. 38. S. 635.

*Vart :—*The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आहुव्यापनः, आहुव्यापिका and आहुव्यापिकिन्ति ॥ अहुव्यापि is the Genitive-Singular of the Pronoun अहम्, and is enumerated in the षष्ठादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes कच् in forming the Patronymic, आहुव्यापन-आहुव्यापनः, अहुव्यापन-आहुव्यापिका formed by वच् (V. 1. 133 S. 1798). So also आहुव्यापिकिन्ति ॥

*Vart* :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानां प्रियः

*Note* :—The author of Siddhānta Kaumudī says “when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devānām-priya” There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāṣya or the Kāśikā. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant ‘a fool.’ The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite. The Tattvabodhinī justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit. Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas.

*Vart* :—The Genitive affix is not elided after मन् when शिव, दुष्ट and लाल follow it :—ह्वनः शेषः, ह्वनः दुष्टः, ह्वनोर्लालः ॥ These are names of three Rishis.

*Vart* :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिग् when दास follows :  
as दिग्दासः ॥

६८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

पुत्र्याः पुत्रे परेऽहम्बा निम्बाकम् । दास्याः पुत्रः । दासपुत्रः । निम्बायां किम् । ब्रह्मणी पुत्रः ॥

980. The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows.

Thus दास्यः पुत्रः or दासपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say ‘when insult is meant’? Observe ब्रह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

६८१ । श्रुतो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासंबन्ध्यामिसंबन्धवाचिनः कृदन्तात्पुत्र्या अलुक् । श्रोतृन्तेवासि । श्रोतृपुत्रः । पितृन्तेवासि । पितृपुत्रः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धस्तत्पूजाक्षरपदग्रहणम् \* ॥ नेह । श्रोतृपत्नम् ॥

981. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in कृ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus श्रोतृन्तेवासिन्, श्रोतृः पुत्रः, पितृन्तेवासिन् or पितृः पुत्रः ॥

*Vartika* :—The relationship through ‘study’ or ‘blood’ should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore the rule does not apply to श्रोतृपत्नम्, श्रितृपत्नम्. श्रोतृ मुहन् पितृगणम् ॥

६८२ । विभाषा स्वसूपत्योः । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

कृदन्तात्पुत्र्या अलुक् वा स्वसूपत्योः परलोः ॥

982. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in **न्तु**, when **स्वस्** and **पति** follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note :—Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा, or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितृष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स् is invariably changed to प by VIII. 3. 81; S. 982, and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85 S. 983.) So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दु पतिः or ननान्दुपतिः ॥

६८३ । मातुःपितृभ्यामप्यस्वरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्वसुः सस्य षो वा स्यात्समासे । मातृष्वसा । मातृस्वसा । पितृष्वसा । पितृस्वसा ।  
दुहितृषु ॥

983. The स् of स्वस् is optionally changed to प्, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातृष्वसा; पितुःस्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ The words मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24 S. 280 ). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a र्, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्ये is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वस, when the words are used separately in a sentence.

But when the genitive case-affix is elided, then the following sūtra applies.

६८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८४ ॥

आभ्यां परस्व स्वसुः सस्य षो वा स्यात्समासे । मातृष्वसा । पितृष्वसा । असमासे ॥ मातुःस्वसा । पितुः स्वसा ॥

984. The स् of स्वस् is changed to प् after मातृ and पितृ in a compound where the case-affix is elided.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातुः स्वसा and पितुः स्वसा. That is there is not even the optional प् of sūtra VIII. 3. 85 S. 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence.

Thus we have three cases :—

- (1) असमासे समासे as, मातुः स्वसा or मातुः ष्वसा "mother's-sister."
- (2) Ordinary समासे, as, मातृष्वसा "mother's-sister."
- (3) No समासा, as मातुः स्वसा "mother's sister."

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samāsa

## अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXV.

#### SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS.

६८५ । धरूपकदपचेलङ्गुवगोत्रमतहतेषु अथोन्तकाचो ह्रस्वः । इ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितदुस्काचो ङी तदन्तस्थनिष्काचो ह्रस्वः स्यात् धरूपकपथ्यव्ययेषु परेषु चेलङादिषु चोत्तर-  
पदेषु । ब्राह्मणितर । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणिरूपा । ब्राह्मणिकल्पा । ब्राह्मणिचेली । ब्राह्मणिबुवा । ब्राह्म-  
णिगोत्रेत्यादि । ब्रूमः पचायाचि इत्यदिवाच्युल्लेखेनागोत्रिकात्यन्ते । चेलङाङीने इतिविषये कुत्सनवा-  
पीनि ॥ तैः कुत्सितानि कुत्सनेति च नासः । इव किम् । इच्छातर । भाषितदुस्काचित् । आमलकीतय  
कुवलीतर ॥

985. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कदथ, and before the words चेल (with the feminine in ई), वुव, गौत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus प—ब्राह्मणितर, ब्राह्मणितरा # ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणि-  
बुवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणमत and ब्राह्मणहत ॥ व, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलङ् &c.  
are words as second members; वुवः is formed by वच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896)  
added to वृ, गुप्ता and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously. The  
words चेल &c. denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person. The  
compounding in the case of these takes place by II. 1. 53 S. 732.

Why do we say "ending in ई (ङी)"? Observe इच्छातर, पुत्रातर ॥ Why do  
we say "consisting of more than one syllable"? Because words of one syllable  
*optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say "having a  
corresponding masculine"? Observe आमलकीतर; कुवलीतर, where आमलकी and  
कुवली denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent mascu-  
line forms.

*Note* :—The affixes त्रप् and तमप् are called प (I. 1. 22. S. 2003) They  
denote superlative comparative degrees. रूपप् is added in denoting praise (V. 3. 66  
S. 2021). चेल is derived from चिल वच्ने 'to dress.' It means 'garment.' At the  
end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile. The word is read in पचादि class as  
चेलङ् (III. 1. 134. S. 2896) The इ indicates that the Feminine is with ङी (IV. 1.  
15, S. 470).

In ब्राह्मणितर there is not masculation as required by VI. 3. 35 S. 836  
because of the prohibition of VI. 3. 41 S. 842.



988. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यद् and अण and before लृप्त ॥

Thus हृदये लिखति = हृदयेऽऽ, हृदयस्य पिये = हृदयम्, हृदयस्येद् = हृदयम्, हृदयस्य नासो = हृदयः ॥ The word लेख here is derived by लृप् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by लृप् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim "उत्तरपदश-  
विकारे प्रत्ययपक्षे न सन्तप्रत्ययम्" ॥

*Peribhasha* :—"An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-  
उत्तरपदे is valid, i. e. in a rule of VI. 3. 1. S. 958 does not denote a word-  
form ending with the affix."

*Note* :—As a general maxim, an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययपक्षे यस्यान् स विहित स्तत्रोत्तरपदे सन्तप्रत्ययम्) ॥ Thus the word य्, यद् &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य्, affix &c. But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the above maxim: उत्तरपदशविकारे प्रत्ययपक्षे न सन्त प्रत्ययम् ॥ On the contrary, the affix denotes its own-form. Thus हर लृप् and लृप् in VI. 3. 17. S. 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख; and the affixes यद्, लृप्, and लृप् follow". If the affix लृप् here meant the word-form ending in लृप् then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the लृप् affix. See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 S. 1391 for the affix लृप् ॥

६८६ । वा शोकश्चरोगेषु । ६ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृद्योक्तः । हृदयशोकः । शोकार्थम् । शोदस्यम् । हृद्योक्तः । हृदयशोके । हृदयशोकार्थो हृद्योक्तो-  
पपक्षः । लेख, लिख् प्रत्ययार्थनिर्दिष्टम् ॥

989. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix चङ् follows.

Thus हृद्योक्तः or हृदयशोकः, शोकार्थम् or शोदस्यम् ॥ Here चङ् is added, as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. S. 1788. When हृद् is substituted there is Vpddhi of both the members हृ and दृ by VII. 3. 19 S. 1133. So also हृद्योक्तः or हृदयशोके ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृन् which is a full word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.



६६० । पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एतन्तरपदेषु पादस्य पद इत्यवन्त आदेशः स्यात् । पादाभ्यामञ्जलिः पञ्जलिः । पञ्जलिः । अञ्ज-  
लिभ्यां पादे चेत्येण् पठ्यते । अञ्जलिभ्यां निपातान् । पदम् । पदोपहतः ॥

990. पद (Pāda) is substituted for पाद (pāda) before अञ्जि, अञ्जि, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पञ्जलिः = पादाभ्यामञ्जलिः ; पञ्जलिः = पादाभ्यामञ्जलिः ॥ अञ्जि and अञ्जि are formed by इण् from अञ्ज and अञ्ज (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अञ्ज is not changed to अञ्ज though required by II. 4. 56 S. 2292 before this affix. So also पदम् = पदोभ्यां मच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पदोभ्यामपहतः ॥

Note :—The substitute is पद pāda, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad' ; for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पदगः ॥ Moreover in the next sūtra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ ; so the पद् of this is with final अ ॥ The word पद् has no case-affix as a sūtra anomaly.

६६१ । पद्यत्यतर्धे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पद्यत्यतर्धे यति परेन पादे विधायति पद्यः शर्कितः । अतर्धे किम् । पादार्थपदकं पाद्यम् । पादार्थभ्यां योति यत् ॥

इके पद्यतादुपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ पादार्थं पद्यति पद्यिकः । पद्योक्तिस्तु द्वम् ॥

991. पद् is substituted for पाद् before the affix पद्य, used in any sense other than that of "suited there to."

Thus पद्योक्तिः = पद्यः शर्कितः ॥ Why do we say 'when पद् is used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"?' Observe पाद्यम् = पादार्थपदकं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 S. 1635 and V. 4. 25 S. 2093).

Var :—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद् ; अर्धपादार्थं पद्यति = पद्यिकः (IV. 4. 10 S. 1558.) by इक् affix.

Note :—The word पाद् in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यद् of V. 1. 84, S. 1599 as द्विपाद्यम्, विपाद्यम् because पाद् here denotes 'a measure'.

९९२ । द्विपाद्यविहतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

विहतिम् । पञ्जलिः । पञ्जलिः ॥

992 पद् is substituted<sup>1</sup> for पाद् before द्वि, कापि and द्वि ॥

Thus पद्मिन्, (= पादस्य धीर्त्वं) पत्कापिन् (= पादधात्विः) (with शिनि of III. 2. 78. S. 2988) as in अथ पत्कापिणी यान्ति, and पद्मतिः (पद्मार्था हन्यते) ॥ इति is formed with क्तिन् (कर्गणि क्तिन्) ॥

६६३ । प्रचः शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

प्रचः पादस्य पल्लवाच्छे परे । गायत्री पच्छः ससति । पार्श्वसमित्यर्थः । प्रचः किम् । पादस्य कार्पापणं ददाति ॥

993. पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix झस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn ( Rik ).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री संसति = पार्श्वं पार्श्वं संसति, the affix झस् being added by V. 4. 43. S. 2110. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादस्य कार्पापणं ददाति ॥

६६४ । वा घोषमिधराभ्येष्टु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पद् । पदपोषः । पदपोषः । पदमिधः । पच्छब्दः । पदराष्ट्रः ॥  
विष्के येति पाच्यम् \* ॥ पदमिधः । पदमिधः ॥

994. This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिध and शब्द ॥

Thus पदपोषः or पादपोषः, पदमिधः or पदमिधः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

*Var.*—So also before विष्कः as पदमिधः or पादमिधः ॥

६६५ । उदफस्वेयादः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदमयेः ॥

उदमपदस्य चोते वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ जीयेकः ॥

995. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha'.

*Note* :—The well-known Patronymic from this is धीर्मेघिः ॥ Why do we say when it is a Name? Observe उदकमितिः ॥

*Var.*—उद is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name : as, जीयेकः ॥

६६६ । वेधवास्तवाहनविष्टु च । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदमेघमिति । उदवाहनः । उदविष्टः । उदमेघं तु पूर्वैकं सिद्धम् ॥

996, उद् is substituted for उद्क before ऐवं, वास्, वाहन .  
and चि ॥

Thus उद्ऐवं विनोद formed by शप् by III. 4. 38. S. 3359. उद्वास् = उद्कम्बवास्, so also उद्वाहनः ॥ उद्को धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उद्धिः 'a water jar'. The affix is क्ति (III. 3. 93 S. 3271). When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उद्धि will be evolved by the preceding sūtra, for then it is a sanjñā or name.

६६७ । एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३५ । ५९ ॥

उक्कुम्भः । उद्ककुम्भः । एकेति किम् । उक्कस्यास्मि । पूरयितव्येति किम् । उद्कपर्वतः ॥

997 उद् is optionally substituted for उद्क before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उद्कुम्भः, or उक्ककुम्भः, उद्पावद् or उक्कपावद् ॥ Why do we say 'एकहलादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'? Because the rule does not apply to उक्कस्यास्मि as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant. Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'? Observe उद्कपर्वत ॥

६६८ । मन्थोदनसक्तुविन्दुचञ्जभारहारबीधघाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उदन्यः । उद्कन्यः । उदोदनः । उद्कोदनः ॥

998. उद् is optionally substituted for उद्क, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, चञ्ज, भार, हार, बीधघ, and गाह ॥

Thus उद्कोन मन्य = उदन्य or उद्कन्यः । उद्कोदीन, उदीदनः or उक्कोदनः । सक्तु । उद्कोन सक्तुः, उक्काक्तु or उक्कसक्तुः । विन्दु । उद्कोन विन्दुः, उक्कविन्दुः or उद्कविन्दुः । चञ्ज । उद्कोन चञ्जः उद्कचञ्जः ॥ उद्कचञ्जः । नार । उद्को विमर्षति उद्भारः । or उद्कनारः । हार उद्को हरतीति, उद्धारः or उक्कहार । बीधघ । उद्कोन बीधघ, उद्बीधघः or उक्कबीधघः । गाह । उद्को गाहत इति, उद्गाहः or उक्कगाह ॥

६६९ । इप्पो ह्रस्वोऽङ्गो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगलस्याङ्गुलस्य इत्थो वा इत्याहुत्तरपदे । यामणिपुत्रः । यामणीपुत्रः । इकः किम् । रमावाते । घटप इति किम् । बीतीपतिः । गालवमहण पूजार्थम् । अन्तरस्यामित्यनुवृत्तेः ॥

इयदुपसर्गभविनामकवयानां च नेति बाध्यम् \* ॥ श्रीमन्तः । श्रुमन्तः । श्रुम्मीनादः ॥

अभ्रकुसादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ भ्रुकुसः । भ्रुकुटिः । भ्रुकुसः । भ्रुकुटिः । जकारोऽनेन प्रयोगत इति व्याख्यातम् ॥ भ्रुकुसः । भ्रुकुटिः ॥ कुषा कुंघो आपण घोषा वा यस्य सः स्त्रीपदपाठो मर्तकः । भ्रुक्, कुटिः कीटिन्याम् ॥

999. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels ( ई, ऊ, ऋ ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई ( डी )

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई ( डी ) and for ऊ, a short and ऋ are substituted in a compound, before the second member. Thus चागणितुक् or चागणीतुक्, अल्लचन्पुत्रः or अल्लचन्पूत्रः ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe स्मयति ॥ ' Why do we say ' not the long ई of the Feminine affix डी? Observe मीरीयति ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned puṣārtha; for the anuvritti of ' optionally ' was present in this sūtra.

*Paṭi* :—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इक् or ऋक् augment in their declension, as मयिद् ॥ भुक्त्तुः ॥ सुलीलायः ॥

*Part* :—It does however apply to कुञ्ज &c, as भुक्त्तुः, or भुक्त्तुः, भुक्त्तिः or भुक्त्तिः ॥ Others say क is substituted for भू &c. as भुक्त्तुः and भुक्त्तिः ॥ भुक्त्तुः means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye-brows, or whose ornament (kunsā) are the eye-brows." A male actor who plays the part of a female. भुक्त्तिः means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown.'

१००० । एक सक्षिते च । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकपदस्य द्वयः स्वात्मनिते वसत्ये च । एकस्या आगतं एककप्यम् । एकसीरम् ॥

1000. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्य आगतं = एककप्यम् ॥ So also एकस्याः सीरं = एकसीरम् ॥

*Note* :—The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (युक्त्वत्) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3 §5. S. 830 i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Uhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word.

१००१ । ख्यायोः संज्ञात्वस्योर्विभुलम् । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

रेवतिपुत्रः । गच्छसीरम् ॥

1001. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ ( डी and आप् ) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As ऐतिषुः ॥ Sometimes not, as नानीकरः । नान्दीपोषः । नान्दीविशालः ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमास्त्रिष, प्रदर्विषा ; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as कास्तुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥

आप् ending words in Name: अजसीरम्; शिलपस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, सोमकाश्वम्, सोमकाश्वम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजसीरेण क्षुधेति, ऊर्णवरा वृषिर्वा विश्वधायकम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णवरेण कवयो वयमि ॥

१००२ । स्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

स्वात्मने उपपदोर्वा ह्रस्वः । अजवम् । अजालम् । ऐतिषित्वम् । ऐतिषीत्वम् ॥

1002. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix स्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजात्वे or अजालम्, ऐतिषित्वम् or ऐतिषीत्वम् ॥

Note:—These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in ह्रस्व ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कौतुभगम् + पुषः ॥ In compounding these, two words, the following rule applies.

१००३ । प्यङ्गुः संप्रसारणं पुषपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

प्यङ्गनाय पृथक्स्व संप्रसारणं स्तत्पुरुषपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix प्यङ् ( IV. 1. 78 ) when followed in a Tatpuruṣa compound, by the words पुष and पति ॥

Therefore कौतुभगम् + पुष = कौतुभगपि + पुषः ॥ Then applies the next sūtra, by which ण is lengthened.

Note:—When the words पुष and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpuruṣa compound, there is sampaśāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix प्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into ण ॥ Thus कौतुभगपि गन्धोदयः = कौतुभगपि (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the sampaśāraṇa affix or rather substitute ण by V. 4. 127 S. 855) कौतुभगप्यङ्गम् = कौतुभगपि + अङ्ग ( IV. 1. 92 S. 1048 ) = कौतुभगम् ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding प्यङ् ( IV. 1. 78 S. 1198 ) Thus we have कौतुभगप्यङ्ग (see IV. 1. 78 S. 1198). Now in forming the Tatpuruṣa

compound of this word with पुच or पति, the final य् will be changed into इ and we have कारिषगन्धीपुचः, कारिषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The य् of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108 S. 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139 S. 1004). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुचः or कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix स्वप्" ? Observe कृष्यापुचः; क्षयीदापुचः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुच or पति" ? Observe कारिषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpuruṣa compound" ? Observe कारिषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य घातस्य = कारिषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य घातः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix स्वप् is here the feminine affix व् followed by वाप् (भा) (see IV. I. 77 and 74).

१००४ । संप्रसारणस्य । इ । ३ । १३०. ॥

संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घः स्वप्स्यते । कौमुदगन्ध्यायाः पुचः कौमुदगन्धीपुचः । स्वप्स्तिपतविनापया इत्यो न । छीमत्तये चापुचसर्जनेनेति तदादिनिवन्मतिरेयात् । परमकारिषगन्धीपुचः । वरसर्जने तु महादिनि-  
यमसिद्धः । अतिकारिषगन्ध्यापुचः ॥

1004. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कौमुदगन्धीपुचः ; कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13 S. 1003.

करीषस्येवं गन्धीऽस्य = करिषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137 S. 875 and 876). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61 S. 999 does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परम्, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139 S. 1004 and the rule VI. 3. 61 S. 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुचः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञाप्य "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim 'will prevent the revival', सङ्गता विप्रतिषेधेयाविप्रतिषेधेयौ तदापिनेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रसङ्गपरष्टे यस्यात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तद्वन्मय महण्य" ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate: स्त्रीमस्ये प्यादुत्तर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

१००५ । बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

बन्धुगर्हं वसत्पदे प्यत्रः संप्रसारणं स्वाहहृदीहौ । कारीषगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः । बहुव्रीहिरिति किम् । कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः । श्रीवर्गिर्देहस्तु चण्डेरकपावेत्या ॥ मातृशतृकनाह्वं वा ० ॥ कारीषगन्धीमातः । कारीषगन्ध्यामातः । कारीषगन्धीनाह्वः । कारीषगन्ध्यानाह्वः । कारीषगन्धीमाता । कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातमात्राह्वं चण्डेरकपावेत्या ॥ मातृशतः । 'तस्युत्त' (८११) इति क्तिप्कत्वञ्च । बहुव्रीहौवेदेत्य् । मेह । कारीषगन्ध्याया नामा कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । विषयतामर्थोपिस्त्वस्ते बहुव्रीहिरित्येव वाच्ये ॥

1005. There is vocalisation of the affix च्च् when the word दस्यु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौटुम्बगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpuruṣa compound.

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word. It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form bandhu.

*Var:*—There is vocalisation of च्च् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृ, माह्व and माह्व optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातः or कारीषगन्ध्या माता, कारीषगन्धीमाह्व or कारीषगन्ध्यामाह्वः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in च्च् take the samāsānta affix कर्, so माह्व would have become माह्वक् by force of V. 4. 153, S. 833. So the separate enumeration of माह्व and माह्वक् here shows that कर् is also optional. The rule is confined to Bahuvrīhi compounds. Therefore in Tatpuruṣa compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारीषगन्ध्यामाता "the mother of Kārīṣha-gandhya".

The indicatory च्च् of माह्वक् makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1. 8. 3735).

१००६ । इष्टकेपीकामालानां चित्तुलमारिषु । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

इष्टकादीनां सन्तानां च पूर्वपदानां चित्ताविषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु इत्यं स्यात् । इष्टकचित्तम् । पक्षेष्टकचित्तम् । इषीकतुलम् । दुर्मेपीकतुलम् । मालमारी । उत्पन्नमालमारी ॥

1006. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित्त, in इषीका before तुल, and in माला before मारिषु ॥

Thus इष्टकचित्तम्, इषीकतुलम् and मालमारिषी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका, &c as they fall under Padādhikāra. So that the compounds ending in इष्टका, &c are also governed by this rule : ॥ पक्षेष्टकचित्तम्, दुर्मेपीकतुलम्, उत्पन्नमालमारिषी कन्या ॥

१००७ । कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६ । ३ । ७० ॥

सुम् स्यात् । सत्यङ्कारः । अगदङ्कारः ।

अस्तौषेति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ अस्तुङ्कारः ॥

धेनोर्मेव्याद्याम् \* ॥ धेनुम्भया ॥

लोकस्य पूये \* ॥ लोकम्पृणः । पूण इति मूलविभुभावित्वात्कारः ॥

इयिडनभ्यासहस्य \* ॥ अगभ्यासमित्यः । पूतः परिहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः ।

भ्राष्ट्रान्वीरिभ्ये \* ॥ भ्राष्ट्रमित्यः । अग्निमित्यः ॥

मिलेडगितस्य \* ॥ विमिक्षितः । अगितस्य कित् । गितमित्यः ॥

मिलमिले च \* ॥ विमिक्षितमित्यः ॥

वज्रभङ्गयोः करणं \* ॥ वज्रङ्कारः । भङ्गङ्कारः ॥

1007. सुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यङ्कारः = सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्यङ्कारः 'to take oath', So also अगदङ्कारः "a physician."

Vart :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुङ्कारः "efficacious, working as a medicine."

Note :—So also, in Vedas, of मच्च before कार—e. g. मच्चङ्कार, in secular language मक्षङ्कारः ॥

Vart :—Of चित्तु before मच्च, e. g. चित्तुम्भया (चित्तुकासीम्भया च) ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूय, e. g. लोकम्पृण "filling or pervading the





'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work) or 'more.'

Thus सकलं = कालान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्णम् = (सुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स; संग्रहं (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by "अन्त-वचने" (II. 1. 6 S. 652). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81 S. 660. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book.' When the sense is that of 'more,' we have सद्योज्झारी. सनापः कार्पाष्यः । सकाकिणीको नापः ॥

१०११ । द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । ६ । ३ । ८० ॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य सः स्यात् । सप्तस्यैका निशा । राक्षसी साक्षादनुपपन्नाना निष्पाड-  
दुमीयते ॥

1011. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived.

Note:—Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, 'the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीयः ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called अनुपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुसङ्ग्य. / i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus सदि (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where.' सदिचापा वावा "a storm-wind which announces the Pisāchas."

सप्तस्यैका निशा. Here the fire, the Pisācha or the Rākshas as are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm-wind and night. In सप्तस्यैका, there is added क्व by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

१०१२ । समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्ध्वप्रभृत्युदकेषु । ६ । ३ । ८४ ॥

समानस्य सः स्यादुत्तराध्वे ननु मूर्ध्नादिषु । यद्वा आता समर्थः । ननु स्यात् सयूध्यः । की नः सयूध्यः । नयमय इत्यर्थे समर्थसयूध्यसमुदायान् । समर्थमद्वयं किम् । समानमूर्ध्वं । समानप्रभृतयः । समानोदकाः । समानस्येति वागो विभक्त्यते । तेन सप्तः साधर्म्यं समासीयामत्यादि विदधिति काशिका । राधवा सप्तस्यः सप्तस्यमनोप्यस्ति । सहसः सप्तस्य सप्तस्येति यथा ॥ तेनानेनस्यपदाविमर्शो बहुव्रीहिः । समानः पशोऽस्त्वेषादि ॥

1012. स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas, but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुधाता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सख्यः, क्षीनः सक्षुब्धः (IV. 4. 114 S. 346b) सगर्भो गर्भः = सगर्भः, सख भवः = सगर्भः formed by कृ affix IV. 4. 114 S. 346b; Why do we say 'not before सूक्ष्म &c.' Observe सगानमूर्त्तिः, सगानमभूतयः, सगानो-दधौः ॥

"The sūtra should be divided into two *śākhā*, *समानस्य* forming one sūtra, and *उद्देशपूर्व* &c., another. This we do in order to get the forms *सप्तः*, *साधारण्य*, *समासद्वय* &c., in secular language also." Thus says the author of the *Kāṇḍikā*.

Or we may say the word सह means also सदस, as we have already seen in the word सदस्य ( = सदस्य सदस्य). Therefore the above are Bahuvrhis, which should be analysed thus समासः पञ्चोऽयं = सपञ्चः &c. Here सह is an elliptical form of सह meaning सदृशः. See VI. 3. 82 S. 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

*Note*—This sutra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattacharya in the Vaidic chapter. He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vibhāga it can be applied to ordinary language also.

But if the view be taken that in सप्तः &c., the स is सप्त, then there is no necessity of Yoga-vibhāga; for the Māhābhāṣya has not shown this splitting of this particular sūtra.

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदराश्रिनाभितामगोत्ररूपस्थानधर्णययोवचनयन्धुषु ।  
६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एतु शारतलुनसरेषु समामस्य सुः स्यात् । सप्रयोगिः । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before the twelve words ज्यातस्, जनपद, राशि, नामि, मामन्, गोत्र, कव, स्थान, वर्ण, वयस्, पचन and यन्धु in the common language also.

[illegible]

*Neti—neti* (net) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the aspiration in which the impurity commenced.

१०१४ । चम्पे प्रायश्चारिणि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ।

[illegible]

1014. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = ब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmachārī. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both : इ. ८. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = स ब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note.—सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co-student, one who reads the same Vedic portion as the other.

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे वनस्पदे यावौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य सः स्वाह । सतीर्थः = एकमुपजः । समानतीर्थेण स्तीति वनस्पदः ॥

1015. 'स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ, when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समान साध चासी (IV. 4. 107. S. 1658) 'a fellow-student,' इ. ८. whose preceptor is one and the same person: who are studying under a common teacher. The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 107 S. 1658.

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यावौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इतिर । सोदर्थः । समानोदर्थः ॥

1016. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

सोदर्थः or समानोदर्थः (IV. 4. 108 S. 1659).

१०१७ । दृग्दृक्चतुष्टु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सदृक् । सदृशः ॥

दृशे चेति यत्तदर्थः \* ॥ सदृशः । चतुष्टुसार्थः ॥

1017. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृग् and the affix यत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes क्त्वं and क्तिन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60 S. 429. Vart which give us the forms दृक् and दृश ॥

*Vart*:—So also before दृक् as सदृक् ॥ दृक् is formed by क्त affix under

III. 2. 60S. 429 Vārtika.

The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१०१८ । इदं किमोरोक्ती । ८ । ३ । ६० ॥

इदं शब्दोऽयं इदम् ईश किम् की स्यात् । ईदक् । ईदयः । कीदक् । कीदयः । वत्साह्वयो वक्ष्यते ।  
दृक् ण । ईदयः ॥ आ सर्वगात्रः ॥ दृक् ण । तदक् । सदृक् ॥ तावान् । तदक् । दीर्घः ।

गवोस्ते । अतदक् । अतदयः । अतदयः ॥

1018. ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृक् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ईदक्, ईदयः and इमान्, कीदक्, कीदयः and कियान् ॥

*Note*:—ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इवत् and की+इवत् by V. 2. 40 S. 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311 and we get इवत् and कियत् ॥

*Vart*:—So also before दृक्, as ईदक् and कीदक् ॥

So also when the rule VI. 3. 91 S. 430 applies and आ is added to pronouns, as तदक्, तदयः, तावान् and तदयः ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun तदम् when it takes the long अ (VII. 3. 91 S. 430), and व and व substitutions: (VIII. 2. 80 S. 419) as—  
तद्वत् । तद्वयः । तद्वयः ॥

१०१९ । समासेऽङ्गुलिः सङ्गः । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिः समासोऽङ्गुलिः सङ्गः । अङ्गुलिः सङ्गः । तदासे किम् । अङ्गुलिः सङ्गः ॥

1019. अ is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिसङ्गः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुलिः सङ्गः ॥

*Note*:—The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive (८ सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२० । अङ्गुलिः स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

अङ्गुलिः स्थानम् । अङ्गुलिः स्थानम् । अङ्गुलिः स्थानम् । अङ्गुलिः स्थानम् ॥

1020. अ is substituted for the स् of स्थान when preceded by अङ्गुलि in a compound

Thus श्रीहस्तानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also; otherwise भीरुः स्थानं ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्तोमस्य सत्यं दूर्ध्वः स्यात्समाधेः । ज्योतिष्टोमः । आयुष्टोमः । समसोक्तिम् । ज्योतिषः स्तोमः ॥

1021. The **स** of स्तोमः is changed to **प्** after ज्योतिष and आयुष् in a compound.

As ज्योतिष्टोमः, आयुष्टोमः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe ज्योतिषः स्तोमः where there is no compounding.

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सत्यं दूर्ध्वः । सोमने साम सत्यं सुषाम् । सुषन्धिः ॥

1022. The **सू** is changed to **प्** in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा आश्रयः=सोमनम् साम सत्यं भवती ॥ So also सुषन्धिः ॥

Notes:—1 सुषामा, 2 निःषामा, 3 दुःषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निःषेधः), 6 दुःषेधः, 7 सुषन्धिः, 8 निःषन्धिः (निःषन्धिः), 9 दुःषन्धिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 नीरिषन्धिः संज्ञायाम्, 13 प्रतिषिक्तः, 14 उक्त्याहम्, 15 नीषेधनम् (नीषेधनम्), 16 दुष्टुभिषेधनम् (दुष्टुभिषेधनम्), 17 इति संज्ञायाम्, 18 इतिषेधः, 19 नक्षत्राहम्, इतिषीषणम् ॥ आश्रयः ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, S. 2123 others would never have taken **प्**, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 94 S. 555) 'and निर and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs नेम् and स्त्री; so VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270 does not apply to सैध preceded by निर and दुर् ॥ The word सैध here is a पञ्च formed word, from सिधू हिंसा संश्लोः; if it be derived from सिध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113 S. 2278. The words सुषन्धिः, दुःषन्धिः &c., are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and दु, and the affix क्ति (III. 3. 92 S. 3370); and the **स** of सन्धि is changed to **प्** ॥ The words सुष्टु दुष्टु are Uṇḍī formed words (U. I. 25). The word नीरिषन्धिः is a Bahuvrīhi, the **स** of शक्य is changed to **प्** and the Samāsanta पञ्च is added (V. 4. 113 S. 852). The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63 S. 1001. The change takes place when it is a Name. The word प्रतिषिक्तः is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root क्त, and the affix क्तम् (III. 3. 106 S. 3283), and we have प्रतिष्ठा with क्तम्; then क्त is added by V. 3. 73 S. 2028 and क्त shortened (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), and इ added by VII. 3. 44 S. 463. The word नीषेधनम् is formed by adding लुङ् to सिध् ॥ दुष्टुभिषेधनम् is also a पञ्च formed word from सिध्ति or सिध्ति ॥ There are two suffixes in the above list. They are explained below.

१०२३ । एति संज्ञायामगात् । ८ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सत्यं पूर्वम् । इतिवेत् । ॥ एति किम् । इतिवत् । संज्ञायाम् किम् । पृथुत्वेन । अगकारात्किम् । विषयत्वेन । इत्कोरित्वेन । सर्वत्वेनः ॥

1023 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इत् or कु is changed to ए, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by ए ॥

Thus इत्यः सेना यस्य = इतिवेत्, परितः सेना अस्य = परिवेत्, so also वारिवेत्, आहवेत् ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe इतिवत् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe इत् की सेना यस्य स = पृथुत्वेन राज्ञा (VI. 3. 34 S. 831). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by ए'? Observe इत्यवत् सेना ॥ The phrase इत्को (VIII. 3. 57 S. 211) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वत्वेनः ॥

Note :—This sūtra is read in the list of Sushāmādi class (see the last sūtra 1022) so also the next sūtra. They have been inserted in the Aṣṭādhyāyī from the Gaṇapāṭha.

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्या । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सत्यं संज्ञायामगात्कारामूर्ध्वो वा । रोहिणीवेत् । रोहिणीवेत् । अगकारात्किम् । इति-विषयत्वेन । आहवेतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ए substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणीवेत् or रोहिणीवेत् ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by ए'? Observe इत्यवत् सेना where the preceding letter is ए ॥

Note :—These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the Gaṇa. They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ए changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushāmādi gaṇa.

१०२५ । अपठ्यन्तृतीयास्यस्यान्यस्य दुर्गाशीराशास्थस्थितोत्सुकोतिकारक-रागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अन्यस्यद्वयस्य दुर्गागमः स्यात्पृथिवीवतिषु परेषु । अन्यराशी । अन्यराष्ट्रा । अन्यरास्था । अन्यराशित । अन्यराशुका । अन्यराशुति । अन्यराशः । अन्यराशी ॥ अपठ्यन्तृतीयास्य किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वाशी । अन्यराशी । कारके छेपे नायं विषयः । अन्यस्य कारकः अन्यकारकः । अन्यस्यायमन्यराशः । पक्षिपक्षितगन-स्वाच्छः ॥

1025. **अन्य**, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment **हुक्** (हु), before **आशिष्**, **आशा**, **आस्था**, **आस्थित**, **उत्सुक**, **ऊर्ति**, **कारक** and **राग**, as well as before the affix **म्** (इय).

Thus **अन्य आशीः** = **अन्यआशीः**; **अन्य आशा** = **अन्यआशा**, **अन्य आस्था** = **अन्यआस्था**; **अन्य आस्थितः** = **अन्यआस्थितः**, **अन्य उत्सुकः** = **अन्यउत्सुकः**, **अन्य ऊर्तिः** = **अन्यऊर्तिः**, **अन्य कारकः** = **अन्यकारकः**, **अन्य रागः** = **अन्यरागः** ॥ So also with **म्**, **म्** **अन्यसिन् म** = **अन्यसिन्** ॥ It takes **उ** because it belongs to **गृह्य** class (IV. 2, 138 S. 1362.) **Gahādī** is **Akritigāṇa**.

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'? Observe **अन्यस्य आशीः** = **अन्यआशीः**, **अन्येन आस्थितः** = **अन्यआस्थितः** &c. With regard to the word **कारक** and the affix **म्**, the **हुक्** augment is universal, though **अन्य** may be even in the Genitive case &c: as **अन्यस्य कारकः** = **अन्यहु कारकः**, **अन्यस्येवम्** = **अन्यहु सेवम्** ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the **śūtra** (**अन्य** and **अन्यस्य**), implies this.

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

**अन्यदर्थः** । **अन्यार्थः** ॥

1026. **हुक्** is optionally the augment of **अन्य** when **अर्थ** follows.

As **अन्यदर्थः** or **अन्यार्थः** ॥

१०२७ । कोः कस्तरपुरुषेऽपि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

**अनादावुत्तरपदे** । **कुत्सितोऽन्धः कर्णः** । **कर्मन्** । **वत्पुरुषे निम्** । **कृद्दी** **पञ्च** ॥  
**पौ** **व** \* ॥ **कुत्सितोऽन्धः कर्मन्** ॥

1027. **कत्** is substituted for **हु** in a **Tatpuruṣa**, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As **कर्मन्**, **कर्मन्** ॥ Why do we say in a **Tatpuruṣa**? Observe **कृद्दी** **पञ्च** ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel" ? Observe **कुत्सितोऽन्धः**, **कुत्सितः** ॥

Vari :—**कत्** is substituted before **पञ्च**, as **कत्पञ्च** = **कुत्सितोऽन्धः** ॥

१०२८ । रथवदयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

**कर्मन्** । **कर्मन्** ॥



1028. कद् is substituted for कु before रश्च and चद् also.

Thus कद्भ्यः, कद्भ्यः ॥

१०२६ । वुरो च आतो । ६ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कचृणम् ॥

1029 कत् is substituted for कु. when कृण follows denoting  
■ species.

As कचृणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कृषिकानि वृष्यानि = कुट्टनानि ॥

१०३० । का पय्यक्षयोः । ६ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कानपयः । काक्षः । अक्षयनेन तत्पुरुषः । अक्षयनेन बहुव्रीहिर्यः ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before कश्चिन् and  
अक्ष ॥

Thus कानपयः and काक्षः ॥ The latter is a Tatpurusha, if the second word is *akṣha* ; and it is Bahuvrīhi also, if the second term is *akṣhi*.

१०३१ । ईपदर्थे । ६ । ३ । १०५ ॥

ईपमलं कामलम् । अमास्यपदि परत्वात्काविशः । कामलः ॥

1031. का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is  
'a small.'

As कानपुल्लं, कालेवयम् । कामलम् "a little water." Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 S. 1027 because this sūtra is *subsequent* in order ; as कामलम् ॥

१०३२ । विशावा पुरुषे । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

कानपुल्लः । कुपुल्लः । अमास्यपदि परत्वात्काविशः । ईपदर्थे हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधान्निरयोव । ईपपुरुषः ।  
कानपुल्लः ॥

1032 का is optionally substituted for कु. when the  
word पुरुष follows.

Thus कानपुल्लः or कुपुल्लः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhaghā. In the sense of 'a little ईप', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior ; as ईपम् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

१०३३ । कवं चोष्णे । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णसर्वे उत्तरसर्वे कोः कवं का च वा स्यात् । कयोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कहुष्णम् ॥

1033. का and कव are optionally the substitutes of कृ when उत्प follows.

As कयोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कहुष्णम् ॥

१०३४ । पुषोदरादीनि यथोन्दिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०८ ॥

पुषोदरमकाराणि चित्तेर्यथोच्चारितानि तथैव साधूनि स्युः । पुषतः उत्तरं पुषोदरम् । ततोपः । चारिवाहको यत्तावत्कः । पूर्वपदस्य कः उत्तरपदार्थे लत्वम् ॥

भवेत्तयार्थगमाद्येतः सिंहो बर्धनपथेयात् । सूडोला यर्णविकृतेर्वर्णमासात्पुषीदरम् ॥

दिक्पादेष्वस्तसिख्ये तारभावो वा \* ॥ दक्षिणतारम् । दक्षिणवीरम् । उत्तरतारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरो वाक्याद्यभ्यन्तेष्वल्लुप्तपदार्थः दुर्व्यं च \* ॥

दुःखेन वाच्यते दूडायाः । दुःखेन नाच्यते दूयाच, । दुःखेन कथ्यते दूडमः । अत् द्विभ्यः । इमेनेतेषां निपात्यते । दुःखेन ध्यायतीति दूधः । गीतमेति कः । ह्यपन्तोऽस्यां वीदन्तीति वृत्ती । अत्रच-  
ष्टस्य ह् आदेशः सहेरधिकरणे ङद् । आकृतिगमोऽयम् ॥

1034. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पुषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोन्दिष्टम् = चित्तेर्यथोच्चारितानि ॥ . Thus पुषदुरसो यस्य = पुषोदरम्, पुषम् यद्वातं यस्य = पुषोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also चारिवाहकः = चत्ताहकः, here चारि is replaced by च, and त् replaces व of वाहकः; अत्रिणस्य गूढः = अत्रिणः, here ण has been elided; वाचानां वाचने = वनञ्चानम्; here वन replaces वाच; and चान for वाचन ॥ वर्यं खनस्य = वर्यखनम्; here वर्य replaces वर्य, and खन replaces खन ॥ विधि-  
साधः = विधाधः ॥

मद्यां रोहि = मयूरः ॥ Here मदी is replaced by मयूर, and the final of द् is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अरवस्य, कवित्य &c.

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds :—

### VERSE.

The word हेत is formed by the augment of a letter; the word सिंह is formed by the transposition of letters; the word सुदोऽन्ध is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पुषोदर is formed by the destruction of letters.



when the words are **अव**, **अष्ट**, **एक**, **मणि**, **मिन्न**, **छिन्न**, **छिद्र**, **शुक्ल** and **स्वस्तिक** ॥

Thus **विशुद्धाक्षरः** ॥ The word **लक्षण** here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark? Observe **लोमनकर्म** ॥ Why we say 'with the exception of **विष्ट** &c? Observe **विष्टकर्तृः**, **मादकर्तृः**, **पञ्चकर्तृः**, **मित्रकर्तृः**, **क्षित्रकर्तृः**, **रौद्रकर्तृः**, **शुक्लकर्तृः**, **स्वस्तिककर्तृः** and **मणिकर्तृः** ॥

१०३७ । नदिहृतिवृष्यधिरुचिसहितान्यु कौ । ६ । ३ । १२६ ॥

**क्षिबन्ते** एतु परेषु पूर्वपक्षे दीर्घः । **उपानह** । **मीन** । **मातृ** । **नर्मावि** । **मीर** । **अमीर** । **क्षतीप** । **परित** । **क्रावि** किम् । **परिग्रह** । **विभाषा** **पुरुष** इत्यंशं **मन्त्रकपुष्ट्या** **विभाषा** **पुरुषे** सा च व्यवाधिता । तेन **वृत्तिकारयोरेव** । **मेह** । **पट्ट** । **विम्ब** ॥

1037. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs **नह**, **वृत्**, **वृष**, **व्यध**, **रुह**, **सह** and **तृह**, when these roots take the affix **क्वि** ॥

Thus **उपानह** (**उपावह** Nom. S.), 'so also, **परीवह**, **मीवह**, **उपावह**, (with **vrt**) **मावह**, **उपावह**, (with **vrah**) **नर्माविह**, **वृषाविह**, **व्याविह**, (with **vyadh**) **मीरह**, **अमीरह** (with **tuch**) **क्षतीपह**, (with **sah**) **परितह** (with **tan**). The nasal is elided after **वह** before **क्वि** (VI. 4. 40 S. 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after **नह** also. Why do we say 'when **क्वि** follows'? Observe **परिग्रह** ॥

In this *sūtra* we read the anuvṛtti of the word "*vibhāṣā*" ("optionally") from the aphorism VI. 3, 106 S. 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten *sūtras*, but applies to this VI. 3, 116 S. 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap.' The option of this *sūtra* is, however, a *vyavasthita vibhāṣā* or a settled option. Namely, it applies only when the *upapadas* are *gratis* or *kāraṇas*. Therefore not here, **पट्ट** or **विम्ब** ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः सहायोः कोटरकिञ्चलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

**कोटरादीनां** वने परे **किञ्चलुकादीनां** गिरी परे दीर्घः **रथस्तज्ञानम्** ॥

1038. For the final vowel of **कोटर** &c. a long vowel is substituted before **वन**, and so also of **किञ्चलुका** &c. before **गिर**, when the compound is a Name.

Thus **कोटर** + **वन** ॥ Now applies the following *sūtra*.

Note :—Thus **कोटरावनम्**, **मन्त्रावनम्**, **सिद्धावनम्**, **सारकावनम्** ॥

So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः, अञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ञ in वन by VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039. But असिपद्मवन् and कृष्ण-गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 सारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किञ्चलुक (किञ्चलक), 2 सात्व (सात्वक), 3 नड\*, 4 अञ्जन, 5 मञ्जन, 6 ओहिह, 7 कृष्णकृट ॥

१०३६ । वनं पुरगामिभ्रकासिभ्रकासारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः । ञ । ४ । ४ ॥

वनशब्दस्योत्तरपक्षस्य एव एव ण्यं भाग्येभ्यः । इह कोटराब्ताः पञ्च शर्पादिषु कोटरादयो बोध्याः । तेषां कृत्तृर्षाणां परवर्तिषो निर्वेद्यो नियगर्थः । अमशब्दस्य तु विध्वर्षः । पुरगावणम् । मिश्रकावणम् । सिध्रकावणम् । सारिकावणम् । कोटरावणम् । एव एवेति किम् । असिपद्मवन् । वनस्यामे अमेवणम् । राजवन्तादिषु निपातनास्तत्पत्न्यम् अलुक् । प्रातिपदिकार्थनाशं मयना । किञ्चलुका गिरिः ॥

1039. The न of वन, is changed into ञ, when preceded by the words puragā, miśrakā, sidhrkā, sārīkā, koṭarā, and agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words पूर्ववन् and संज्ञावन् of the sūtra VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगवणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणम्, कोटरावणम् ॥ These are names of hells of various kinds. अमेवणम् (II. 2. 31 S. 902) सारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by VI. 3. 117 S. 1038 and the word कोट्यदि of the last sūtra refers to these five words of the present sūtra. Though the word अमेवणम् = अमेवणस्य is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, S. 966 applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31 S. 902). The seventh-case-affix is included in the meaning of a Prātipadika, hence the word agre-vanam is in the Nominative case. So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः ॥

The substitution of ञ for न with regards to the first five words would have taken place by the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 3, S. 857. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule, so far as the five words up to koṭrā are concerned. But with regards to agre it is a vidhī. The न of वन is changed into ञ, when preceded by these words only and

no other. Thus कुबेरवन्, वृक्षवारयनम्, अक्षिपन्नवनम् ॥ The word *agrevaṇam* is not a Name, and therefore sūtra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to *agre* the present sūtra is a *vidhi* or an original rule.

१०४० । चले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

बलमत्तदे परं दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाञ् । कृषीवत्तः ॥

1040. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix *चल* ॥

Thus कृषीवत्तः ॥ This is formed by the affix *चलच्* (V. 2. 112 S. 1919.)

१०४१ । मतीहृच्चोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

अनरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अजिरवती । बह्वचः किञ् । व्रीहिवती । संज्ञायादित्येव ।  
नेह । बलमवती ॥

1041. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix *सञ्*, when it is a name, but not of the words *अजिर* &c.

Thus अनरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix *सञ्* (IV. 2. 85 S. 1304.) The *म्* is changed to *व्*, by VIII. 2. 11. S. 1899. 'Why 'with the exception of *अजिर* &c.' Observe अजिरवती, खडिरवती, पुलिनवती, ईक्ष्वारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe व्रीहिवती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sūtra. When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, As बलमवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खडिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 ईक्ष, 5 वारण्डव (ईक्ष्वारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

शरावती ॥

1042. The final vowel of *शर* &c. is lengthened before *सञ्* when it is a Name.

As शरावती, पैशावती ॥ The *य* of *सञ्* is changed to *व* because it is Name (VIII. 2. 11, S. 1899.) But not so after व्रीहि &c. as these belong to *व्याधि* class (VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.)

1 शर, 2 पैश, 3 पैश, 4 व्रीहि, 5 कपि, 6 अश्वि, 7 पुलि, 8 व्रीहि, 9 हृद् ॥

१०४३ । इको चहेऽपीलोः । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य शीर्षः स्वाह्वे । अपीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इकः किय । पिण्डवहम् । अपीलोः किय । पील्वहम् ॥

अपीत्वादीनामिति वाच्यम् \* ॥ सार्वहम् ॥

1043. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह् ॥

Thus अपीवहम्, कपीवहम्, पुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इव् vowels' ? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु ? Observe पील्वहम् ॥

*Varf* :—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As सार्वहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं शीर्षः स्वादपमन्ते परे न तु ननुष्ये । परीषाकः । परिषाकः ॥ अमनुष्ये किय । निषादः ॥

1044. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus परीषाकः or परिषाकः ॥

*Note* :—It does not take place, as प्रसेषः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साव and कार, when building is meant, as सासावः and साकारः, ॥ Otherwise प्रसावः and प्रसारः ॥ Optionally मनुष्ये &c. as मनुष्येः or मनुष्येः, मनुष्येः or मनुष्येः ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant" ? Observe निषादः "The caste Nishāda." It is formed by षम् under sūtra III. 3. 121 S. 3300 (निषिद्धस्य निषद् षम् इति निषादः) ॥ The word मनुष्येः 'gate-keeper' is apparently an exception.

१०४५ । इकः काशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य शीर्षः स्वात्काशे । वीकाशः । नीकाशः । इकः किय । प्रकाशः ॥

1045. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before काश् ॥

As वीकाशः, नीकाशः, ॥ काश् is formed by यश् (III. 1. 134 S. 2895). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ' ? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इश् ॥

१४६ । अष्टः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

अष्टवे रीषः । अष्टपदम् । संज्ञायाम् किम् । अष्टपुत्रः ॥

1046. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्ट before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name'? Observe अष्टपुत्रः, where the compound is not a name.

१०४७ । चित्तेः कप् । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकचिन्तकः ॥

1047. The final vowel of चित्ति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचिन्तकः ॥ The कप् is added by V. 4, 154 S. 891.

१०४८ । नरे संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२६ ॥

विश्वानरः ॥

1048. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name.

Thus विश्वानरः, but विश्वनरः—विश्वे नरः कस्य when it is not a name.

Note :—The word विश्व is understood here from the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VI. 3. 128 S. 879.

१०४९ । मित्रे चर्यौ । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्रः । कपेः किम् । विश्वामित्रो नामकः ॥

सुतो वसुदेवः । कर्णकुन्धकराहपुच्छपक्षेणु रीषो वाचः \* ॥ आदन्तः इत्यादि ॥

1049. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmitra'. Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi'? Observe विश्वामित्रः 'a boy called Viśvanitra'.

Vart :—The final of विश्व is lengthened before the following वन्तः वृष्टः, कर्णः, कुन्धः, वराहः, पुच्छः and पक्षः—as आदन्तः, चार्णवः, आकर्णः, आकुन्धः, आवराहः, आयुष्टः, आपक्षः ॥

Note :—The word वृष्ट is read in the Vārtika with a long final अः ॥ Some



read it as short final, and say श्राद्धः is a Bahuvrīhi where the final of श् is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Taipuruṣa.

१०५० । प्रनिरन्तः शरेजुलक्षान्नकार्श्यखदिरपीयूक्षान्योऽसंज्ञायामपि । ८ । ४ । ५ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णस्य स्वात् । प्रयस्यम् । कार्श्यवनम् । इह वात्परत्वाज्जणस्यम् ॥

1050. 'The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kārshya, khadira, and pīyūkshā.

Thus प्रयस्यम् ; कार्श्यवनम्, ॥ : The word is कार्श्य and not काश्य, and it is this ण that causes the ण change.

Note :—The word vana is understood from the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 4 S. 1049.

१०५१ । विभावौषधिघनस्पतिभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णस्य या स्वात् । पूर्वोवनम् । पूर्ववनम् । शिरीषवयम् । शिरीषवनम् ।

प्रयस्यवनम्-यमेव \* ॥ इह । देवदानवनम् ॥

इतिहासिभ्यः प्रतिविधौ वनाज्ज् \* ॥ इतिहावनम् । इतिहावनम् ॥

1051. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

Note :—When the pāryapada is a word denoting वायसि or a perennial herb, or denoting वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakośha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara). The शिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense: because it has visible flowers and fruits both. But the word vanaspati in the sūtra is taken here as synonymous with 'tree' in general. See note below. This is an optional rule.

Thus :—पूर्ववनम् or पूर्ववनम्; Here पूर्व is the name of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवयम् or शिरीषवनम्; is an example of vanaspati.

Vart :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदानवनम् ॥

*Vart*:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c. As इरिकावनम् । निरिकावनम् ॥

*Nota*:—Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between वृक्ष and a वनस्पति ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

*Kārika*:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, भोषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

१०५२ । वाहनमाहितात् । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

आरोप्य यदुपदे सहाचरधामिनिनिष्ठात्परस्य वाहननकारस्य कर्त्तव्यं स्यात् । इक्षुवाहनम् । माहिताक्षिम् । इन्द्रवाहनम् । इन्द्रस्थानिकं वाहनमित्यर्थः । वहेतेन्प्रति वृद्धिरित्येव सूत्रे निपातनात् ॥

1052. The न of वाहन is changed into ख, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् 'a sugar-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra".

The word वाहन is formed by adding लुट् to वह, and the vṛddhi lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

१०५३ । पानं देशे । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

पूर्वपक्षधामिनिष्ठात्परस्य पानस्य कर्त्तव्यं स्यात् । अक्षिं पानं देशं ते क्षीरपाणा उशीरपाणाः । क्षीरपाणाः प्राच्यः । पीयते इति पानम् । कर्षणि लुट् ॥

1053. The न of पान is changed into ख, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change ; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk" is formed by the affix लुट् III. 3. 113 S. 2811. The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीरपाः = क्षीरपानं देशं 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras'. क्षीरपाणाः प्राच्यः 'the wine drinking Prāchyas'.

*Note*:—Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe अक्षिं पानं देशं the drink of the Dākṣiṇis.

The words *समीनर* and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

१०५४ । वा भावकरणयोः । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पायस्येतेव । क्षीरपायम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनद्यादीनां वा \* ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिणदी । चक्रनितम्बा । चक्रणिताम्बा ॥

1054. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पाय is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपायम् "drinking of milk" is an example of भाव or condition.

Note :—Similarly क्षीरपाणः or क्षीरपायः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk.' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart :—Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गारुडवा, or गारुडिनी ; चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणिताम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिमक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पुरुषवस्थान्निमित्तान्तरस्य दृष्टु स्थितस्य मस्य ष्यो वा स्वाह । प्रातिपदिकान्ते, मापवापिणौ । जुनि, श्रीहवापाणि । विमर्कौ, मापवापेण । वक्षः, मापवापिनावित्यादि । अक्षरवर्धं ब्रह्मानिवर्धितं सफलस्यैव जलम् । मेह । गर्गाद्यां भगिनी गर्गभगिनी । अत एव पुम्प्रत्यये कृतम् । अत्रैव तुम्बिधानात्कर्तुं हि पुम् ननुत्तरस्य । किञ्च । महिम्नित्वादी हिंजुन्तो गत्यर्थमपि पुम्प्रत्ययम् । मेम्बनित्वादी ॥

पुषादिने \* ॥ रम्ययूना । परिपक्वानि ॥ ( एकाभुत्तरस्य णः ॥ नित्यावित्युक्तम् । पुषहणी । इति मापवापिणि इतिमासी । जुनि, क्षीरपाणि । विमर्कौ, क्षीरेण । रम्यविष्णु ॥ )

1055. Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem ( Prātipadika ) or is the augment जुम् or is न of a case-affix, ( when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound ).

Thus, to take the case a प्रातिपदिकान्त first, मापवापिणौ or मापवापिणौ from मापवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81. S. 2991

To take the example of a पुम् augment ; श्रीहवापाणि or श्रीहवापाणि, nominative plural neuter. The augment जुम् ॥ here added by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 from क्षीराद् वपयन्ति = श्रीहवाप with कर्मादि षण्, the plural णि is added by VII. 1. 20 S. 312 and then जुम् ॥

To take the विसृति or case-termination, माचवापेन or माचवापेन, ॥

The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prati-padika'. But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member, of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गायां गमिनी = गर्गमिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गमिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीश्वरः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place. The very fact that भुम् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference. The भुम् is ordained with regard to an *anga*; so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound. So the root भिन् takes भुम् and becomes भिन् (Bhuâdi root 622). This भ् is changed to ख as in ब्रह्मणम् । But in ब्रह्मणम् no change takes place; as it belongs to kshubhnâdi class (VIII. 4. 39 S. 793)

The word माचवापिनी or 'नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:— (11. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" वसिष्ठोक्तोपपदानां कृतिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् लुङ्प्रत्ययैः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माचवापिन् (माच + वापिन्) and thus the second term वापिन् is Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly भुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

*Varl*:—Prohibition must be stated of the words भुम् &c. As रन्ध्रयुता (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), लघियुता ॥ प्रतिपदिकानि is a gati-samas, दीर्घादी दध् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकादशोत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(वृत्तिः ॥ एकादशोत्तरपदं यस्य सोऽस्मिन्निर्वाणस्य प्रतिपदिकान्तमुभिव्यक्तिरस्य पूर्वपदस्यान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं णकार आदेशो भवति ॥)

1055. A. In a compound, the second member of which is monosyllable, there is न् invariably in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment **नुम्**, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

This sūtra has already been read as Sūtra 307 see page 171. It is repeated here to complete the context. This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it. See Sūtra 307.

Thus वृषहन्ता 'the Vṛtra-killer' = वृषहन्तावन्तो with क्तिप् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998) So also हरि मानवसि = हरिमाणी "Hari worshipper." हरिपाणि "Drinkers of milk": छुरादाणि 'drinkers of wine': are examples of हुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरेण and रस्यदिना are examples of case-terminations.

Note:—The word रस्यदि 'a beautiful bird'; is a compound of रस्य and दि (रस्यचासौ विभ) ॥ The च is Instrumental Singular (VII. 4 120 S. 244).

Why the letter च is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛtti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛtti of च 'optional' ceases, and does not extend farther.

१०५६ । कुमसि च । च । ४ । १३ ॥

कर्मण्यस्तुत्पदे प्रत्ययः । हरिकानिजौ । हरिकामाणि । हरिकामिण्य ॥

1056. In a compound, the second member of which contains ■ guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment **नुम्**, or occur in a vibhakti.)

■ the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class ण, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. A: हरिकानिजौ, नुम् :—हरिकामाणि ॥ विनाक्ति :—हरिकामिण्य ॥

१०५७ । पदव्यचायेऽपि । < । ४ । ३८ ॥

पदेन पदव्यचनोऽपि लणं न द्यात् । मापकुम्भपापेन । चतुर्लुकोपेन ॥

भगवद्भक्त इति पाठ्यम् \* ॥ आर्द्रगोपदय ॥ शुष्कगोपदय ॥

1057. The न is not changed to ण when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word वृषज्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada'. Thus वायकुम्भवायेन. चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, and वाङ्, intervening, the change does not take place.

*Vart* :—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita. Prohibition does not apply to words like आह्नोगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

*Note* :—Here गो takes the affix न्यद् by IV. 3. 145, S. 1525 and the word गो is a Pada by I. 4. 17, S. 230 and it intervenes between न्यद् and the first word. The author of Mahābhāṣya however does not approve of this Vārtika. According to him the पदव्यवयव means पदे व्यवाय ॥

१०५८ । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः । ६ । १ । १४३ ॥

अथ छान्दिपाठ्ये । कुस्तुम्बुर भान्याकम् । स्त्रीवत्त्वगतत्वात् । जातिः क्षिप्र । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि । कुस्तिस्तानि तिम्बुकीफलाणीत्यर्थः ॥

1058. The word कुस्तुम्बुर is irregularly formed with the augment स्तुद् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुर is the name of coriander : i. e. धान्याक; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter. Why do we say when meaning a species of herb? Observe कुस्तुम्बुरुणि—कुस्तिस्तानि तिम्बुरुणि ॥ The word तिम्बुर here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

१०५९ । अपरस्परः क्रियासातत्ये । ६ । १ । १४४ ॥

छान्दिपाठ्ये । अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति । सततनविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः । क्रियेति क्षिप्र । अपरस्पर गच्छन्ति । अपरे च परे च सतदेव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

1059. The word अपरस्परः is formed by the augment स्तुद् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सततनविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ Why do we say 'un-interrupted action'? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्परः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परे च सतदेव गच्छन्ति ॥

*Note* :—The सातत्ये comes from सततं, by adding चञ्च् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. 1. 123 S. 1787) = सततत्वं ॥ How do you explain सततत्वं, it ought to be सततम्? The च्च् of चञ्च् is optionally elided before सतं, on the strength of the Kārika :—"the च्च् of चञ्च् is elided before a word ending in a kritya affix, the च्च् of चञ्च् is elided before क्ताम् and गम्, the च्च् of चञ्च् is elided optionally before हित् and तत्, the final च्च् of चञ्च् is elided before चक or पचन ॥" As (1) अपरत्वं कर्तव्यं = अपर्यवर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तृत्वं कामः = भोक्तृत्वं कामः, श्रोतृत्वं ॥ (3) सन्निवृत्ते = सन्निवृत्तिः, सन्निवृत्तं = सन्निवृत्तिः ॥ (4) भोक्तृ चकः, भोक्तृ पचनम् ॥

१०६० । गोष्यदं सेवितसेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुद सस्यं पत्वं च निपात्यते । गावः पश्यन्तेऽस्मिन्देशे ॥ गोभिः सेवितो गोष्यदः । नसेवितो गोष्यदन्तरण्यानि । प्रमाणे गोष्यदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गोः पदं गोपदम् ॥

1060. The word गोष्यद is formed by सुद, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्यदो देशः = गावः पश्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्यदन्तरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्यद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows.' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्यदमात्रं क्षेत्रम्. Here the word has no reference to cows, but to the quantity of land. Why do we say 'a locality visited &c.' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गो-पदम् = गोः पदम् ॥

Note:—What is the use of the word नसेवित in the sūtra; the word गोष्यद will give अगोष्यद, by adding the negative particle, न गोष्यद = अगोष्यद ? The force of नम्, 'compound,' is that of सहस्य "like that but not that". As ब्रह्महृन् means "a man who is [a] Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone, &c.". Therefore अगोष्यद with नम् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence नसेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्यद ॥

१०६१ । आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठाप्यम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मवासनाय स्थाने सुद निपात्यते । आस्पदम् । प्रति किम् । आपकापदम् ॥

1061. The word आस्पद is formed by सुद when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority.' Thus आस्पदम् अथेन सत्यम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe अत्र पसव्यं = आपव्यम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अहुते सुद । आश्चर्ये यदि स सुजीति । अनित्ये किम् । आपत्ये कर्म । ओमन् ॥

1062. The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुद, when meaning something 'unusual'

The word आपत्य is formed by adding the affix क्तृ to the verb अत् with

the preposition **अ**, and the augment **हृ** ॥ Thus **आपद्ये यदि स भुञ्जीत** ॥ Why do we say 'unusual' ? For when not having this sense, we have **आपद्ये कर्षे शोभनम्** ॥

१०६३ । **वर्षस्केऽपस्करः** । ६ । १ । १४८ ॥

**कुत्सितं वर्षः वर्षस्क्वा अज्जनते तस्मिन् हृद् । अपकीर्तित इत्यपस्करः । वर्षस्के किम् । अपस्करः ॥**

1063. The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **हृद्** meaning 'excrement'.

That which has bad lustre is called **वर्षस्क** (**कुत्सितं**) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root **कृ** is added the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232), the preposition **अ** and irregularly the **हृद्** ॥ Thus **अपस्करोऽज्जननम्** ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have **अपस्करः** ॥

१०६४ । **अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्** । ६ । १ । १४९ ॥

**अपस्करोऽप्यः ॥**

1064. The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **हृद्** meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from **कृ** with the preposition **अप** and the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232) and **हृद्** augment. When not having this meaning we have **अपस्करः** ॥

१०६५ । **विक्षिरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा** । ६ । १ । १५० ॥

**पक्षे विकिरः । वाच्यमनैव शुकिकल्पे विक्षे विकिमेवमेव तस्यापि शकुनेत्येव प्रयोगो नाश्रयित्वेन कृतित्वान्न । भाष्यविरोधात् ॥**

1065. The word **विक्षिर** is formed with **हृद्** optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being **विकिर** ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix **क्** (III. 1. 135 S. 2897) to **कृ** with the preposition **वि** and the augment **हृद्** ॥ The word **विकिर** also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase **शकुनिर्विकिरो वा** is added from the *Vārtika* and is no part of the original *sūtra*. Thus सर्वे शकुनौ भक्ष्यः **विक्षिरः** कुक्कुवादे ॥ "Though the *sūtra* **विक्षिरो वा शकुनौ** would have given the optional form **विक्षिर**, the specific mention of this form in the *sūtra* indicates that **विक्षिर** always means 'bird' and nothing 'else. Otherwise **विक्षिर** would have



referred to something other than a bird."—this opinion of Kāśikā is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahābhāṣya.

१०६६ । प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः । ६ । १ । १५२ ॥

कश गतिशासनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचायाचि सुट् । नचोच्यते कश्चं च । सहायः पुरोयायी वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते । कशेः किम् । प्रतिगतः कश्चां प्रतिकर्षोऽयः । यथाचि कशेरिव कशा तथाचि कशेरिति धातोर्मण्डण्यवसर्गस्य प्रतेध्मणार्थम् । तेन धात्वन्तसेपसर्गज्ञः ॥

1066. To the root कश 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the perpositon प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding कश् affix ( III. 1. 134 ) to the root, with the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus धामनस्य प्रवेक्ष्याचि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary.' The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कश्चां=प्रतिकर्षोऽयः 'a horse guided by the whip.' Here though कश is derived from कश्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

१०६७ । प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी । ६ । १ । २५३ ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रप्रवृष्यमन्त्रार्थम् । कपीति किम् । प्रकण्वो देवः । हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः ॥

1067. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 S. 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. Why do we say 'Ri-his'? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देवः, ( कण्वं पादं तस्यमर्हं यस्माद् ), हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः ( हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य सुम्भस्य ) ॥

१०६८ । मस्कर्मस्कर्मिणौ वेषुपरिवाजकयोः । ६ । १ । १५४ ॥

मकरपाशोऽणुपदसस्तस्य मुद्रिनिध निधान्यते । वेण्विति किम् । मकरो माहः । मकरी सङ्घः ॥

1068. The word मस्कर्म means 'a bamboo', and मस्कर्मिन् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर्म and मस्कर्मिन् ॥ Why do we say "when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोवाहः "an alligator", मकरि-समुद्रः "an ocean".

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix कप्, the long मा being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding हनि in the sense of वृत्तव्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिणः. Thus मा करणधीनः = मस्की "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "माकुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्धर्मः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

१०६६ । कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे । ६ । १ । १५५ ॥

ईषत्तीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीरे नाम नगरम् । अजस्तुन्दे तुन्दमस्येति अजस्तुन्दं नाम नगरम् । नगरे किम् । कास्तीरम् । अजस्तुन्दम् ॥

1069. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कास्तीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजस्तुन्दे तुन्दमस्य) ॥

१०७० । कारस्करो वृक्षः । ६ । १ । १५६ ॥

कारं कतेतीति कारस्करो वृक्षः । अन्वयः कारकः । केष्वित्, कस्कादिभिर्बुधैः पठन्ति न घञ्बु ॥

1070. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार + कृ + क (III. 2. 21) = कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism. Some read it in Kashkādī (VIII. 3. 48 S. 144).

१०७१ । पास्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् । ६ । १ । १५७ ॥

एतानि सङ्गुहकानि निपात्यन्ते नामि । पास्करः । किष्किन्ध्या ।

सङ्गुहकोः करपत्न्योर्धोरदेनतयोः सुद तलोपध\* ॥ आत्यर्थे अत्येव एकस्मिन् बोध्यः । तद्गुहकोर्धोर-कारनकारी लुप्येव । करपत्न्योस्तु सुदः । धोरदेनतयोरिति सङ्गुहायापातोः । सस्करः । वृहस्पतिः ॥

प्रायस्य भिन्नचित्तयोः\* ॥ प्राचीभक्तिः । प्राचीभक्तम् वनस्पतिरित्यादेः । आकृतिवर्णनाश्रय ॥

1071. The words पास्कर &c. are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुद ॥ Thus पास्करः 'a country called Pāraskara'. किष्किन्ध्या 'N. of a cave'.

*Vartika* :—सत्कार 'a thief' and वृहस्पति N. of a deity 'are formed by inserting सुट् in the compounds of नत् कर, वृहत् + पति and eliding न् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning a thief and a deity'? Observe सत्कार, वृहस्पति ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Gaṇapāṭha merely for the sake of diversity; the word संज्ञा would have connoted that.

*Vart.* :—Before the words चित्ति and चिन्त is added the augment इट् when प्राय precedes. Thus प्रायचित्त्तम्, प्रायचिन्तः ॥

1 पारस्करो देवः, 2 कारुण्ये देवः, 3 रयस्या वही, 4 किष्कुः प्रनाणम्, 5 किष्किम्भा सुहा, 6 तद्वृक्षतः करपत्राचारितेवनयोः सुट् सत्प्रपञ्च (मदकः चौरः, वृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्राय सुम्पती यदि कर्तारि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ साङ्ख्यसिद्धयः ॥

प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root चुपचुम्ब 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition क् there is added इट् to प्र् when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पतिः वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गवि, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥

This is an ākṛitigaṇa.

# अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१०७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इदं परब्रह्मण्यधिकारो । प्रथमस्य इति वाच्यम् । सामर्थ्ये परिनिष्ठतत्त्वम् । छन्दसधिकार्यत्वमिति वाच्यम् ॥

1072 The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, *vis.* (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction, (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra द्वावपि विभक्तः (V. 3. 1. S. 1947.) The word *sāmarthya* means the word-form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation: *i. e.* in its *pariniṣṭhata* state. The word *pariniṣṭhata* means a completed word, *i. e.* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction. Thus हु + इदित् = ह्युमित् ॥ Add इम्, and we have ह्युमित्, and not ही + इदित् = ह्युमित् (S. 1088). The *anuvṛtti* of वा however extends further than S. 1947.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional."

*Note:*—The fifteen sūtras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas. We shall take up the further explanation of this sūtra in S. 1088.

१०७३ । आन्तर्यामिण्युत्तरे । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन दीन्तरीत्यतः प्रागण्यधिकार्ये ॥

1073. The affix **अण्** should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism *tena divyati* &c.

Up to the aphorism IV. 4. 2 S. 1550, the affix **अण्** has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adlukāra sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā sūtra* or a *vidhi sūtra*.

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

एवोऽण् स्यात् प्राप्तीत्यतीयेभ्येषु । यश्चमाश्वस्य ण्यस्यापवादः ॥

*Note* :—This is an exception to the aphorism, IV. 1. 85, S. 1077 by which the affix **ण्य** would have come after words ending with '*pati*'. The present sūtra enjoins **अण्** instead.

The following is a list of words belonging to **अश्वपत्यादि** class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ह्यामपति, 3 अस्तपति, 4 धनपति, 5 यश्वपति 6 स्थानपति 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 हृदयपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्यपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 ग्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादेः । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

भिति जिति च तद्धिते षोऽचामादेरपी कृद्धिः स्यात् ॥

1075. The *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a *Taddhita*-affix having an indicative **ञ्** or **ण्** follows.

*Note* :—As **वाच्ये** from **वर्ग** + **अञ्**, so also **वाच्यः** ॥ **वाचि** (वच् + इच्), **हासि**, **जीवण** (with **अण्** from **उपशु**) **कापय** &c. (This declares the *Vṛiddhi* of VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and VII. 2. 116, S. 2282 as **स्वाद्** : from **स्वहृ**, and **आमत** from **अगन्** ॥)

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च कृद्धा । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि आश्वपत्यम् । ग्राणपत्यम् । यश्वपत्यो यन्व इति ॥ प्रागादिकमेव ॥

1076. The *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a *Taddhita* affix with an indicative **ञ्** follows.

*Note* :—As **वाच्य** with **कञ्**, so also **कापय** : (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101), and **वाचि** : and **हासि** with **कञ्** (IV. 4. 1 S. 1548).

Thus  $\text{दामपति} + \text{अङ्} = \text{दामपत्यम्}$  (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). The  $\text{इ}$  of  $\text{पति}$  is elided by VI. 4. 142 S. 311. So also  $\text{नामपत्यम्}$  ॥

The form  $\text{मर्षित्वः}$  as used by Haradatta in  $\text{मर्षित्वस्यैव}$  is wrong.

*Note* :—(The *Tattvabodhini*, however, justifies this use of Haradatta.)

१०७७ । दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाख्यः । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

दित्यादित्यः पत्युत्तरपदाख्यः मांसीवतीवेत्यर्थेऽप्यः स्यादणोऽपवाहः । दितः । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्यः । प्राजापत्यः ।

यमाद्येति काशिकायाम् \* ॥ याम्यः ॥

पुत्रिण्या आर्षो \* ॥ पार्षथः । पार्षथि ॥

वैशाखमासौ \* ॥ वैश्वः । वैश्वम् ॥

वह्निवह्नीलोचो यज्य \* ॥ यज्यः ॥

ईकच्य \* ॥ काशीकः ॥

स्थाव्रीडकारः \* ॥ अवस्थावः । पृथ्वीहरादित्यत्सत्त्वं तः ॥

भवायै तु तुल्यव्ययः \* ॥ अवस्थावः ॥

लोकोऽपत्येऽप्यः बहुव्ययः \* ॥ वाङ्मासीवतीवेत्यर्थः । बहुलोचः । बहुषु चित् ॥ लोकोऽपत्यः ।

पौरवादिनसङ्गे यत् \* ॥ यज्यम् । अवादिप्रसङ्गे चित् । गीर्षो हेतुभ्यः आगते गीर्षमासः । गीर्षम्यम् ॥

1077. The affix  $\text{प्य}$  comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to  $\text{tena divyati \&c}$ , after the proper names, *Diti*, *Aditi*, and *Aditya*; and that which has the word  $\text{पति}$  as its final member.

Thus  $\text{दिति} + \text{प्य} = \text{दित्यः}$  'the son of Diti.'  $\text{आदित्यः}$  'the descendant of Aditi.' The form  $\text{आदित्य}$  may also denote the son of  $\text{आदित्य}$  or sacred to *Aditya*,  $\text{आदित्यम्}$  'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with  $\text{पति}$ , as  $\text{मयापति} + \text{प्य} = \text{प्राजापत्यः}$ ; so also  $\text{सैनापत्यम्}$  ॥

*Vart* :—So also after the word  $\text{यज्य}$ ; as,  $\text{यज्यः}$  ॥ This *Vartika* is found in the *Kāśika* and not in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

*Note* :—In the *Chhandas*, after the words  $\text{यज्य}$ ,  $\text{वह्नि}$  and  $\text{वितुमन्}$  comes the affix  $\text{प्य}$  ॥ As,  $\text{यज्यप्य}$  (Vs. 13. 58.)  $\text{यज्यप्य}$  and  $\text{वितुमन्प्य}$  ॥

*Vart* :—The affixes  $\text{ञ}$  and  $\text{जञ्}$  come after the word  $\text{पृथिवी}$  ॥ Thus  $\text{पृथिवी} + \text{ञ} = \text{पार्थिवः}$ ;  $\text{पृथिवी} + \text{जञ्} = \text{पार्थिवः}$  ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be  $\text{पार्थिवी}$  by IV. 1. 4, S. 454 and that of the latter  $\text{पार्थिवी}$  applying IV. 1. 15 S. 470.

*Vart*:—The affixes यम् and षम् come after the word देव 'a god.' As देव्यम् or देवम् 'divine.'

*Pārt*:—There is elision of the final syllable of बहिस्, before the affix यम्; as बहिस् + यम् = बाह्यः 'external.'

*Vart*:—And the affix ईकम् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकम् = बाह्यीकः 'external.' (VII. 2. 118, S. 1076).

*Note*:—In the Chandas it takes the affix ईकम् as बाह्यीकः the difference being in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its *टि* portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the *टि* of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called *वृत्ता*. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the *टि* of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the *टि* of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the *avyaya* आसत् we get आसती &c; here the *टि* is not elided.

*Vart*:—Of the word स्थानम् the *टि* is replaced by च, as अम् + स्थानम् = अम्भस्थानः ॥ The च is changed to स as the compound belongs to Prishodarādi class.

*Tab*:—But there is elision of the *Taddhita* affix च after स्थानम् when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as अम्भस्थाना ॥ The word अम्भस्थानम् means अम्भस्य स्थानमस्य "whose strength is like that of a horse". It is a Bahuvrīhi.

*Vart*:—The *टि* of लोमम् is replaced by च in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow; as उडुल्लोमा, उडुल्लोमान् ॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness लोडुल्लोमा, (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096).

*Vart*:—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word लो, let the affix यम् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c.) from लो is expressed by लोयम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe लोयम् देहम् or आगतम् = लोयम् and लोयम् ॥

formed by the affix *ह्रीच्* (IV. I. 45; the word *द्वित्* being formed by the *Kṛt*-affix *त्विच्* and therefore it will take *ह्रीच्* in the feminine). To the feminine word *द्वित्* is added *ह्रस्व* and we get *द्वैतेयः* ॥ The *Paribhāṣā* *प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टत्वापि महद्यम्* (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *द्वैतेय* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the *Mahābhāṣya* or any *Vārtika*.

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ङङ् ।

औत्सः ॥

अप्रिकलिभ्यो ङङ् यत्तम्यः \* ॥ अमरपत्यादि भार्गवम् । काल्द्वयम् ॥

1078. The affix *अञ्* comes after the word *उत्स* &c in the various senses taught antecedently to *tena-divyati* &c.

This debars the affix *अञ्* taught in IV. I. 83. S. 1073. as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus *उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः*, *औत्सवान्* ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to *उत्सादि* class.

1 उत्स, 2 वसपान, 3 विकार, 4 विनय, 5 मदानन्द, 6 महानस, 7 महापाप, 8 लक्ष्य, 9 हस्तन, 10 वृक्षयास, 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पक्षि, 14 लगनी, 15 विश्वम्, 16 चातुर्वर्ण्य, 17 जनपद, 18 भस्म, 19 उशीनर, 20 धौम, 21 पीतुल्लव, 22 वसपान ईश, 23 वृषभ, 24 नक्षत्रीय, 25 रथेन्द्र, 26 मध्वंदिन, 27 वृक्ष, 28 महत्, 29 वसवत्, 30 कृत्, 31 पुरुषाल, 32 इन्द्रावसथ, 33 वज्रिह, 34 कल्लव, 35 सुवर्ण, 36 ईश, 37 श्रीमन्वत्तन्वति ॥

*Note* :—The word *धौम* in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody.' Therefore it is not so here; *धौमि विश्वम्* 'The *Grahaṣṭi* *Trishṭup* metre.' But *धेनः* 'belonging to summer.' The word *उत्स* here means 'metre,' and not *Veda*. The word *वृक्षयास* = *वृक्षय* *जसे*, the phrase *जसे* meaning *जतनसि*, (ज being the name given to *समास* by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be *वृक्षयजसि* ॥ The *Paribhāṣā* *महद्यमप्रातिपदिकेनतन्वति विशिष्टविशेषः* does not apply here. Therefore, *śāntavidhi* applies here and we have *अग्निवत्* (अग्नेर्नाम्न सङ्गः) ॥ The word *वसपान* takes *अञ्* when meaning a 'place': as *औत्सवानो वसः*; otherwise *औत्सपतिः* 'the son of *Udasthāna*.' The word *पृथ्व* takes *अञ्* when meaning 'a share', otherwise it will take *अञ्*, ॥ *पार्श्वोऽञ्* ॥

*Part* :—The affix '*gbak*' always comes after the words *Agni* and *Kali*, in the various senses of the affixes called *Prāgdivyatiya*. (See IV. 28, S. 1209) *अग्निवत्* and *कालिवत्* meaning 'born of *Agni*' and 'of *Kali*' respectively.

Here ends the section of affixes that . . . . .



१०७६ । स्त्रीपुंसभ्यां नञ्सन्जौ भवनात् । ४ । १ । ८७ ॥

भाव्यानां भवम इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुंसभ्यां क्त्वाप्रञ्जस्यौ स्त्रः । स्त्रीयः । वीजः । परार्थे च । स्त्रीपुंसेति ज्ञापकात् । स्त्रीवत् । पुंसवत् ॥

1079. The affixes नञ् and स्त्रञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ" ( V. 2. 1 S. 1802 ).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम् 'feminine'.

Note:—The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore, the word स्त्रीणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीपुंसम् (IV. 3. 58 S. 1428), 'existing in females', or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1248) 'a collection of females'; or स्त्रीणां जायतम् (IV. 2. 74 S. 1458) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीयो विनं (V. I. 5 S. 1665) 'suitable for females.' &c.

Similarly पुंस + नञ् = पुंसणम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix षम् taught in V. 1. 115. S. 1778. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुंसम् (and not पुंस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, E. 881 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of षम्, 1. 2 66 S. 932 the affix नञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीणम् ॥ The forms स्त्रीणम्, स्त्रीणां, पुंसणम् and पुंसणां are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. S. 1788 The ष् of पुंस is elided before नञ् by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54; had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

१०८० । द्विगोर्हृगनपत्ये । ४ । १ । ८८ ॥

द्विगोर्निमित्तं परागद्विगोऽप्यद्विगपत्यार्थः प्राग्दीप्ततीक्ष्णस्त्वय ह्यङ् रथात् । पञ्चपञ्च कपानिऽ  
ह्यङ्गः पुनितऽपः पञ्चकपान् । द्विगोर्निमित्तमेति द्विगम् । पञ्चकपान्द्विगं ह्यङ्गं पञ्चकपान् ।  
परादिः द्विगम् । पञ्चगमिह्यङ्गम् । अगपत्ये द्विगम् । ह्योर्निमित्तयोरपत्यं द्विगिनिः ॥

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound'. The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैव = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups."

*Note* :—Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as *sthāna-shaṣṭī*, the sense being 'there is the substitution of *luṅ*-elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a *pāṭipadika*. Like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपालस्यास्य संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so; there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपालस्यास्य संस्कृतः ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact there are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz. पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपालस्य संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a *Samāhāra* Dvigu). A *Samāhāra* and a Taddhitartha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपालस्यास्य संस्कृतः will always remain a *vaśya* and never give rise to a Taddhita.

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in ऐश्वर्यो गर्गेश्वरः पायसं = ऐश्वर्यगर्गेश्वरम् or ऐश्वर्यगर्गम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while *rupa* and *maya* begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic"? Observe द्वेष्टिभिः, a descendant of two Mitras.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

*Note* :—Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tensā dīpātī*?" Observe द्वैष्टिभ्यश्चिः ॥

*Note* :—How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in वैदिषाः, पाञ्चनदः and वाङ्मनः? The word वैदिषाः does not mean द्विषो विषया कधीते but द्वयदधा विषया, द्विविषया, द्विविषयानीति = वैदिषाः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु नदः but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समूहाद् = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे नदः = पाञ्चनदः ॥ So also with वाङ्मनः ॥

१०८१। गोत्रेऽनुनाचि। ४। १। ८९ ॥

अनादी ग्रन्थीव्यतीते विवक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यलुक् स्वात् । तर्थायां छत्राः । वृत्तात् ॥

1081. The *luṅ*-elision of *Patronymic* (*Gotra*) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by *Sutras* II. 4. 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati* &c. (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गर्ग्यः is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64 S. 1108). But the disciples of तनाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) which is a *prāgdivyatiya* affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be गर्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गर्ग्यः + छ ॥

Here applies the next sūtra.

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १६१ ॥

उलः पत्यपत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते परे च स्वाकारे । गर्ग्यायाः । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम् ।  
गर्ग्यो हितं गर्गीयम् । अस्ति किम् । गर्ग्येय आगत्यं गर्ग्यम् ॥

1082. The च, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्ग्याः + छ = गर्ग्याः (VII. 1. 2. S. 475) and not गर्ग्याः.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prāgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्ग्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'what is fit for the Gargas.'

Note :—Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1. S. 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sūtra V. 1. 5. S. 1665 not one of the *prāgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्ग्येय आगत्यं = गर्ग्यम् and not गर्ग्यम् ॥ Here the affix क्य, a *prāgdivyatiya* affix taught in sūtra IV. 3. 81 S. 1461 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग्य and not गर्ग्य.

१०८३ । नूनि नुक् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

प्राग्दीपनीये अत्राशे मन्थये विवक्षिते शुभमन्थयत्य लुक् श्वात् । नुक् नुक् नुक् गोपात्रं  
नुक् नुक् नुक् । नुक् नुक् नुक् । नुक् नुक् नुक् । नुक् नुक् नुक् । नुक् नुक् नुक् । नुक् नुक् नुक् ।  
नुक् नुक् नुक् ॥

Thus the Patronymic from 'शुक्र' is शुक्रकायनिः (IV. १. 160 S. 1184) with the affix किम् to be taught hereafter. The Yuvan of the latter is शौचकायनः (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) with the affix अण्; the word denoting the pupils of the latter is शौचकायसः by (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333 formed from शौचकायनिः). When अण् is elided the word शौचकायन becomes शुक्रकायन, and as the first syllable has no Vridhi letter now, there is no adding of छ in the sense of pupils; for छ is added by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vridhi letter.

१०८४ । पैलादिभ्यश्च । २ । छ । १६ ॥

एवौ युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् । पैलाया वैत्यण् । तस्मादेषां द्वय इति किम् । तस्य लुक् । पैलः पिता युवश्च ॥

तद्भाषायाः ॥ इत्यनगपेत्यणन्ताशाङ्गशब्दादेषां द्वय इति किमो लुक् । भाङ्गः पिता युवश्च ॥

1084. And after the words पैल &c., there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पैल + अण् = पैलः (IV. 1. 118 S. 1121). 'The Gotra descendant of Pila.' पैलः + किम् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix किम् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word.

*Note*:—Some say that the 'Paila &c., words are formed by the affix इण्; (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prāchyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शाङ्गि. 3. ताल्यकि. 4. साम्बकानि. 5. यद्वि. 6. रावणि.  
7. शौदञ्जि. 8. शौदञ्जि. 9. शौदञ्जि. 10. शौदञ्जि. 11. शौदञ्जि.  
12. शौदञ्जि. 13. वैद्य्यानि. 14. वैद्य्यानी. 15. यद्वि. 16. शौदञ्जि.  
17. शौदञ्जि. 18. शौदञ्जि. 19. शौदञ्जि. 20. शौदञ्जि. 21. शौदञ्जि. 22.  
तद्भाषायाः

G. *sūtra*:—The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadraja affix अण्. Thus the word भाङ्ग is formed by adding the affix अण् under IV. 1. 170 S. 1188 to अङ्ग; to this is added किम् under IV. 1. 156 S. 1180. This किम् is elided. As भाङ्ग meaning both father and son.

१०८५ । इणः प्राच्याम् । २ । छ । १७ ॥

मोघे य इण् उक्त्याद्युपपत्त्यस्य लुक् त्वान् नभेक्षीर्षं प्राचां भवति । यदागाररजपत्यम् । अठ



By the Sūtra IV. 1. 90 S. 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present Sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes कृक् and क्रिक् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कृक् is काव्य (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107); the Yuvan of काव्य is formed by कृक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) काव्यायनः ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kātyāyana will be कान्तीय or काव्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix क्रिक् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) The pupils of Yāskāyana will be called यास्कीयाः or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

१०८८ । तस्यापत्यम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

पदवन्तात् कृतसन्धेः सप्तमीरपत्येऽयं उक्तः वक्ष्यमाणस्य भवत्येव वा सङ्गः । उपगौरपत्यं औपगवः ।  
आदिबुद्धिरप्युपधादृष्टी पाथते ॥

तस्येकमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्तरार्धः शेष एधातो वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोगनमः ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं भाननः । कृतसन्धेः क्रिक् । क्रीत्पितिः । अङ्गत्तन्वृद्धपरिभाषया  
लाघुस्थितिर्ना भूह । समर्पपरिभाषया नेह । वस्तुवर्गोरपत्यं वैचस्यं । प्रथमास्तिक् । अपत्यवा-  
चकापत्येऽयं वा भूह । बाधनग्राह्यमपि । ऐववर्त्ताति स्यादन्वतरत्वाभिप्रेत्याहुर्नृत्तेः समासाऽपि ।  
उपगवस्यम् । मातिलान् जीह । औपगवी । आभपतः । शिल्पः । औत्सः । खैयः । वीक्षः ॥

1088. (The affixes अण्, ण्य &c, already mentioned in IV. 1. 83 S. 1673 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इङ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction).

*Note* :—This Sātra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) e. g. अण्, ण्य अङ् &c, and to the affixes that follow such as इङ् &c. The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case.

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगौरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved.

*Note* :—उपगु + अण् = औपगु + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI. 4. 146 S. 847 causing guṇa of final व, and VII. 2. 115 S. 254 requiring the vṛddhi of the final. The following discussion shows why guṇa takes place to the exclusion of vṛddhi though subsequent. औगुर्नः VI. 4. 146 S. 847 ("for व or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted guṇa before a Taddhita affix") is debarted

by the *subsequent* sūtra अचोऽङिति VII. 2. 115 S. 254 ('before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ण, Vṛddhi ■ substituted for the end vowel of a stem') for guṇa will find scope in विचक्ष्य &c. So let there be vṛddhi of the final च of वपयु ॥ This is one objection.

*Note* :—But if vṛddhi is not allowed, and च is guṇated to ओ, and we have by sandhi वपयो+■=वपयङ्+ञ then arises another difficulty; for the ञ of व now being penultimate requires vṛddhi by अत वपयावाः VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.

*Ans.* To remove both these difficulties the author says आदिवृद्धिः शब्दो वपावृत्ती वाचते "the vṛddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 debars the two vṛddhis, namely the vṛddhi of the final required by VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and the vṛddhi of the penultimate व required by VII. 2. 116 S. 2282."

*Note* :—(Because rule VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 is *subsequent* to these two.) The vṛddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in गौः (the affix घृ being गित् by VII. 1. 90 S. 284 causes vṛddhi of गौ by VII. 2. 115), and पापका with षट् added to पष् respectively where VII. 2. 116 applies. While the vṛddhi of the initial will find its free scope in सीशुतः from श्रुतम् ॥ But in स्वाद् from स्वद् and आगतः from अगत the rules VII. 2. 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII. 2. 117, and in their case the vṛddhi of the *initial* takes effect, because that rule (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) is *subsequent* This we do on the maxim सकृदिति &c. as well as by the inference of finding the word दुष्करत् in the list of Anuṣatikādi VII. 3. 20.)

*Note* :—For if the *initial* Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282), then we would have got the form पोन्नरसादि regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII. 2. 116 and 117; S. 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuṣatikādi class. But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛddhis cannot take place simultaneously.

*Note*—The *tasyedam* would certainly have included *tasyāpatyam*; for *idam* may be anything *apatya* &c. The necessity for making a separate *sūtra* for *apatyam* is this. The *Vṛddhāch chhah* excludes the *अय* of *tasyedam*; so that in case of *Vṛddha* words we have *ह* instead of *अय* ॥ But *ह* does not come after *Vṛddha* words in the sense of *apatya*. Hence this separate *sūtra*. If it be said that neither the *अय* of *tasyedam* nor its exception the *ह* of *Vṛddhāch chhah* can ever come in the sense of *apatya*, for they come in the *śaishika* senses only and *apatya* is not included in the *śaishika* sense; we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of *apatya* also in the *śaishika* sense, of *sūtra* IV. 2. 92. S. 1392. Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this *sūtra* is really to make *अय* applicable to *Vṛddha* words. Thus the son of *भानु* (a *Vṛddha* word) will be *भानवः* by the *अय* of this *sūtra*, and not *भानवीदः* by *ह* of S. 1337, which would have been the case had this *sūtra* not existed, and had *tasyedam* IV. 8. 120 S. 1590 been requisitioned to denote *apatya* also.

By the general rule *samartha-pada vīdhīh* (II. 1. 1. S. 647); (the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction.) Thus the words *उपगोपस्यम्* "Upagu's" "offspring" are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence:—*यस्मिन् उपगोपस्यं वैष्य* "the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra."

Why do we say "after the *first* word"? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case. Thus in *इन्द्रो देवता अस्य हविषः = ऐन्द्रिः हविः*, the affix is added to *Indra* in the first case in construction, similarly *उपगोपस्यमस्य देवस्य = औपगोपीदेवस्य*; or *देवस्योपगोपस्यमस्य* = *दैवस्योपगोपस्यः* should not be formed.

By force of the word *स* in IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 we can have a sentence also. As *उपगोपस्यम्* ॥

And by drawing in the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* from the *sūtra* IV. 1. 81 S. 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative. As *उपगोपस्यम्* ॥

The Patronymic being a *jāti* word takes *ही* in the feminine. As *औपगोपी* ॥

So also *प्राञ्जलः* । *दैत्यः* । *औत्तः* । *औद्यः* । *पौत्तः* ॥

*Note*—In explaining IV. 1. 82 S. 1072, we have used the words *कृतसन्धिकार्यत्वम्* "after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed." Why have we used those words? Otherwise observe the anomaly. Thus *ह* + *रत्थि* = *रत्थि*, *वि* + *ईक्षमाणः* = *वीक्षमाणः* ॥ If the affix be not added to the form *रत्थि*, but to *ह* + *रत्थि*, so also not to *वीक्षमाणः* but to *विईक्षमाणः* that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be *ही रत्थि* =



साधुरिपतिः and याचीक्ष्माणिः by force of वार्त्तासङ्गं बलीयः maxim, but the proper forms are सौरिपतिः and वैक्ष्माणिः ॥

Q. The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antaranga, will take effect *first*, and then the Vṛiddhi operation, which though an anga rule, is after all bahiranga with regard to sandhi; what is the necessity of using the word समर्थ at all in the sūtra IV, 1, 82 S. 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धिः ?

Ans. The very fact that Pāṇini has used the word समर्थ in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim अकृतान्वृत्ताः पाणिनीयाः "The followers of Pāṇini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears." (See p-30). Therefore had Pāṇini not used the word समर्थ in the sūtra IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the antaranga operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the bahiranga vṛiddhi and the forms would have been साधुरिपतिः and याचीक्ष्माणिः ॥ To prevent this समर्थ has been used.

**Kārikā.** तस्येतिवत्पदेऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

चत्सर्गः दोष एवातो वृत्तान्वस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

**Notes:**—The Kārikā should be broken up in order to understand it. तस्येतिवत्पदेऽपि ॥ The sūtra तस्येतिवत् (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इव may be applied to all things like अवस्य, समूह, विकार &c. Therefore अपत्य will come, by force of that sūtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sūtra tasyāpatyam? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sūtras अत इव &c. (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then why make a separate sūtra and not join it with the last? Ans: बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sūtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sūtra वृत्ताच्छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). That sūtra supersedes तस्येतिवत्, and so in the case of apatyam also, it would have applied instead of अपत्य where the base was a Vṛiddham word. But that is not desired. Hence the separate sūtra.

If it be objected that "the अन् or tasyedam, and its apavāda the affix छ of vṛiddhāch chah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2. 92 S. 1312 as the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance, and so the above objection does not arise." To this the answer is

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sūtra with *असह इम्* something like *तस्यापत्यम् असह इम्* ( IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 ); then it will govern those bases only that end in *अ* and the bases like *बाहु* &c. ( IV. 1. 95 and 96 S. 1095 and 1096 ), and not bases like *उपगु*; and therefore with regard to the base *उपगु* there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the Śaishika *तस्येदम्* ॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a śesha under the above circumstances. It will be an utsarga-śesha i. e. the remainder not covered by a general rule: the general rule here by supposition being *असह इम्* &c. Therefore *असह* of *तस्येदम्* with the force of apatya, will come after *Upagu*, but it will be debarred in the case of *बाहु* &c. by the rule *बुद्ध्या च* ॥ But if we make *tasyāpatyam* a separate sūtra, then there being no śesha, the *च* will never come under any circumstances.

Obj. If it be said that for bases like *उपगु* &c, which are not Vṛddham words, there will be no occasion for the addition of *च*, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sūtra. To this we reply.

Ans: *बुद्धान्नस्य प्रयोजनम्* The necessity of this sūtra is in the case of Vṛddham bases like *बाहुः*, *दयानुदुः* ( *एवाम् गार्हो ज्य* ) &c.

Therefore there must be this separate sūtra. Thus *नानोरपत्यं* = *भानपः* ॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sūtra "*tasyāpatyam*" is made for the sake of Vṛddham bases. Otherwise "*tasyedam*" would have been sufficient for bases like *Upagu* &c.

Notes:—Now we take up the farther explanation of the sūtra *samarthānām prathamād vā* " ( IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 ). Its explanation was postponed till now.

The maxim *समर्थः पञ्चविधिः* ( II. 1. 1. S. 647 ) applies here also. Thus *वस्त्रं उपगौरपत्यं चैव* "the garment of *Upagu*, the son of *Chaitra*". Here the two words *उपगौरपत्यम्* are not in construction; for *उपगोः* governs *वस्त्रं* and *अपत्यं* is governed by *चैव*, and so there is no affix.

Why do we say "after the first"? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations. In the sūtra *तस्यापत्यम्* there are two words, *असह* and *अपत्यं*, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatyam. Therefore, when searching for the *base* to which the affix is to be added, we shall take *असह* ॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word *प्रथमम्* at all.

Ans: The words "after the first" are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the *name* of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word. Thus the sūtra *tasyāpatyam*

is really ambiguous; for it literally means "let the affix *अण्* &c. come in the sense of "*His son*". The affix may come after *Upagu* exhibited in the genitive case; or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of *Upagu*. Thus if *Devadatta* be the name of the son of *Upagu*; then *देवदत्तः* is *उपगोरपत्यम्*; then by *tasyāpatyam*, the affix might be added either to *उपगुः* or to *देवदत्तः* ॥ To prevent this, *प्रयमात्* is used in the *sūtra*.

Moreover as in the case of इन्द्रो देवता यस्य हविः 'Indra is the devatā of this offering' we add the affix to इन्द्र denoted by the genitive case under the rule सास्त्रदेवता (IV. 2. 24. S. 1226); and get the form देन्द्र as applied to हविः; similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य "Upagu is the son of this Devadatta" we will have औपगवो देवदत्तः "Devadatta Aupagava" i. e. "Devadatta whose son is Upagu"; or in देवदत्तोपत्यमस्तौपगोः "Devadatta is son of this Upagu", we shall have देवदत्तोरुपगुः "Upagu whose son is Devadatta". Now this is not intended. We cannot have औपगवः in the sense of "He whose son is Upagu", nor देवदत्तः in the sense of "He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्ये, instead of the *taddhita* formed word औपगवः ॥

*Note* :—The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (*saṁāsa*); as उपगुरपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the *saṁāsa* rule here is not superseded by the *Taddhita*-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2, §. 175 because the *anuvṛtti* of *अपत्यस्य* is understood here from *sūtra* IV. 1. 81, S. 1201 so that in the alternative when the *Taddhita* affix is not employed, the *saṁāsa* rules will find scope. The word औपगवः being a *जति* denoting word (because *jāti* includes गोत्रं च चर्याः सह see *Kārikā* to IV. 1. 83. S. 518; therefore its feminine will be by टीप् (VI. 1. 83) as औपगवती ॥

१०८६ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्येन विवक्षितं पौत्रादि पौत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1089. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called *Gotra*.

*Note* :—When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called *Gotra*. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गोत्रिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गोत्रिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly चारुदः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called *Gotra*. Thus कोटिः, गोत्रिः ॥

*Note 1:—Q.* The word अपत्यं has been read uselessly in this sūtra, for grandsons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sūtra could have been well stated as *putra-pravṛtī goṭram*’.

*Ans.* Yes. Therefore in explaining the sūtra, the author has said “*apatyatvena vivakṣitam*”—“when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant.” Why do we say “when it is intended to express”? As a matter of fact, even grand-sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गार्गिः formed under the द्वेष rule गर्गस्येष्ट, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent. The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here.

Others say that the force of *vivakṣita* is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship. Therefore औपगदः though formed by गण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word.

१०६० । जीवति तु वंस्ये युवा । ४ । १ । १६३ ॥

वंसे पितामो जीवति वीजादेर्वंस्यं चतुर्थादि सप्तम्यस्तमेव न औपवंश्यम् ॥

1090. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called *Yuvan* only.

*Note 1:—*The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or ‘a line.’ One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such a वंश्यः is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called *Yuvan*. The phrase वीजप्रभृतयस्त्वं in the sūtra should be construed as वीजप्रभृतेर् बह्व अपत्यं ‘He who is the descendant of a grandson &c’ In the last sūtra however this phrase वीजप्रभृतयस्त्वं was properly construed by putting the word वीजप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning “a descendant being a grandson &c.” Thus the word *Yuvan* will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गार्गः ॥

अपत्यम् { गार्गिः. (son or putra)  
गार्ग्यः. (Gotra)  
गार्ग्ययवः. (Yuvan) if Garga or Gargi &c be alive.

The force of the word तु, in the sūtra is that it will be called *Yuvan* only, and not Gotra as well.

१०६१ । भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । ४ । १ । १६४ ॥

येष्टे भ्रातरि जीवति कनीयस्य चतुर्थादिपुत्रा स्मृतम् ॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

*Note*:—Even when a वृद्धः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not वान्श्या) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus: गार्ग्ययवः॥

The word वृद्धः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a वान्श्या, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when वान्श्या is not meant. Thus Gārgyāyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the older brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsāyana, Dākahyāna, and Plākshāyana.

१०६२ । गार्ग्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति । ४ । १ । १६५ ॥

आतुरग्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति वीचप्रभूतेरपत्ये जीवदेव युवसंतं वा स्यात् । एकं जीवतिप्रवृत्तमपत्यस्य पितृपत्नम् । द्वितीयं सपिण्डस्य । तद्वृत्तिर्देस इत्येवमप्युक्तम् । स्थविरं वृद्धं चोक्तं पितृव्ये मातामहे भ्रातरे वा जीवति । गार्ग्यस्यावयवम् गार्ग्ययवः । गार्ग्यो वा । स्थविरति किम् । स्थविरवयोन्तुने गार्ग्य एव । जीवतीति किम् । युते युतो वा गार्ग्य एव ॥

युवस्य च युवस्यामिति वाच्यम् \* ॥ गोपस्यैव युवसंज्ञा प्राच्यम् । गोपस्य युवसंज्ञा पुराणं गन्धमानाचारम् । तत्रभवान् गार्ग्ययवः । युवेति किम् । गार्ग्यः ॥

युवश्च कुत्सार्थं गोपसंज्ञेति वाच्यम् \* ॥ गार्ग्यो गार्ग्यः । कुत्सेति किम् । गार्ग्ययवः ॥

1092. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛtti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. S. 1090. (This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda. The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees.) The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर = comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, (superior both by degree of descent and by age,) such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c. when alive.

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्ययवः or गार्ग्यः ॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only. Why do we say

"when alive?" When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapinda is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्यः only.

*Vārtika* :—The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word *Vridhdha* is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians. As तन्न मवात् गार्ग्यदणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gārgyāṇa or Gārgya".

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of *Vridhdham* as given by other Grammarians is अवशदनन्तर्हितम्, वृद्धम् ॥

*Vārt* :—The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जात्यः or गार्ग्ययनो जात्यः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यदणः ॥

१०६३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्ययः स्यात् । उपगोत्रोपापत्य औपगवः । गार्ग्यः । गार्ग्यदणः ।

गोत्रे त्वेकोनसंख्यानं प्रत्ययानां परम्परा ।

यदा त्वद्विपुनसंख्येकोऽतिष्ठति तदा प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥

अपत्यं पितुरेव स्यात्ततः प्राधान्यमिति च ।

मतेनेन तद्व्याप्ये वृद्धिस्तयोस्तस्य ॥ २ ॥

पितुरेवापत्यमिति पते हि उपगोत्रवृद्धये गार्ग्ये औपगवादिभ्यः स्यात् । चतुर्थे लजीवज्ज्येष्ठे वृत्तद्वये औपगवेः कत् । इत्थं कर्मिणोः कर्मिणोः परम्परायां सूत्राच्छतमे गोत्रे एकोनशतं प्रत्ययाः स्युः । पितान्हासीनामप्राप्तिं सुख्यपदे तु वृत्तीयं गार्ग्यं उपगोत्रेण इडे तिष्ठेति अन्त्यन्तादिमात्रे स्यात् । चतुर्थे कर्मणि कर्मिणोः परम्परायां शततमे गार्ग्येऽङ्गनवविधनिष्ठप्रत्ययाः स्युः । अतो निधनार्थनिर्देशं सूत्रम् । एवमुत्तराद्वेदभ्यूहम् ॥

1093. One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low-so-ever) is to be indicated.

*Note* :—The word Gotra is defined in sūtra IV. 1. 162 "anu means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गार्ग्यः इमांशः (IV. 1. 83) The son of गार्ग्य (or in other words the grandson of गार्ग्य) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of a गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no

new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix *सम्* will be added to the word *सर्वे*, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of *सर्वे* will be formed by adding the affix *सम्* not to the base *सर्वे* (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 S. 1088 strictly applied), but to the base *सर्व* ॥ So that one base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

Thus the Gotra descendant of उपसृ is औपसर्ग, of सर्वे is सर्वर्ग, of नव is नवर्ग ॥

*Note 1*—The word *सोपे* in the sūtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class; i.e. all gotra descendants. The word *एक* is a numeral. If the sūtra be translated thus:—"when a Gotra-descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only"—then in the case of gotra-descendant the first word only takes the affix, and not any other. On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an apatya-affix, then there is not one affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant. Hence the author has explained by saying "One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c". The word *apatya* is read into the sūtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section.

Others explain the word *एक* as equivalent to प्रथम or first; and the first means the base which is devoid of any apatya-affix. They explain the sūtra thus. "The first or the original word takes the apatya-affix in denoting Gotra."

Thus the son of Upaga is Aupagava, the gotra descendant will be also Aupagava. The gotra-affix will be added to Upaga and not to Aupagava. Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix *सम्* also, just as the immediate descendant (i.e. son) is formed by *सर्ग*; and not by *सम्* ॥ For though औपसर्ग 'son of Upaga' is a word which ends in *सर्ग*, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix *सम्* ought to be added by IV. 1. 92 S. 1095; yet *सम्* is added by force of this sūtra. There is no specific Gotra affix for this word उपसृ ॥

Similarly *सर्वर्ग* formed by *सम्* of IV. 1. 105 S. 1107. Here *सम्* is specifically ordained to denote Gotra-descendants, and therefore, there is not *सम्* added by IV. 1. 92 S. 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i.e. son) is to be denoted. Thus here we have two forms, the son of Garga is *सर्वर्ग*, while the grandson and lower descendants will be *सर्वर्ग* ॥ Thus *सर्वर्ग* denotes not only the grandson of Garga, but the son of Gārgya as well. The word denoting the son of Gārgya (the grandson of Garga) will not be formed by *सर्ग* added to *सर्वर्ग*, because of the restriction of this rule: since one affix only can be added. The affix *सर्ग* would have been added by IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. in denoting the son of

Gārgya, for, he is a Yuvan : as Gārgyāyana. But when he is considered as a Gotra-descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gārgya.

Similarly नादायकः formed by क् under IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. Here also क् is specifically ordained to come after Nāḍādi words, and therefore the general affix इम् (IV 1. 95 S. 1095) is precluded : which now finds its scope in denoting the immediate descendant i. e. the son of Nāḍa. Thus Nāḍi is son of Nāḍa : while Nāḍāyana is the grandson of Nāḍa. The son of Nāḍāyana will be Nāḍāyana : and not Nāḍāyau, with the इम् of IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 ; because of the restriction of this sūtra which says only one affix is to be added.

*Perse* :—" In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant : or two less in number : the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base "

"The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only ; and in relation to older (than father) also," according to diversity of opinions. Hence the necessity of this sūtra, as well as of the next sūtra, to remove these anomalies. "

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say "a grandfather's apatya") ; when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इम् to औपगवः, (thus giving the form Aupagavi "the grand-son of Upagu"). Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vanāya) are dead, the affix क् is added (and we have औपगवायकः) ॥ (The son of Aupagavāyana will be by इम्, Aupagavāyani, his son will be Aupagavāyana and so on). Thus by the constant recurrence of क् and इम् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninety-nine affixes.

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand-father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अम् added to उपगु ; i. e. औपगवः will express the grandson also of Upagu : and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इम् will also come after अम् coding औपगवः ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be क् and then will commence the recurrence of क्, इम् क्, इम् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes.

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule, has this sūtra been enunciated.



This must be understood in the next sūtra also.

*Note:—Objection.* How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting one Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sūtra useless?

*Ans:—No.* The following considerations show the necessity of this sūtra. Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or propositus his son will be second, his grand-son will be third, and so on. The first or the Propositus takes no affix, in denoting the son or the second there will be one affix added; in denoting son's son or the third, two affixes will be added, and so on; so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety-nine affixes will be added. Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगवः ॥ The son's son of Upaga or the son of Anupagava will be औपगव + इम् = औपगविः ॥ The son's son of Upaga or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + क् = औपगवायनः ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवायन will be औपगवायन् + इम् = औपगवायनिः and then will commence the recurring series Thus. 1. Upaga, 2. Anupagava, 3. Anupagavi, 4. Anupagavāyana, 5. Anupagavāyani, 6. Anupagavāyana, 7. Anupagavāyani, 8. Anupagavāyana, 9. Anupagavāyani &c. Thus the second in degree or son has one affix अण्, the third has two affixes, अण्, and इम्; the fourth has three affixes अण्, इम् and क् the fifth has four affixes अण्, इम्, क् and इम् and so on. Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे एकौनतं वयानां मयवानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (parampara) of affixes whose number will be one less (eka-una) than the degree of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted." This is one anomaly to remove which the present sūtra has been made.

Though as a matter of fact, the final व and इ would have been always elided by दृष्टेति च (VI. 4. 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इम्, yet the number of affixes added will be always one less than the degree of descent.

Another necessity of this sūtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the base or prātipadika in the case of son is Upaga; in the case of grand-son or third descendant is Anupagava, or one now base; in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Anupagavi or second prātipadika, and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be ninety-eight now prātipadikas; i. e. always two less than the degree of descent. Therefore the verse says: यदा स्वदृष्ट्यन संशयोऽनित्यवृत्तिः प्रसज्यते "Or the anomaly (anishṭa) arises in the case of those prātipadikas which are less by two than the degree of descent." Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable prātipadika i. e. Anupagava: i. e. the affix is added to Anupagava and not to Upaga; in the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable prātipadika i. e. affix is added to Anupagavi and not to Upaga; and so on. Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being two less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sūtra in order to restrict the number of stems to one.

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word *apatya*. In one view the word अपत्य is restricted to the son of the father only: and not to grand-sons &c. This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines *apatya* thus:—

आत्मजस्तनयः पुत्रः सुतः पुत्रस्त्रियं स्वमी ।

आहुर्दुहितरं सर्वेऽपत्यं ताकं सयोः सन्धे ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree *Gotra* descendant.

The other and *siddhānta* view is that *apatya*, not only (means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand-daughter and lower descendants also. Thus *apatya* is not only of father, but of those who are older (*prābhāva*) than father also, i. e. of grand-father and great-grand father &c. In other words the word *apatya* should be taken in its etymological sense i. e. "he who prevents the fall (*patan*) of another"—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the fall of ancestors from heaven "न पतन्त्ययेनेति"—अपत्यम्" or यन्निमित्तं अस्यापतनं, तत् अपत्यम् ॥ And as grandsons &c prevent the fall of grand-father &c. = they are also called *apatya* (fall-preventer) of grand-father &c. In fact, it is in this wider sense of = "descendant," that the word *apatya* is used by Pāṇini himself in the *sūtra* *apatyam* *pauṭra* *pratyiti* *gotram* (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089).

१०९४ । गोत्रापत्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

युवपत्ये गोत्रमत्यवाप्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा । गर्गस्य युवानस्य गार्ग्यस्य । स्त्रियां गोत्रत्वदिक एव प्रत्ययः ॥

1094, When a descendant of the description denoted by *Yuvan* (IV. 1. 162 S. 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (*gotra*): but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the *Yuvan* of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्ययवः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). Similarly वात्स्यायनः, शतार्थयवः, क्लात्थायवः, क्षौण्वयवः, नादायवः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*"? Observe दासी which is the Feminine of दासि (Gotra) as well as of वात्सायवः (*Yuvan*). Similarly प्लासी feminine of प्लाधिः and प्लात्थायवः ॥ In short, *Yuvan* affixes are not added in the Feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *nigamas* rule, there will be no *nigamas* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the Sātra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् युनि प्रत्यये नवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियम् (2) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

१०९५ । अत इङ् । ४ । १ । ९५ ॥

अदन्तं यत्प्रतिपदिकं सत्प्रकृतिकात्प्रत्ययान्तरिम् स्वदपत्येऽयं । दाक्षिः ॥

1095. The affix इङ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debarb प्रत्य (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus दक्षस्यपत्यं=दाक्षिः 'a descendant of Daksha.'

Note:—Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ by I. 1. 69 and 70 S. 14 and 15) ? The descendant of शुभयाः or कीलाजयाः (words which end in long अ) will not be formed by the affix इङ् ॥

The descendant of दाक्षस्य by this sūtra is दाक्षिः, but the form दाक्षस्य formed by प्रत्य is also met with. As "प्रवीयस्य दाक्षस्यै वैचिती" 'Give Śīta to the son of Daśaratha'.

१०९६ । बाहुदिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ९६ ॥

बाह्विः । शौदुलेभिः । प्रकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1096. The affix इङ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'bāhu' &c.

Thus बाह्विः "a descendant of the clan of Bāhu." The words 'Bāhu' &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इङ् ॥ Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. So also शौदुलेभिः ॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (प्रकृतिगणः) ॥

1 दाह. 2 उपराह. 3 वरशकु. 4 निशकु. 5 मिशकु. 6 पदाकु. 7 उपविन्दु (दरविन्दु) 8 वृषणी. 9 दक्षरा. 10 पूरा. 11 लम्बा. 12 मुदिका. 13 रुद्रजा. 14

भगता (हगता) 15 पुक्ता, 17 सुमित्री, 18 हुमित्री, 19 पुक्तावद्, 20 अगुहन्, 21 देवसर्पन्, 22 अग्निधर्मन्, 23 भद्रधर्मन्, 24 सुधर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितीजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावद्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 34 नाव, 35 क्षासदिन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 मृच्छन्ततिदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरनदिन्, 41 प्राकारनदिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीर्ण, 44 कुष्ण, 45 पुषिष्ठि, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्भ, 48 गद, 49 प्रसुप्त, 50 राग, 51 उदङ्, 52 उदकः संतापान्, 53 संभ्राम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक्ष, 55 वृक्षान्, 56 सनक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वतिः 58 आक्षिपः 59 ऐन्धर्षिः 60 आक्षेपेतिः इत्यादि ॥

*Vari:—*The words नाह &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इम् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called नाह will be नाहवः ॥

*Vari:—*The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of स्वहृन् meaning 'father-in-law' is स्वहृन्, but when it means a person called Śvafura, then the derivative will be स्वाहृन् ॥

*Note:—*The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus ज्ञानिः, ऐन्द्र्यनिः, आक्षेपेतिः, आक्षेपन्तिः, सौकुलोतिः ॥

१०९७ । सुधातुरकङ् च । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

पादिम् । सुधातुरपत्न्यं सौधातकिः ॥ व्याख्येयद्विवादव्यपञ्चानविन्यासं वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1097. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhātri in denoting the descendant, and the ङ् of sudhātri is replaced by the substitute कङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्न्यं—सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhātri'.

*Vari:—*The substitute कङ् replaces the finals of 'यात्, वद्, निषाद्, चयनात् and विम्भ' when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus ऐन्द्र्यसक्तिः, शरत्सक्तिः, नैषासक्तिः, आक्षेपसक्तिः, ऐम्भसक्तिः ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sūtra.

१०९८ । न व्याख्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामेच् । ७ । ३ । ३ ॥

पदान्ताभ्यां यकारव्यपञ्चान् परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ कभादेवावगमो स्तः । शेषासक्तिः । शरत्सक्तिरित्यदि ॥

1098. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory च्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्,

but दे and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is दे is placed before दृ, and औ before द्र ॥ As वैयासकिः, from व्यास; वासुदेकिः &c. = also वैयाकरणः from व्याकरणं (व्याकरणावधीने) सौवर्धः from स्वधः (स्वधस्त्यापत्यं) ॥

१०९६ । गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चक्म् । ४ । १ । ९८ ॥

1099. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'kuñja' &c, when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix क्वम् the letter म् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix क्वम्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113 S. 1100 by which the words ending in the affix क्वक्व take the further affix च (च्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter म् of this affix causes Viddhi (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). Then remains क्व which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, S. 475 is replaced by चायन् ॥

Note:—The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

११०० । मातृक्फञोरस्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

मातृवादिभ्यश्चक्मन्तेभ्यश्च स्रार्ये ऽयःस्वान् तु स्रियाम् । कौञ्जायनः । बहुव्रीहौ तद्वागत्वास्तु-  
पत्यन्ते । मातृनायनः । स्रियाम् कौञ्जायनी । गोत्रस्थेन जातित्वान्दीय । अवनवपत्ये कौञ्जिः ॥

1100. The affix nya comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in chphañ (भायन IV. 1. 98 S. 1099), without change of sense; but not in the feminine.

Note:—A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence is called हाल or 'wild band'.

Thus कुञ्ज + क्वम् = कौञ्ज + चायन् + च = कौञ्जायन ॥ This is not a complete word as yet. We must add च by the present sūtra thus the full word is कौञ्जायनः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायनौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix च्य being elided by II. 4. 62, S. 1193 in the plural, it being an affix of the वह्वा class (IV. 1. 174 S. 1192). Similarly मातृनायनः, मातृनायनौ, मातृनायनाः ॥

Why do we say "not in the Feminine? Observe कपेलपात्री, मीरिगता, कौञ्जायनी, मातृनायनी ॥ The affix दीप् is added as Gotra is a jāti word

Why do we say "when ■ Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जि: "the son of Kuñja". Here इञ् is added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant.

११०१ । नडादिभ्यः फक् । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । नादायनः । चारायणः । जनस्तपे नादिः ॥

1101. The affix फक् comes, in denoting ■ Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नङ् and the rest.

Thus नादायनः (नङ् + फक् = नाड + प्रायण VII. 2. 118 S. 1076 and VII. 1, 2 S. 475). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नङ् will be नादिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word द्यलङ्कु is changed to द्यलङ्क before this affix. Thus शालकायनः ॥ The word शालङ्कि occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, S. 1084. The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालङ्कि is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, S. 1096 as belonging to Bāhrādi class which is an Akṣī-gaṇa. The word समिर्शनन् takes फक् when denoting the दृषगण gotra, e. g. आदिशर्मायणः = चार्दणायणः; otherwise the form will be समिर्शनः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form क्राष्णायनः when a Brāhmana is meant; otherwise क्राष्णिः, so also दशायनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राशिः ॥ The word श्रेष्ठ is changed to श्रेष्ठ as कैशायनः ॥

1 नङ्, 2 चर (चर) 3 यक, 4 हुञ्, 5 इतिक्, 6 इतिथि, 7 ह्यक्, 8 एक, 9 जनक, 10 द्यलङ्कु द्यलङ्क च, 11 सप्तलङ्, 12 वाजलङ्, 13 तिङ्, 14 समिर्शनन् दृषगणे, 15 माय, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किङ्कर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 क्षातल, 27 कारवप (कुस्वप) 28 कारय, 29 क्षात्य 30 क्षल, 31 अष्टुण्ड (अष्टुष्ण) 32 कुम्भारयो ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे, 33 अमित्र, 34 लिष्ट, 35 विश, 36 कुनार, 37 क्रोष्ट क्रोष्ट च, 38 लौई, 39 दुर्ग 40 क्षम्भ, 41 क्षिण्पा, 42 अम, 43 हृष्ट, 44 यज्ज, 45 सुगमल, 46 सुमत, 47 निमल, 48 क्षत्र, 49 जलधर, 50 सध्वर, 51 धुर्धर, 52 ऐसक, 53 दम्बिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पित्रथ, 56 पंचाल, 57 यमनिन्, 58 झुल्ल, 59 हिवरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 भटक, 62 बंदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 धरप, 65 जङ्ग, 66 इण्ड, 67 सञ्ज, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोय, 72 अलोद, 73 दण्डप, 74 जङ्, 75 अश्वक, 76 यानल, 77 नायक, 78 अयनसद, 79 अस्तयन, 80 दण्डरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 क्षात्र, 84 यव ॥

११०२ । दृष्टिदिभ्योऽञः ४ । १ । १०० ॥

एम्होऽभुनोभ्यो युनि फक् । दृष्टिदायनः । इद गोत्राधिकारेऽपि सप्तम्यर्थेऽन्यथ । नादि गोत्रादप्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययः । निदायनार्थयो दृष्टिदिः ॥

1102. The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c. when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104)

The words हरित &c. form a subdivision of विद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 takes the affix अम् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित+अम्) ॥ The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हरित+फक्=हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita." In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हरित being already formed by a Gotra-affix अम् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here ॥ Yuvan-affix.

११०३ । यमिनोऽञ् । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोषे यौ यमिनौ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनालीलुकेऽपलत्वेति यमोपो न । गार्गायणः । दादायणः ॥

1103. The affix फक् is added in denoting ॥ (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यम् and इम् ॥ Thus यम्+अम् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) = गार्ग्यं ॥ गार्ग्यं+फक्=गार्ग्यायनः ॥ यञ्+इम्=दादिः; दादि+फक्=दादायणः ॥

It is not every word that ends in यम् or इम्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक्; but only that word where the affix यम् or इम् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यम् is added by IV. 3. III S. 1320 to denote proximity to a son. As हिव+यम्=ह्रैयः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 the affix इम् is added to the words छुतेयन &c, the force of the affix being पातुर्वापिक ॥ Thus छुतेयनिः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

११०४ । सरत्तुनकदर्भाद्गुचत्साग्रयणेपु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोषे फक् । यमिनोऽपवादः । आयौ बिलादी । शारद्वतायनो भार्गवधेत् । शारद्वतोऽन्यः । शीनकायनो शारद्वधेत् । शीनकोऽन्यः । दाभायण चापायणधेत् । दामित्यः ॥

1104. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'saradvat', sunaka' and

'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Āgrāyana respectively.

The first two words द्रुहत् and द्रुनकः belong to विदादि class, and therefore would by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 have taken the affix अम् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins कम् instead. This debars the affixes अम् and इम् ॥ The affix कम् is a Gotra affix here.

Thus शारदाशयनः = शर्मन्; otherwise शारदतः (formed by अम्); शौमकाशयनः = शकन्; otherwise शौनका, दामयिषः = दामायणः otherwise शर्मन्, formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95).

११०५ । द्रोणपर्वतजिवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १०३ ॥

पञ्चो गोत्रे कम् वा । द्रोणाशयनः । द्रोणिः । पार्वताशयनः । पार्वतिः । जिवन्ताशयनः । जिवन्तिः । अत्रादिरिह द्रोणः । अन्यस्यान्यनन्तरे तुपचापत् ॥

1105. The affix कम् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words: 'Droṇa,' 'Parvata,' and 'Jivanta.'

This debars इम् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रोणाशयनः or द्रोणिः; पार्वताशयनः or पार्वतिः; जिवन्ताशयनः or जिवन्तिः ॥

The affix कम् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रोणाशयनः and not द्रोणिः in the phrase "अश्वत्थामा द्रोणाशयनः"? The द्रोणः here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhārata, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रोणाशयनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Draupāyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६ । अनुप्यङ्गुतये विदादिभ्योऽङ् । ४ । १ । १०४ ॥

पञ्चोऽङ् गोत्रे च त्वचानुप्यङ्गुतये अनन्तरे । अङ्गु स्वार्थे ष्वङ् । विदास्य गोत्रापत्ये वेदाः । अनन्तरो वेदिः । बाह्यादेरुक्तिगणत्यादिम् । उपस्थापत्ये पौत्रः । दौहित्रः ॥

1106. The affix अङ् comes after the words 'Bida.' &c, in denoting a remoter (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अङ् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant.



in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting = descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no alpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which 'is a name of Parasūram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyāsa the son of Parāśara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by यौचरूपाध्वारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper spatya forms are by ण्वयञ् (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥ In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies :—

११०८ । यञञोच्च । २ । ४ । ६४ ॥

गोत्रे यद्यप्रत्ययप्रत्यये च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुप्तस्यान्तकृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । गार्गाः । वत्साः । विदाः । ऊर्वाः । तत्कृते इति किम् ! प्रियगार्ग्याः । स्त्रियां तु गार्ग्यः स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् ! द्वेष्याः ॥ जीत्ताः । प्रवराभ्यायमसिद्धमिह गोत्रम् । घेनेह न । यौवाः । दौहित्राः ॥

1108. And there is *luk-elision* of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and अञ् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यञ् = गार्ग्यः ; plural गर्गाः 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga.' So also वत्साः 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa'; the singular being, दाह्यः ॥ Similarly, विद् + अञ् = वैद् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) ; plural विदाः, similarly कीर्त्तः singular ; ऊर्वाः plural.

Why do we say tat-krite bahutve 'when the plural is of that word alone' ? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्यः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved ;' प्रियवैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.' Here the Plural is not of the word Gārgya, but of those who love Gārgya.

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः is the feminine plural of गर्ग n

११०६ । मधुवस्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः । ४ । १ । १०६ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् । माधव्यो ब्राह्मणः । माधवोऽयः । ब्राह्म्यः । कौशिकस्तुतिः । वामनोऽयः ।  
बभ्रवाधस्त्य भार्गवित्पाठस्त्यसि नियमार्थमिदम् । यन्तदिपाठफलं तु लोहितवादिकार्ययम् । ब्राह्मव्याख्या ॥

1109. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and वसु, when the words so formed mean 'a Brāhmaṇa' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brāhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu."  
ब्राह्म्यः = कौशिकः Rishi. Otherwise ब्राह्मवः ॥

The word वसु belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken यञ् by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a *niyama* or restriction, viz. वसु takes यञ् then only when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितदि, the rule IV. 1. 18 S. 476 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ण् ॥ Thus पाण्डवायसी ॥

Note :—In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Ganapātha, instead of writing वसु alone, there was वसु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

१११० । कपिवौधादाङ्गिरसे । ४ । १ । १०७ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् इत्यङ् । कप्यः । वौधः । आङ्गिरसे किम् । कपियः । वौधिः ॥

1110. The affix यञ् comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and वौध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = कप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras'. So also वौधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कपियः (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125) 'the gotra-descendant of Kapi' so also वौधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 95 S. 1096) class.

Note :—The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'यञ्' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18 S. 476. Thus कप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi".

The word *anantarya* in the *sūtra* is formed by the affix *अन्तर्* without changing the sense. In fact *अनन्तर्य* is equal to *अनन्तर* "an immediate descendant." Thus the Gotra descendant of Bida will be *बैदः*; but the immediate descendant will be *वैदिः* formed by *इम्* of IV. 1. 96 S. 1096, as it belongs to *Bāhvādī* class which is an *Akṛitigaṇa*. Similarly the son of a son (*putra*) will be *पौत्रः* ॥ So also *दौहित्रः* ॥

*Note*:—This *Sūtra* consists of four words: *अनृषि* "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; *अनन्तर्य* "is expressing an immediate descendant." *विदादिभ्यः* "after *Bidādi* words" *अम्* "the affix *अम्*" Thus of the words falling in *Bidādi* class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दूहित्र 'daughter,' नानान्द 'sister-in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix *अम्* is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अम् = पौत्रः 'grand-son.' दूहित्र + अम् = दौहित्र. "daughter's son." But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix *अम्* makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद + अम् = वैदः 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of Bida.'

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this *sūtra*? To this we reply, that the phrase *अनृष्यान्तर्य* should be thus construed. The word 'anṛṣi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word *अनन्तर्य* is the same as *अनन्तर*, the affix *अन्तर्* being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like *पौत्र* &c. denote the immediate (anantara) descendants of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—'after a *Bidādi* word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'अम्' is added in denoting an immediate descendant.'

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words विद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus विद forms वैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 S. 1098 इम् and not by *अन्तर्* of IV. 1. 114, because विद is supposed to belong to the *Akṛitigaṇa* of *Bāhvādī*.

- 1 विद. 2 उर्य. 3 कपयथ. 4 कुयिक. 5 भरद्वाज. 6 उपमन्यु. 7 किलात. 8 कन्दर्प (किन्दर्प) 9 विमानर. 10 कपिवेण (कपिवेण) 11 कृतमाथ. 12 हर्षथ. 13 धियक. 14 आपस्तम्ब. 15 पूषथ. 16 छत्रम्. 17 शनक (शनक्) 18 धेनु. 19 गोपदन. 20 शिषु. 21 विन्. 22 भोगक. 23 भावन. 24 शनिक. 25 अन्धपत्तन. 26 दयामक. 27 दयामक. 28 दयामि. 29 दयामर्. 30 हरित. 31 किंदात. 32 बहस्क. 33 सर्वशुष (सर्वशुष) 34 अन्धोण. 35 विष्णु. 36 बृह. 37 प्रतिबोध. 38 रथित. 39 रदीतर (रयनर) 40 गंधर्वित. 41 निपाद. 42 छत्र. 43 छत्रय. 44 यदर. 45 वृषाकु. 46 वृषाकु. 47 वृ. 48 पुनर्. 49 पुत्र. 50 दूहित्र. 51 नवान्द. 52 परस्त्री परशु प. 53 किलात. 54 गन्धक. दयामक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु, when taking the affix यञ् ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Sādhya woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुयतिकृदि (VII. 3. 20 S. 1438) and कन्यापत्यादि (IV. 1. 126 S. 1131) clauses also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्रैवेयः, with double वृद्धि of both members by VII. 3. 20 : S. 1438; which does not take place in the पारशवः ॥

११०७ । गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् । ४ । १ । १०५ ॥

गौत्र इत्येव । गार्ग्यः । गार्ग्यः ॥

1107. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also गार्ग्यः &c.

गर्ग, 2 वन्त, 3 काजासे, 4 संस्तुति, 5 यञ्, ॥ व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदधत्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्त्य, 10 पुनस्ति, 11 वनस, 12 रेव, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शय, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 शवर, 20 मन, 21 धनञ्जय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जगन्नाथ, 25 लोहित, 26 शंसित, 27 वज्र, 28 वन्तु, 29 नयत्, 30 गयत्, 31 शंख, 32 शिष्ट, 33 वृद्ध, 34 मन्तु, 35 मन्त्र, 36 अग्निष्ट, 37 जिगीष्ट, 38 मन्त्र, 39 तन्तु, 40 नदादी, 41 सप्त, 42 कथक, 43 कन्यक, 44 कथ, 45 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 सप्त, 47 शक, 48 सल्ल, 49 शय, 50 वतयत्, 51 कविकत, 52 कत, 53 कथ, 54 मन्त्र, 55 कुक्षक, 56 अगस्त्य, 57 कवि, 58 पुनस्तु, 59 शक्ति, 60 कथ, 61 शकल, 62 शोकल, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुंशिकनी, 65 यशस्वक, 66 यशस्वक, 67 अगस्त्य, 68 शिष्ट, 69 वृक्ष, 70 वृक्ष, 71 अग्निष्ट, 72 वर्यक (वयक) 73 वृक्ष, 74 शिष्ट, 75 वृक्ष, 76 अगस्त्य, 77 वयक, 78 अगस्त्य, (आगस्त्य) 79 मन्त्र, 80 मन्त्र, 81 अगस्त्य, 82 शकल, 83 वृक्ष, 84 वृक्ष, 85 अगस्त्य (अगस्त्य) 86 वृक्ष, 87 वृक्ष, 88 वृक्ष, 89 वृक्ष, 90 वृक्ष, 91 वृक्ष, 92 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 93 वृक्ष, 94 वृक्ष, 95 वृक्ष, 96 वृक्ष, 97 वृक्ष, 98 वृक्ष, 99 वृक्ष, 100 वृक्ष, 101 वृक्ष, 102 वृक्ष, 103 वृक्ष, 104 वृक्ष, 105 वृक्ष, 106 वृक्ष, 107 वृक्ष, 108 वृक्ष, 109 वृक्ष, 110 वृक्ष, 111 वृक्ष, 112 वृक्ष, 113 वृक्ष, 114 वृक्ष, 115 वृक्ष, 116 वृक्ष ॥

Note:—The word मन्त्र is found in the लोहितदि subset of this class. It ought to take क् after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, S. 476; how then the form गार्ग्यी

११११। वतण्डाश्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातण्डः । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गर्गादी शिवादी च वातायमणौ । वातण्ड्यः ।  
वातण्डः ॥

1111. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant, of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आङ्गिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and in the Sivādi class (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). It would have taken both affixes यञ् and षण् ॥ The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take षण् of the शिवादि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both those affixes e. g. वातण्ड्यः and वातंडः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

१११२। लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतण्डाद्योनि विहितस्य लुक् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । आङ्गिरसादित्यान् ङीन् । वतण्डी । अनाङ्गिरसे  
॥ वातण्डाद्योनी । लोहित्यादित्यान् ष्कः । आपि तु वतण्डी । कथित्वाद्भ्रमणः व्यह् न ॥

1112. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. As the word belongs to Śaraṅgaravādi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV. 1. 73.

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 S. 527) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vātaṇḍa of the clan Angirasa." Why do we say "of Angirasa?" Observe वातण्डाद्योनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitaḍi rule (IV. 1. 18 S. 476). When वतण्ड takes षण् under Sivādi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with षट्, yet in the feminine, there is not व्यह् substitution (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), because Vātaṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

१११३। अम्यादिभ्यः फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । अम्यादयः ॥ पुंनि गोत्रे \* ॥ पुंसीति हि प्रकृतिवर्धनम् । जातस्य गोत्रास्य  
जातस्यः । पुंसीति । इत् । अनाया अयते अभियः ॥

1113. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अम्य &c.

The anuvritti of Āggrasā does not extend to this aphorism. Thus  
 अश्व + फञ् = अश्व + आश्व (VII. 1. ॥ S. 475) = आश्वानः (VII. 2. '17 S. 1075)  
 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Āśva'

*Note*.—Similarly आश्वानः ॥ There are some words in this class which  
 already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आश्वैय, वैश्य, and आनङ्ग ॥ After these  
 words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yavan affix. The word आश्वैय  
 is formed by अश्वि + टक् (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125). वैश्य = वशि (a Rajarshi) + ञ् (IV.  
 1. 171 S. 1189), and आनङ्ग = अनङ्ग + ञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). The word अश्व  
 takes phañ only when it denotes an Ātreya, as आश्वानः, otherwise आश्वि, with इञ्  
 or श्वः with अण् ॥

*Vartika*.—The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of  
 a male is to be denoted, as जातस्थपत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातियः with  
 टक् ॥

The word आश्वैय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आश्वैयानः,  
 otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 22, S. 3399 leaving  
 the form आश्वैयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आश्वय of the above list mean that when a person  
born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra,  
then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Ātreya but gets a new Gotra of  
Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजानः, otherwise the form will be भरद्वाजः with ञ् of  
 IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्वम् 3 श्व 4 अश्वक 5 विद 6 पुत्र 7 रोहिण 8 खजूर (खजूर)  
 9 खज्जार 10 बल 11 विजुल 12 भविजल 13 भविज 14 भविजल 15 भविज 16  
 भविज 17 एनीद 18 चान्त 19 काश 20 वीक्ष 21 वीक्षक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्वर  
 25 अक 26 अदिष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पविज 29 वीनिज 30 श्वय 31 धूम 32 धूम 33  
 पविनर् 34 विमानर 35 कुट 36 अश्वश्वे 37 अश्व 38 अश्व 39 खज 40 वीक्ष 41  
 अर्क 42 कित 43 विक्ष 44 विशाल 45 विरि 46 चपल 47 विर 48 श्वक 49 वैश्य  
 50 (वैश्य) प्राश्व 51 धर्म 52 आनङ्ग 53 इति जाति 54 अश्वय 55 धूमन 56 धूमन  
 57 नम 58 (नमन्) पान्त 59 धन 60 आश्वय भरद्वाज 61 भरद्वाज आश्वे 62 इत्त 63  
 चातव 64 कितव 65 अद 66 धन 67 पाद 68 शिव 69 खदिर 70 भविज 71 मीवा  
 72 कुल 73 काण 74 नद 75 वीक्ष 76 नद 77 खज 78 खज 79 नद 80 वीक्ष  
 81 नम ॥

१११४। अश्वान्तर्गतः। ४। १। १११५ ॥

श्वे फञ्। भार्गव्यस्त्रैगतः। भार्गव्यः ॥

1114. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a  
 Gotra descendant, after the word मर्ग, when the meaning is  
 a Traigarta.

Thus भार्गवणः = वैगर्गः; otherwise भार्गः ( IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 ).

१११५ । शिवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

नोत्र इति निवृत्त्यः । शिवस्यपत्यं शैवः । गङ्गाः । पत्ने विकारित्वात् किम् । गङ्गायनिः । शुभादित्वाद्दक् । गङ्गायः ॥

1115. 'The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word नोत्रे ( IV. 1. 98 S. 1099 ) does not extend this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इन् &c. Thus शिव + अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'.

Note :—The word सत्तन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class. Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इन् by IV. 1. 158; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. S. 1176. Thus सत्तन् + अण् = सत्तणः ॥ सत्तन् + ण्य = सत्तण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134

The word गङ्गा occurs in this class, as well as in the Subhrādi class ( IV. 1. 123 S. 1126 ) and the Tikādi ( IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 ). There are thus three forms of this word :—गङ्गः, गङ्गायनिः with किम् and गङ्गायः with इक् ॥

The word विषासा occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjādi class ( IV. 1. 98 S. 1099 ). It has thus two forms : वैषासः and वैषासायन्य with chphān.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river : the affix इक् ( IV. 1. 121 S. 1124 ) would have debarred the सप्तमिक अण् of ( IV. 1. 113 S. 1116 ) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river नामो पिपेयी would be formed by अण् ( IV. 1. 113 S. 1116 ), as वैपेयः but this is replaced by विपेयः.

- 1 शिव 2 नोत्र ॥ शैविक 4 पण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 घृति 7 दण्ड ॥ कुश 9 ककुम्भ (ककुभा) 10 चनभिक्षान 11 कोदित 12 घृत् ॥ संधि 13 घृति 15 ककुम्भ 16 कदोद 17 कोदद 18 कद्व 19 कद्व 20 रोध ॥ कर्षवज्र (कुर्वज्र) 22 खंजन 23 वण्ड 24 एण्ड 25 वीण्ड 26 जण्ड 27 वरि 28 वरि 29 विट 30 वैट 31 वारिका 32 वारिका 33 कपिक 34 अतिमिका 35 अतिमिका 36 मंजरीक 37 38 मंजरीक 39 मंजरीक 40 मंजरी 41 मंजरी 42 कर्षव 43 वैट 44 वैट 45 वारिक 46 विषण 47 वण 48 वरिका 49 वीण्ड 50 विट 51 विट 52 विट 53 वारिक 54 वारिक 55 वरिका 56 वरिका 57 वरिका 58 वरिका 59 वरिका 60 वरिका 61 वरिका

62 आर्यभेत (अर्यभेत) 63 सुषिष्ट ■ मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खड्गकर्ण 67 खड्ग  
 68 सत्तम् 69 कटिपथ 70 मर्मो 71 विपाथ 72 यस्क 73 जह्य 74 दुह्य 75 अयः स्थूण  
 76 वृणकर्ण (वृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 मलन्दन 79 विकृपाथ 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी  
 83 द्यौचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवर्ण च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 करोथ 88  
 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 सडाक, 91 पडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an साकृतिगण ॥

१११६ । अष्टुङ्गाभ्यो नदीमानुषीण्यस्तत्रामिकाभ्यः । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अष्टुङ्गेभ्यो नदीमानुषीणामभ्योऽण् स्वात् । इकीडपवादः । यामुनः । नार्मदः । चित्तिताया अपत्यं  
 चैन्नितः । भावुङ्गेभ्यः क्तिम् । वासपदत्तयः । नदीत्यादि क्तिम् । वैनवेयः । तत्रामिकाभ्यः क्तिम् । शोभनाया  
 अपत्यं शोभनेयः ॥

1116. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-  
 cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,  
 when such words are not Vṛiddham words; and when they  
 are used as names and not as adjectives.

अण् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics  
 are formed from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to  
 that.

Note:—The word Vṛiddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical  
 Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like  
 IV. 1. 166, S. 1092 but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word  
 whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (1. 1. 73 S. 523). The word अष्टुङ्गाभ्यः shows  
 the orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः  
 declares the meaning of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same  
 base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable,  
 and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तत्रामिकाभ्यः applies  
 both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā नार्मदः 'son of the Nar-  
 madā'. These are all names of rivers. Similar यैन्नितः 'son of चित्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe वासपदत्तय  
 formed by वङ् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why do we say being 'names of  
 rivers or women'. Observe वैनवेयः ॥ Why do we say "when it is a name?"  
 Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं=शोभनेयः "the son of a beautiful woman".

१११७ । ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुम्भेभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

मृषयो मन्त्रद्वयः । वासिष्ठः । वैश्वामित्रः । अन्धकेभ्यः श्याफल्कः । वृष्णिभ्यः । वासुदेवः ।  
 अनिरुद्धः । शौरितिलि तु नाह्वादिवादिम् । कुम्भेभ्यः, माकुम्भः । साहदेवः । इम् एवायमपवादो मन्त्रेयशद-  
 म्भायात् । अशिशब्दात् परत्याह्वकः । अशियः ।



1117. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of **Āndhaka**, **Vṛishṇi**, and **Kuru**.

This debars the affix **इम्** ॥ The Rishis are like **Vasishṭha**, **Viśvāmītra** &c. Thus **वासिष्ठः**, **वैश्वमित्रः** ॥ So also **आण्डकः**, **रम्भसः** being persons belonging to the family of **Āndhaka**; and **असुदेवः**, **वामिस्तः** being persons belonging to the family of **Vṛishṇi**. The word **चौरिः** however, is formed by **इम्** because it belongs to **Bāhvādi** class. And **नाकुलः**, **साहदेवः** being persons belonging to the family of **Kuru**.

This sūtra debars **इम्** only, on the maxim **मध्येश्वाद्** ॥ The word **आदि** is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins **अण्**; but IV. 1. 122 S. 1125. enjoins **इम्**; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of **आदि** will be formed not by **अण्** but by **इम्** ॥ Thus **आदिप** ॥

Similarly **उमसेन** a person of **Āndhaka** family, forms its patronymic **उमसेन्यः** IV. 1. 152 by **अण्**; and not by **इम्**; so also **वैश्वकसेन्यः** 'son of **Viśhvaksena**' a person of **Vṛishṇi** family; so also **भैमसेन्यः** 'son of **Bhīmasena**' a person of **Kuru** family.

१११८ । मातुस्तस्यासंमद्रपूर्वायाः । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृमध्यस्योदादेशः स्यादन्वयश्च । द्विमातुः । त्रिमातुः । चत्वारिमातुः । मातृमातुः । आदेशार्थं दणम्, प्रत्ययस्तृतीयस्य सिद्धः । छीतिद्विनिर्देशोऽप्यपेक्षः । तेन धान्यमातुर्न । संख्येति किम् । सौमात्रः । शुभादिपद्विनिर्देशः ॥

1118. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word **mātri** when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words **सम्** or **मद्र**; and the letter **उ** is substituted for the final **अ** of **mātri**,

Thus from **द्विमा** we have **द्विमातुः** "the son of two mothers i. e. the son of one and adopted by another". (**द्विमा** + **अण्** = **द्विमान्** + **उ** + **अ** = **द्विमान्** + **उ** + **इ** + **अ** I. 1. 5; § 79). Similarly **चत्वारिमातुः**, **त्रिमातुः** and **मातृमातुः** ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short **उ** for the **अ** of **मातृ** : for the word **मातृ** would have taken the affix **अण्** by the general rule IV. 1. 123 S. 1073 The sūtra contains the word **पूर्वाया** in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word **मातृ** denotes a female.

Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be संमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'.

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumātri'. The word वैमात्रियः is formed by IV. 1. 123 S. 1126 as belonging to Śubhrādi class.

१११९। कन्यायाः कनीन च । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

इकोऽपरादोऽण् सत्वमित्येतेन कनीनादेशश्च । कानीनो भ्यासः कर्णश्च । अन्ताया एषा-  
पस्यमित्यर्थः ॥

1119. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'kanyā'.

Thus कन्यायाः अणसं = कानीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz. Karṇa or Vyāsa. This debars the डक् of IV. 1. 121.

Notes:—The word कन्या means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. हुनिवेशनागाद्वत्त्वाद् वा पुंस्त्वेष्वेव न कन्यात्वं सहासि, यथा कुली, यथा सत्वपत्नी ॥

११२०। विकर्णशुक्लकृगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

अपरोऽण् । विकर्णो वात्स्यः । विकर्णित्यः । शौक्ली भारद्वाजः । शौक्लित्यः । छागल आत्रेयः । छागलित्यः । केचित्तु शुक्लेलाभर्तं पठन्ति तेषां डक् प्रत्युदाहरणम् । शौक्लेयः ॥

1120. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुक्ल, and कृगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus विकर्णः = वात्स्यः otherwise विकर्णित्यः ॥ शौक्लः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौक्लित्यः ॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलित्यः ॥

In some texts the word शुभ्र ending with the feminine affix णश्च is used and not शुभ्रम् ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौभ्रियः, by IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

११२१। पीलाया वा । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

तनाधिकारं साधित्वा क्षयइति वक्ति प्राप्ते पठेऽण् विधीयते । पीलाया अपत्यं पीलः । पीलेयः ॥

1121. The affix **अण्** comes optionally after the word **पिला** in denoting a descendant.

The word **पिला** being the name of a female would have taken **अण्** by IV. 1. 113 S. 1116; but this **अण्** would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 S. 1124 as it is a di-syllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus **पिलः** or **पिलेयः** 'son of Pila.'

११२२ । **ढक् च मण्डूकात् । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥**

चादण् । षष्ठे ङम् । मण्डूकेयः । मण्डूकः । मण्डूकिः ॥

1122. The affix **ढक्** comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word **मण्डूक** as well as the affix **अण्** ॥

Thus we get three forms, **मण्डूक + ढक् = मण्डूकेयः**; **मण्डूक + अण् = मण्डूकाः**; **मण्डूक + ङम् = मण्डूकिः** (IV 1. 95)

११२३ । **ह्रीश्चो ढक् । ४ । १ । १२० ॥**

ह्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक र्भावः । वैनतेयः । बाह्यादिभ्याम्हीनिभिः । सिवादिभ्याम्हापन्नः ॥

1123. The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix **ढक्** in forming their Patronymic.

The word **ह्री** in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes **दाप्** &c.' That is, words ending in long **ञ** and **ई** of the feminine. Thus **विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः** (IV. 1. 2 S. 183) So also **सौपर्ण्य** "the son of Vinatā or Suparni." But the son of **सुविष्ठा** will be **सौमिषि** as it belongs to **Bāhvādī** class. (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096) Similarly the son of **सर्वज्ञि** will be **सापन्नः** as it belongs to **Sivādī** class. (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115).

But **ऐदविट** and **हामरः** formed by **अण्** meaning sons of **ऐदविट** and **हामरः** for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affixes.

The affix **ढक्** comes after **षट्ठा** when meaning **वृष** ॥ Thus **बादरेय** = **वृषः** "bull" Here '**āhāk'**' has not the patronymic force The patronymic will be **बादयः** 'the son of a mare'

The feminine words **कुम्भ्या** and **कौकित्रा** take the affix **अण्** in forming the patronymic. Thus **कौम्भ्यः** "the son of a curlew." **कौकित्रः** "the son of a cuckoo."

११२४ । **घञः । ४ । १ । १२१ ॥**

घञ् । ह्रीप्रत्ययान्तादप्य ढक । मण्डानिस्ताणोऽपवादः । दासेयः । पार्थ इत्यत्र तु मण्डेदमित्यण ॥

1124. The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113. S. 1116.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दाक्षेयः 'the son of Datta' But the son of पुष्या is however, पार्थः by अण् of IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.

Note:—Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe दाक्षेयः "son of पुष्या", which is a trisyllabic word and not disyllabic.

११२५ । इतश्चानिजः । ४ । १ । १२२ ॥

इकारान्ताद् अण्योऽपत्ये ङक् स्वात् न त्विभ्यन्तात् । दीक्षेयः । दीक्षेयः ॥

1125. The affix 'ङक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a disyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इङ् ॥

The anuvṛitti of 'strī' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word इङ्क् of the last sūtra. Thus दीक्षेयः 'the son of Duli'. दीक्षेयः 'the son of दिधि' ॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "the son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a disyllabic word, yet ends in इङ्क् ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इङ्क्'? Observe दाक्षामणः 'the son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a disyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix इङ्क् for 'इ' here is the affix इङ्क् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095); so also दाक्षामणः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचि" ॥

११२६ । शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १२३ ॥

ङक् स्वात् । शुभ्रावापत्यं दीक्षेयः ॥

1126. The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = दीक्षेयः ॥

Note:—This debars इङ्क् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ङक्, as it is an

आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words संग्रह, पाँदव are not in the list, we find still forms like सांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

1 शुभ्र. 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलायन, (शलायन) 6 शलाकाधू, 7 लेखाधू, (लेखाधू). 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 विश्व, 13 बालक, 14 अजवन्ति, 15 चक्राधि, 16 विमल, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 देवतर, 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल, (ज्ञातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 मृकण्ड, 27 विशि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुलाम्ब, 31 मकण्ड, 32 घाताह, 33 पण्डुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणमवाययोर्षादिष्ठे। 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 चापीय, 39 मयाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 पृकण्ड, 43 कौरू, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 चालीह, 47 सुवन्त, 48 सुदध, 49 सुवचस्, 50 सुखामन्, 51 कर्ह, 52 सुद, 53 अकणाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुमारिका, 56 किरोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिम, 59 परिधि, 60 बायुदन्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 सार्व, 64 कुपेरिका, 65 अयोका, 66 गन्धविह्वला, 67 खड्गोन्मत्ता, 68 अयुदष्टिन्, (अयुदष्टि) 69 अरविन्, 70 बलिबर्हिन्, 71 विम, 72 धीज, 73 जीव, 74 खन्, 75 अरमन्, 76 अम्ब, 77 अजिह, 78 घातावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकला, 81 भरत, 82 मयाह, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकण्ड, 86 अमण्ड, 87 कण्ड, 88 पृकण्ड, 89 सुव, 90 रुक्, 91 कुपेरिका, 92 शयन, 93 अजिम ॥ The word Pravahana (80) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sūtra 1129 in forming its derivative.

११२७ । विफर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे । ४ । १ । १२४ ।

अथसे ढक् । वैकरनेयः । कौपीतक्यः । अन्यो वैकर्णिः । कौपीतकिः ॥

1127. 'The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kāśyapa.

Thus वैकर्ण्यः and कौपीतक्यः=काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौपीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

११२८ । सुवो घुक् च । ४ । १ । १२५ ॥

भारद्वाजः । धीमेयः ॥

1128. The affix 'घुक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word सू and the augment घुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

1128 सू+घुक्=सू+घुक्+ढक् (I. 1. 46 5. 30)=सू+घुक्=धोमेयः (VII. 1. 2)

११२६ । प्रवाहणस्य ङे । ७ । ३ । २८ ॥

प्रवाहणस्यङ्गस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदत्वं तु वा ङे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं  
प्रावाहणेयः । प्रवाहणेयः ॥

1129. Before the affix ङ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः ॥

*Note* :—The affix ङ IV. 1, 123, S. 1126 is added, here. Similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याङ्गस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्यः (VI. 3. 89, masculination prohibited). Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix ङ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and omit the rest. The masculination will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, S. 842 (मात्ते) ॥

११३० । तत्प्रत्ययस्य ञ । ७ । ३ । २९ ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेशो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यपत्यं प्रावाहणेयः ।  
प्रवाहणेयः ॥ बाह्यसंज्ञितानिदिवा वृद्धिर्वाच्येन विकल्पेन नापितुं न शक्यते इति सूत्रात्प्रत्ययः ॥

1130. Even in a new derivative from प्रवाहणेय itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicative ञ, ण or ङ, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member.

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रावाहणेयः or प्रवाहणेयः, ॥ In other words, the external vṛiddhi might have been caused by ङङ् is not able to supersede the internal optional vṛiddhi de-pendent upon ङ ॥ Hence a separate sūtra.

११३१ । कल्याणवादीनामिन्ङ् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

एषामिन्ङदियः स्यान् ङक् ञ । काल्याणिनेयः । वान्यकिनेयः ॥

1131. The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

*Note* :—In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इन्ङ् for they would have taken the affix ङक् by IV. 1 120. S. 1123. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ङक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + इक् = कल्याणिन् + इक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'the son of Kalyāṇī'

So also बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदृष्टि, 6 अनुदृष्टि (अनुदृष्टि)

7 जरती, 8 वलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 वरुणी ॥

११३२ । कुलदाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इन्द्राय विकल्प्यते इक् तु नित्यः पूर्वेष्वेव । कौलदिनेयः । कौलदेयः । तस्मिन्निन्दयन्  
कुलदा । वा तु व्यभिचारार्थं कुलान्यदति वक्तव्यः धृष्ट्याथे वेति पठे इक् । कौलदेरः ॥

1132. The affix 'इक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इन्द्र is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा has another meaning also of a nun. Literally it means one who wanders (चरति) from one family (कुल) to another. i. e. "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman." This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have always taken इक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120 S. 1123. Thus कुलदा + इक् = कुलदिन् + इक् = कौलदिनेयः, or कौलदेयः 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar'. This word कुलदा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix इक् by IV. 1. 131 S. 1137. Thus कौलदेरः ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलदेर and कौलदेयः and never कौलदिनेयः ॥

Note:—See Amarakośha II 6, 26.

११३३ । हृद्गसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

हृदोऽन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरपामादेरपी नृदिर्भिति षिति किति च । सहस्रोऽपत्यं सौदार्यं  
हृदगाया, चपत्यं सौभाग्येनियः । सप्तपदभावाः सिन्धवः सप्तपदसिन्धवः । तेषु भरः सास्तुल्यसिन्धवः ॥

1133. The Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ण, ञ् or क् ॥

As सहस्रोऽपत्यं = सौदार्यं, सौभाग्येनियः ( = सुभगाया चपत्यं ), ॥

Note:—The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyāṇī class (IV. 1. 126 S. 113) and the affix इक् and इन् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Uḍḍhī class (V 1. 129). That word, however, does not get the Vṛddhi in the second member. As सहस्रं सौभाग्यं ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly.

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु मवः) ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādī class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder.

The words सुहृद् and दुहृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4, 130.

The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or an ocean'.

११३४ । चटकाया षेरक् । ४ । १ । १२८ ॥

चटकस्येति शेष्यम् \* ॥ सिद्धेविशिष्टपरिभाषया लिख्य अवि । चटकस्य चटकाक्ष वा अपत्यं चाटकेरः ॥ लिखामपले दुग्धकस्यम् \* ॥ तमेवेव स्यपत्यं चटका । अजादित्वाद्वा ॥

1134. The word चटका takes the affix षेरक् in forming the Patronymic.

Thus चाटकेरः 'son of Chaṭakā'

*Vart* :—It should be rather stated that the word चटका (masc) takes the affix षेरक् ॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chaṭaka, it would be extended to the feminine chaṭakā also, by the maxim lingavishishṭa &c. Thus चाटकेरः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

*Vart* :—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-eli-sion of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the वा being added, as it belongs to the Ajādi class [V. 1. 4,

११३५ । गोधया दृक् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

गोधिरः । दुग्धादित्वात्पठे दृक् । गोधेयः ॥

1135. The affix 'दृक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दृक् = गोधिरः ॥

Of the affix 'dhrak,' the letter ह् is replaced by एद् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475.), एद् causes Vriddhi (VII. 2. 118 S. 1976) and makes the udāta accent fall on the final (VI. 1. 165 S. 3712) Thus the real affix is एद्दृ, but the द् is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śūbhṛādī class IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'dhak' as well. Thus गोधेयः ॥

११३६ । आरयुदीचाम् । ४ । १ । १३० ॥

गोधारः । रक्तादिष्टे आकाशेधारणमन्यतो विधानायेव । अटत्वापत्यं चाटकेरः । दग्धत्वापत्यं पाण्डुरारः ॥



1136. The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधाः ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words ऊढ and ण्ड also take this affix, as जावरः, वर्णदारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

११३७ । धुद्राभ्यो वा । ४ । १ । १३१ ॥

अङ्गहीनाः शीलहीनाश्च धुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा इक् । एवे इक् । काणेः । कावेयः । दासेः । दासेयः ॥

1137. The affix 'इक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects.

The word धुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. The anuvṛtti of इक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. This sūtra debars इक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेयः, दासेः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

११३८ । पितृप्यसुदृष्ट् । ४ । १ । १३२ ॥

अयोःपादः । पितृप्यसुदृष्टः ॥

1138. The affix 'छप्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-प्यसु' ॥

This debars चप् ॥ Thus पितृप्यसु+छप्-पितृप्यसुदृष्टः, 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ् affix is replaced by ह्य ॥

११३९ । दकिः शोषः । ४ । १ । १३३ ॥

पितृप्यसुदृष्टः । दकिः । अत एव शोषकान् दक् । पितृप्यसुदृष्टः ॥

1139. The final vowel of 'पितृ-व्यस्' is elided when the affix 'ङक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृव्यस् + ङक् = पितृव्यसेवः ॥ This sūtra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jāpaka that the word पितृव्यस् takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

११४० । मातृव्यसुञ्ज ॥ ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृव्यसुञ्जं सप्तम्यापि स्यात् । मातृव्यसुञ्जः । मातृव्यसेवः ॥

1140. So also, after the word 'मातृ-व्यस्' the affix 'ङक्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ङक्' follows, in forming patronymies.

Whatever has been taught in the sūtras IV, I, 132, 133 S. 1138, 1139 above, as regards पितृव्यस्, apply to मातृव्यस् also. As मातृव्यसुञ्जः or मातृव्यसेवः 'the son of a mother's sister.'

११४१ । चतुष्पादयो ङक् ॥ ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141. 'The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This declares ञ्ङ् &c. Thus कम्पटलु + ङक् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

११४२ । दे लोपाङ्कदाः । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कद्रुभिन्नस्योदयान्तस्य अस्य लोपः स्यात् दे परे । कम्पटलेयः । कम्पटलुशब्दचतुष्पादजाति-विशेषे ॥

1142. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ङ्), but not of the stem 'Kadrū'.

Thus कम्पटलेयः, but कद्रुवेयो नन्वमपद्य ॥ Here the word कम्पटलु means a certain quadruped.

११४३ । गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्यो ङक् स्यात् । अण्डकौरपदाः । गार्ह्यः । शिम्वोरपदाय । अण्डायि पाते ङक् ॥

1143. The affix 'ङक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debarb वञ् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ह्यः; हार्ह्यः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix डम् by the last sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 वृष्टि, 4 हृष्टि, ॥ विष्टि, 6 हृष्टि, 7 अन्वयस्ति, 8 निवयु ॥

The word निवयु also belongs to this class and takes डम् instead of वञ् of Rishi (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116) Thus निवयोरपत्यम् = निवयु + डम् ॥ Now the following sūtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of निवयु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषां यकारादेरिय् आदेशः स्यात् तमिति यावत् किति च तद्धिते षरे । इति इयादेशो षति ॥

1144. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ज्, ए or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकयः (= केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix वञ् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1168) : similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with युञ् (V. 1. 134 S. 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया दत्तापते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 S. 1799 means ॥ Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रालेयम् (= प्रलयादानम्) ॥ As प्रालेयमुदकं ॥

Thus निवयु + डम् = निव + इय् + एष ॥ This would give the form निवेदेयः ; which is wrong. Hence the following sūtra

११४५ । दण्डिनायन हास्तिनायनाथर्वोलेक जैष्ठाशिनेय द्यौशिनयनि  
धौणहत्य धैवत्य सारवेह्याक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ६ । ४ । १७४ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति पुलोकः । मैत्रेयः । मैत्रेयी ॥

1145. The following are irregularly formed ; 1. Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Ātharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmāśineya. 5. Vāsināyani. 6. Bhraṇṇahatya, 7. Dhaiva-tya, 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11 Hiraṇmaya.

Note:—These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हृदिन् belonging to वटादि class. The affix is णक् (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310). If they do not belong to that class the affix is added irregularly : दण्डिनोऽपत्यं =

दाग्निनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अयर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV. 2. 63 S. 1273). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvanika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माग्निन् and वासिन् are Jaihmāginēya and Vāsināyana, the former with the affix इक् of the Sūhriādi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126), and the latter with the affix क्तिन् of IV. 1. 157 S. 1181. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from सूयहन् and धीवन् with the affix चञ्, and इ being replaced by व = सूयवन् भावः, धीवन् भावः ॥ इव takes व before affixes having an indicatory न् or भ् by VII. 3. 32 S. 2574: it might be said व would be added to सूयहन् before चञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like औषधीः, धर्मज्ञः ॥ The व in Bhrānuhatya is therefore, no irregularity. (8) सारव is from सारव् with the affix ण्, the final ण्यु being elided, सारव्यो भवः = सारवमुदकं ॥ (9) The son of ईशवाक, with चञ् affix (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186), the final इ is elided, or ईशवाकः जनयते नवः = ऐशवाकः with ण् (IV. 2. 132 S. 1356). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final इ व. As one word is ऐशवाकः and the other ईशवाकः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐशवाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वान्) ॥

(10) नैवेद्य is from निवद्यु of Grishyaādi class IV. 1. 136, S. 1143 and takes इन् as निवद्यु + इन्. Here VI. 4. 146, S. 84 requires गुप्, but VI. 4. 146 prevents it, and requires lopa of इ, but VII. 3. 2, S. 1144 required the substitution of इव for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as नैवेद्यु, the इ of निवद्यु cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, S. 311 before इव, as the lopa of यु is considered asidha VI. 4. 22 S. 2183; however the result is the same, for इ + इ = ए by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The dual is नैवेद्यौ ॥ The plural of नैवेद्य will be निवद्यवः (the plural of निवद्यु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sūtra.

Another form of this word is नैवेद्यिक formed under VII. 3. 2 S. 1144. It might be objected that had निवद्यु been read in Bidādi class (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106), it would have taken the affix चञ्, and the form नैवेद्य would have been evolved regularly: as निवद्यु + चञ् = निव + इव (VII. 3. 2 S. 1144) + चञ् = नैवेद्यः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4. 63 S. 1146) for then by II. 4. 63, S. 1146 चञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form निवद्यवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if नैवेद्य were to be formed with चञ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with ण् affix under IV. 3. 127, S. 1507 and not with वुञ् under IV. 3. 126 S. 1506; but

we require युञ्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

११४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपत्यस्य लुक् स्यात्तल्लुक् बहुल्ये न तु खियाम् । मित्रस्यः ॥

1146. After the words यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural ; but not in the feminine.

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रस्यः ॥

Note :—यस्क + यण् = यास्कः, a descendant of Yaska, not nearer than grandson. In the plural, the affix is elided and the form यस्काः, 'the descendants of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क ॥ 2. जह् ॥ 3. ब्रूह ॥ 4. श्वस्युष ॥ 5. श्वसः स्पृण ॥ 6. वृणक्य ॥ 7. सधामन् ॥ 8. कम्बलहार ॥ 9. अर्धवर्ग ॥ 10. कर्णद्वक ॥ 12. विण्डी जह्य ॥ 18. वक्तस्य ॥ 14. वक्तस्य ॥ 15. वित्रि ॥ 16. कुत्रि ॥ 17. अजबलि ॥ 18. मिषयु ॥ 19. रक्षोमुष ॥ 20. जह्वाय ॥ 21. उरकास ॥ 22. काहुक ॥ 23. मयक ॥ 24. मयक ॥ 25. पुष्करह ॥ 26. पुष्करसह ॥ 27. विषयुड ॥ 28. उपरिनेखल ॥ 29. कौण्डकमान ॥ 30. कौण्डमान ॥ 31. कौण्डपाद ॥ 32. कौण्डमाय ॥ 33. दीर्घमाय ॥ 34. श्वरप ॥ 35. पदक ॥ 36. श्युक ॥ 37. भजन्व ॥ 38. मण्डिल ॥ 39. मण्डिल ॥ 40. भडिल ॥ 41. भण्डिल ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोऽभ्यस्य । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोपत्रस्य लुक् स्यात् तल्लुक् बहुल्ये न तु खियाम् । अत्रयः । श्वस्यः । कुत्सः । वसिष्ठाः । अङ्गिराः । गोतमाः । अङ्गिरसः ॥

1147. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

Thus the plural of अत्रिय (अत्रि + इक IV. 1. 132 S. 1135), the descendant of अत्रि, is अत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular अत्रियः, plural अत्रयः ; singular कौत्सः, plural कुत्साः ; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमा, अङ्गिरसः ॥

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus पृथु + मन्त्र = भार्गवः 'the descendant of Bhṛigu'. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इन् and अन् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः, भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयो, भार्गवौ; plural आत्रेयः, भार्गवः &c.

*Note*.—But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियत्रेयाः or प्रियभार्याः ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus :—आत्रेयः  
स्त्रियः ॥

११४८ । अहन् इजः प्राच्यभरतेषु । २ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अहन् ; पठो य इन् प्राच्यभरते च वर्तमानस्य लुक् स्यात् । पञ्चागारः । युधिष्ठिरः ॥

1148. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इन् (IV. I. 95 S. 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पञ्चागारः is पञ्चागरः, there being elision of इन्; so also मयरेदजाः plural of मयरीवजिः; so the plural of युधिष्ठिरः is युधिष्ठिरः 'the descendants of Yudhishtira.'

*Note*.—But वैजिः and वैज्यः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैज्यः and वैज्याः ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्यः plural of बालाकिः, हस्तिवास्यः plural of हस्तिवादिः ॥

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4. 60 ॥ 2131. Here the Yavan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus प्रार्थुनिः father, प्रार्थुनायनः son.

११४९ । न गोपवनोदिभ्यः । २ । ४ । ६७ ॥

अथो गोपवनस्य लुक् न स्यात् । विराट्शान्तार्णवोऽयम् । गोपवनाः । गोपवाः ॥

1149. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus गोपवन + अम् = गोपवनाः, plural गोपवनाः; singular गोपवन्, plural गोपवन् ॥ The गोपवन &c., belong to Bidādi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104. S. 1106 and are the following :—गोपवनः, गोपुः, बिन्दुः, भञ्जन्, अश्वः, अश्वतथान्. श्यामक and श्यापर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

११५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रपत्यस्य बहुव्ये लुक् स्थान् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयः कैतवायनयः । तिकादिभ्यः फिम् मस्य लुक् । तिककितवाः ॥

1150. After the words तिक-कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिकं + फिम् = तैकायनिः ( IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 ). Its plural is तैकायनयः । तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः ॥ There is elision of फिम् ॥

So also बांसरि plural बांसरका ( IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 ) + अञ्जीरयः = बांसरभञ्जीरयः ; there is elision of इम् ( IV. 1. 95. S. 1095 ). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः. 2. बह्वल्लभञ्जीरयाः. 3. उपकल्पकाः ( शीपकायनाः + कामकायनाः, IV. 1. 90 S. 1101. elision of फक् ). 4. पक्कनरकाः ( पाफकायः + गारकायः IV. 1. 96, elision of इम् ). 5. पक्कनसहस्रपरिणदाः. 6. वज्रककुभाः ( शीपञ्जवः IV. 1. 95 S. 1095. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, S. 1115 then the elision of इम् and चक् ). 7. लहुर्यान्तमुलाः ( the elision of इम् IV. 1. 95 as in 4 ). 8. वसन्तलहुर्याः or वसन्तलकाः ( शीपकायनः IV. 1. 104. + लहुर्याः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of फिम्, and इम् ॥ 9. अष्टक कविष्टनाः ( elision of इम् as in 4 ) 10. कृष्णजिगृष्णमुन्दाः ( elision of इम् ) 11. शर्मनिदा-दक्षिणः ( शर्मनिदयः IV. 1. 106 S. 1107 + दक्षिणः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of both इम् and इम् ) ॥

११५१ । उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रपत्यस्य बहुव्ये लुक् स्थान् द्वन्द्वे पाद्वन्द्वे च । शीपकायनार्थे कामकायनस्य गोत्रादिभ्यः फक् मस्य लुक् । उपकल्पकाः । शीपकायनल्लभञ्जीरकायनाः । भाट्टकविष्टना । भाट्टकित्वावष्टनयः । उपकाः । शीपकाः । कामकायनाः ॥

1151. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-*kitavādi* of the last sūtra. According to the *Kāshikā* the elision is invariable in the *Dvandva* compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, *उपकायनः*, or *उपकायन-लोककायनाः* ॥ *आष्टक-कापिष्ठलः*, or *आष्टक-कापिष्ठलयः* ॥ *कुष्णाजिनकुष्णमुद्राः* ॥ But the plurals of *उपकायनः*, the *Gotra*-derivative, of *उपक* (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101) is *उपकाः* or *उपकाः* (or *उपकायनाः*) of *लोककायनः* is *लोककाः* or *लोककायनाः*; of *आष्टक* is *आष्टकाः* or *आष्टक्यः* or *आष्टकायनाः* ॥ The plural of *कापिष्ठलः* is *कापिष्ठलाः* or *कापिष्ठलवः* ॥ The plural of *काष्ण्यजिनः* is *कुष्णाजिनाः*, or *काष्णाजिनवः* ॥ The plural of *कुष्णमुद्राः* is *कुष्णमुद्राः* or *काष्ण्यमुद्राः* ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in *Dvandva* compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

1. पञ्चदश ॥ 2. अष्टदश ॥ 3. मनुक ॥ 4. सुपर्यक् ॥ 5. सुपिष्ट ॥ 6. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7. सारीजह्ण ॥ 8. शल्यफल ॥ 9. पञ्चजल ॥ 10. कठेरिण ॥ 11. कुपीतक ॥ 12. कायकुण्ड ॥ 13. निवाय ॥ 14. कलशकण्ड ॥ 15. शनकण्ड ॥ 16. कुष्णपिण्ड ॥ 17. कर्णक ॥ 18. पर्णक ॥ 19. अतिलक ॥ 20. वधिरक ॥ 21. जम्बुक ॥ 22. अहुलोक ॥ 23. अर्द्धपिण्डक ॥ 24. प्रतिलोक ॥ 25. प्रतान ॥ 26. अनभिहित ॥ 27. चूडारक ॥ 28. वनकु ॥ 29. सुभायुक ॥ 30. अन्नन्धक ॥ 31. पञ्चजल ॥ 32. अनुपद ॥ 33. अपञ्चज ॥ 34. कमक ॥ 35. जेष्ठाक्ष ॥ 36. कनक ॥ 37. पिञ्चल ॥ 38. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 39. नवाय ॥ 40. कशामक ॥ 41. शनकण्ड ॥

११५२ । आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् ॥ २ । ४ । ७० ॥

एतयोरययस्य गौत्रप्रत्ययस्थाऽप्यो अगस्त्य वहुलुक् स्यादवशिष्टस्य मकुसुमागस्य अगस्त्यस्यन-  
गस्ति कुण्डिनच् एतावद्विधौ स्तः । अगस्त्यः । कुण्डिनाः ॥

1152. There is *luk*-elision of the *Gotra* affixes *अण्* and *यञ्* of the words *आगस्त्य* and *कौण्डिन्य*, when they take the plural; and the words *अगस्ति* and *कुण्डिनच्* are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of *अगस्त्य* is *अगस्त्यः* (as if it was the plural of *अगस्ति*) and of *कौण्डिन्यः* is *कुण्डिनाः* ॥ The affix *अण्* (IV. I. 114 S. 1117), after *आगस्त्य* and the affix *यञ्* (IV. 1. 105 S. 1105) after *कौण्डिन्य* are elided.

११५३ । राजश्वमुखाद्यत ॥ ४ । १ । १३७ ॥

राशो जातवेदेति शक्यम् ॥



1153. The affix **यन्** comes in the sense of the descendant after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर' ॥

This debars **अण्** and **इञ्** respectively.

*Vart*:—In the case of **राजन्**, the affix **यन्** would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jāti). Thus **राजन् + यन्** ॥ Now applies the following sūtra which prevents the elision of **अन्** before **यन्** ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यद्यौ तद्विधे वरे अण् मकुल्य स्वाज नु मावकर्मणोः । राजन्तः । श्वशुर्यः । जातिमहणाच्छूनावा-  
हुस्वन्नो राजन्तः ॥

1154. The syllable **अन्** of a stem ending in **अन्**, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with **य**, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus **राजन्तः** (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā'. So also **श्वशुर्यः** 'son of the father-in-law.'

As the word Jāti is used in the *vārtika* under IV. 1. 137 S. 1153, a son born of a Śūdrā wife by a Kshatriya will be **राजन्तः** ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि सम्प्रकृत्या स्वाविति द्वितीया न । अभावकर्मणोः किय । राज्ः कर्म भाषो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155. The syllable **अन्** of a stem ending in **अन्** remains unchanged, before **अण्** affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As **सामानः**, **वैद्यः**, **सौतनः**, **जैत्यः**, from **सामन्**, **वैमन्**, **सुत्यन्** and **जित्यन्** ॥

Thus **सामन्** **साधुः**—**सामान्यः**, **वाट्यन्तः** ॥

Why have we used the words "when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation" in the sūtra VI. 4. 168 S. 1154? Observe **राज्यम्** meaning the "royalty," the state of being a King or the avocation. But **राजो** **भाषः** **कर्म** **वा**—**भाष्यम्** **राज्यम्** belongs to his Purohitādi class and takes **दण्** (V. 1. 128).

११५६ । संयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्प्रकृत्या स्वाक्षणि षरे । चक्रिणोऽपत्यं चाक्रिणः ॥

1156. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अक्ष, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus चक्रिणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रिणः ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्त्मन्ः । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽपत्यकृत्या न स्वाक्षपत्येऽक्षि । भाद्रतामः । मपूर्वः किम् । सौत्थनः । अपत्ये किम् । चर्मणा परिवृतचार्मणो रयः । अवर्त्मणः किम् । चक्रवर्त्मणोऽपत्यं चक्रवर्त्मणः ॥

वा हितनाम्न इति वाच्यम् \* ॥ हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं हैतनामः । हैतनामनः ॥

1157. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of चर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अक्ष ॥

Thus भाद्रतामः from भाद्रतामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सौत्थनः, preceded by च ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चर्मणा परिवृतो रयः = चार्मणः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167 S. 1155. Why do we say 'with the exception of चर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्त्मणोऽपत्यं = चक्रवर्त्मणः ॥

Vari:—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजातौ । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागीऽव कर्तव्यः । ब्राह्म इति निपात्यने अन्प्रत्यक्षणि । ब्राह्मं इति । ततोऽजातौ । अपत्ये जातावणि ब्राह्मणिलोपो न स्यात् । ब्राह्मणोऽपत्यं ब्राह्मणः । अपत्ये किम् । ब्राह्मी औपधिः ॥

1158. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्राह्मन्, when not meaning 'a caste or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two ( 1 ) ब्राह्म, the final अन् of ब्राह्मन् is elided, when the मण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मं इति, ॥ ( 2 ) मजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अन् of ब्राह्मन् is not elided before the मण् affix; as ब्राह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahman'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्राह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औपधिः ॥ ब्राह्मणहर्षः, ब्राह्मः स्वातीपाकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes ॥ caste'? Observe ब्राह्मोऽपत्यं = 'Nārada the son of Brahman'.

११५६ । औत्तमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अथि विलोपो निपात्यते । औत्तं पत्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । उक्थोऽपत्यम् ॥

1159. From उक्तम् is formed औत्त, when not meaning  
■ descendant.

As औत्तं पत्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant'? Observe औत्तः = उक्थोऽपत्यम्, the थ is elided by VI 4. 135 S. 1160 as given below.

११६० । अपूर्वहन्धूतराजायसि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

पपूर्वो योऽन् सस्य हनावेअ भत्यात्तरे सोषोऽणि । औत्तः । ताक्षः । औत्तः । धूमराहोऽपत्यं  
पार्तपत्तः । अपूर्वोति किम् । सामनः । अथि किम् । ताक्षः ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preced-  
ing प, as well as of हन् and धूतराजन् the अ is elided before the  
affix अण् ॥

Thus औत्तः, ताक्षः, औत्तः, पार्तपत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a प'? Observe सामनः and धूमनः from सामन् and विधन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of नन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षः formed by the affix ण्य under IV. 1. 152 S. 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan.

११६१ । क्षत्रादः । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

अथि । सामान्त्ये । क्षत्रियः ॥

1161. The affix 'gha' comes in the sense of a  
descendant after the word 'Kshattria.

Thus अथि 'a Kshatriya'. This is also a *class* name. The *son* of  
एव will be अथि. ॥

Note:—The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ  
which wants the affix ताण् and तण् (I. 1. 22)

११६२ । कुलायः । ४ । १ । १३९ ॥

कुलीनः । कुलायः । कुलायः । कुलायः । कुलायः । कुलायः । कुलायः । कुलायः ॥

1162. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'.

Thus कुलीनः ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sūtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakafi'. That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus मातृकुलीनः ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदाव्यतरस्यां बहुकसौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलादिष्वेव । पक्षे खः । कुल्यः । कौलेयकः । कुलीनः । पदप्रथमं लिप् । बहुकुल्यः । बाहुकुलेयकः । बहुकुलीनः ॥

1163. The affixes 'बह' and 'इकस' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

Why do we say 'बह'? The word बह has been defined in I. 4. 14 S. 29. The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V. 3. 68. S. 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादसौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अव्यतरस्यानिमनुषर्तवे । पक्षे खः । महाकुलः । महाकुलीनः । महाकुलीनः ॥

1164. The affixes 'अस' and 'सज' come optionally after the word 'mahākula'.

The word anyatarsyām 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra is understood here also. So we have ख also in the other alternative.

Thus महाकुलः, महाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix स of IV. 1. 139 S. 1162.

११६५ । दुष्कुलादढक् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

पूर्ववत्पक्षे खः । कौल्यः । दुष्कुलीनः ॥

1165. The affix 'दक्' comes optionally in the sense of ■ descendant, after the word 'dushkula.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get also, Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

११६५ । स्वसुखः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्रीयः ॥

1166. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars सृ ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son'.

११६७ । भ्रातृव्यस्य । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

प्राप्तः । अणोऽनवाहः । भातृव्यः । भाषीयः ॥

1167. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sôtra, we get the affix ■ as well. This debars चत् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भाषीयः 'the brother's son'. The

त of चत् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

११६८ । व्यन्संपेदे । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातृव्यस्य स्वानपेदे प्रवृत्तिवत्यस्यसुपदिने चर्चो याच्ये । भ्रातृव्यः सनुः । वाच्यता भ्रातृव्येनोति एवमासात् ॥

1168. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy

The word वयन् means 'enemy'. The difference between वयन् and व्यन् in accent (VI. 1. 115 and VI. 1. 197) Thus भ्रातृव्य सनुः nephew who is an enemy वयन्स्य भ्रातृव्येन "by the 'infu' enemy". Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and bhraatavya means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning. According to Kāshikā, this bhraatavya with acute on the first, is not correct as it is, but 'an enemy' pure and simple. The force of the affix is not that of a patronymic.

११६६ । रेवत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169. The affix 'उक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars उक् &c. Thus रेवती + उक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also भाग्यवातिकः (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). The उ is replaced by इक by the next sūtra.

1 रेवती, 2 भाग्यवाती, 3 मणिषाती, 4 क्षारवाती, ॥ वृक्षवर्जिणम्, 6 वृक्षवर्जिणम्, 7 वृक्षवाह, ॥ कर्मावाह, 9 वृक्षवाह, 10 वृक्षवाह, 11 (ककुदाह) 12 वानरवाह,

११७० । उक्त्येकः । ७ । ३ । १५० ॥

भागात्परस्य उक्त्येकविशः स्यात् । रेवतिकः ॥

1170. For उ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

Thus रेवती + उक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'.

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुम्हने ण च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

भोजं वा स्त्री तस्यापकाप्यस्यस्य गृह्यते स्तः कुम्हनाम् । वानर्याणि । गार्ग्या अपत्यं गार्गी गार्गिकी वा जायते ॥ अस्यादे तस्मिन् इति पुंससाचागार्ग्यपुंसापत्यकौ । अत्येति स्त्री । आपत्यत्येति यस्त्री । ॥

1171. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word ण in the sūtra, we get the affix उक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुम्हा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्ग्यः, as गार्ग्यः जायते ॥ By the vārtika अस्यादे &c. (VI. 3. 35 S. 836), there is masculinisation, and so the affixes उ and उक् are added to गार्ग्य and not गार्गी ॥ Then by the sūtra VI. 4. 148. S. 311 the ण of गार्ग्य is elided. Then by VI. 4. 151. S. 1082, the उ is elided. Thus we get the form गार्ग्यः ॥ So also गार्ग्यिकः ॥ Similarly the son of गृह्यकायनी will be गृह्यकायनः and गृह्यकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix.

*Note* :—Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant.' Observe कारिकीयो जात्यः (formed by डक् IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why 'do we say female descendant? Observe सौवरादिजात्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe सार्वेचो मातृपदः (which is to be explained) as सार्व्या अपत्यं पुमाश्च पुत्रा भवन्ति ॥ मातामहादिपत्य-सुपार्योऽयं प्रयोग इति न्यास्तु कुस्त्य ॥

११७२ । वृद्धाडक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

दुर्गतिर्योक्तः सौवीरः । वृद्धास्सौवीरलोभाद्युनि बहुलं डक् स्यात् कुस्त्यादात् । मागवित्तोर्भा-  
गवित्तिकः । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तावनः ॥

1172. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'डक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after ॥ Vṛiddha word denoting Sauvira Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhāgavitti.' In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) as भागवित्तावनः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तावनः only.

११७३ । फेष्ट च । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

फिम्मास्सौवीरलोभाद्यप्ये छ डक् च कुस्त्ये न्ये । यदुन्त्यापत्यं वादुन्त्यायनिः । तिकादिवात्  
फिम् । मत्वापत्यं वादुन्त्यायनीयः । वादुन्त्यायनकः । कुस्त्ये फिम् । वादुन्त्यायनिः । भोस्तर्हिस्त्याने-  
प्यस्यविधेति टुक् । सौवीरेति फिम् । तिकायनिः ॥

1173. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix डक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिम् and denoting a Sauvira Gotra.

Thus the son of वादुन्त्य will be वादुन्त्यायनिः formed by the affix फिम् (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikādi class. The son of Yāmundaṇyani will be either वादुन्त्यायनीयः or वादुन्त्यायनिकः ॥

Why do we say 'contempt'? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of वादुन्त्यायनिः will be वादुन्त्यायनिः ॥ Thus वादुन्त्यायनि + अण् = वादुन्त्यायनि + ० (II. 4. 58 S. 1276) = वादुन्त्यायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Sauvira country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तिकायनिः ॥

*Note* :—The फक् of the sūtra refers to फिम् and not to फिन्, for a stem formed by फिन् will not have a Vṛiddha letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham', the saurjisti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to a Kārikā, three क्तिन्न्त stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra, viz. सुवृन्द, सुवृन्म and वार्ध्यायनिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vārshadyani.

११७४ । फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णक्तिवौ । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौविरेह । नेह वधासंख्यम् । भाष्यान्तरस्य पत्तिपाताद्विज्ञासिद्धि वृत्तिवारः । भाष्ये तु वधासंख्यनेनेति स्थितम् । फाण्डाहृतः । फाण्डाहृतायनिः । नेमतः । नेमतायनिः ॥

1174. The affixes ण and क्तिन् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvīra country, after the words *Phāṇṭāhrita* and *Mimata*.

This debars फक् ॥ The *Sauvira* is understood here also. The rule of I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply. For according to Kāśikā the reason is this, "By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34. S. 905 the word निवृत्त consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and क्तिन् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively." But according to the Mahābhāṣya. The rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies, and ण and क्तिन् are added respectively. Thus फाण्डाहृतः or फाण्डाहृतायनिः ; नेमतः or नेमतायनिः ॥

*Note* :—When not denoting *Sauvira* Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनिः and नेमतायनिः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 S. 1108 and IV. 1. 99 S. 1101). The word निवृत्त belongs to the Nāḍādi-class (IV. I. 99).

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपत्ये । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणाः । वावदुह्याः ॥ वावाजः वापिने ॥ सारवावः । सारवाजीभ्यः ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य ; ॥ So also वावर्तः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present sūtra and sūtra IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 ; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62 S. 1193) ; but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154 S. 1173), and it takes as such the affix क्तिन् ॥ As कौरव्यायनिः ॥ So also वावदुह्याः ॥



**Note :—**The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yajñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix क्य not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

**Note :—**The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्यः ॥ There will not be पुनर्वद्धा as required by VI. 3. ॥ 8. 88 &c. For had there been पुनर्वद्धा, then by वस्यते तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become पुनर्वद् before a taddhita affix except इ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ण्य = केशिन + ण्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 S. 1059 will appear and cause the elision of टि and we shall have केश् + ण्य = केशय ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

**Note :—**The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore the form वेन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

**Note :—**The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kanvādī class, a subdivision of Gargādī (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). Thus the pupils of वामरथ् will be formed by the affix क्य (IV. 2. 111 S. 1332). As वामरथ् + क्य = वामरथः (VI. 4. 151. ॥ 1082). The plural will be वामरथाः (॥ 4. 65 ॥ 1147). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16 S. 471) or वामरथ्यानी (IV. 1. 17 S. 473). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यावनः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). So also it will take क्य when the sense of collection &c. is expressed (IV. 3. 127 S. 1307): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kanvādī words, for while these words being formed by the affix क्य will have udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 107 S. 8686) the accent of वामरथ् will be governed by वृत्, that is, it will have udatta on the last syllable.

**Vatī :—**The word सत्राज् takes the affix क्य when denoting a Kshatriya. Thus सत्राज्यः; otherwise सत्राजः ॥

1 कुट, 2 गर्ग (गर्ग K.), 3 मङ्गुथ, 4 अजगर (अजगरात् K.), 5 रथकार, 6 वातक, 7 सत्राजः तद्धिते, 8 कवि, 9 निगति (निगति K.), 10 काविष्मन्नादि, 11 वाक् (or वाक्), 12 वामरथ, 13 वित्तन्, 14 इन्द्रजाली, (इन्द्रजालि K.), 15 एजि, 16 वातिक, 17 शोभनीय, 18 मङ्गुथ, 19 केशिनी, 20 कुट, 21 शत्रुता (शत्रुता K.), 22 गृह, 23 पुर, 24 वृत्ता (वृत्ता K.), 25 शुभ, 26 अथ, 27 वर्ष, 28 केशिनी, 29 वामरथ्यानि, 30 वामरथ्, 31 वामरथ्या, 32 वामरथ्, 33 वामरथ्, 34 वामरथ्, 35 वामरथ्, 36 वामरथ्, 37 कुट, 38 वामरथ्, 39 वामरथ्, 40 वाक्, 41 वाक्, 42 वाक्, 43 वृत्, 44 वृत्, 45 वृत्, 46 वृत् (वृत्ता K.), 47 वामरथ्, 48 वामरथ्, 49 वामरथ्, 50 वामरथ्, 51 वामरथ्, 52 वृत्, 53 वृत् ॥

११७६। सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १५२ ॥

एभ्यो ष्यः। एति संज्ञायामिति सत्त्वं यः। हारिदेभ्यः। लाक्षण्यः। कारिः शिल्पी तस्मात् सान्तुवाय्यः। कौम्भकारिः। नापित्यः॥

1176. The affix 'ष्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word, 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus हारिदेभ्यः (स is changed to य by VIII. 3, 99. S. 1023) लाक्षण्यः सान्तुवाय्यः, कौम्भकारिः, नापित्यः॥

११७७। उदीच्यामिञ्। ४। १। १५३ ॥

हारिदेभ्यः। लाक्षणिः। सान्तुवायिः। कौम्भकारिः। नापित्याञ्च परत्वात् फिमेष। नापिताय निः॥ तक्षणीञ्च उपसंख्यानम्०॥ लाक्ष्यः। पते लाक्षण्यः॥

1177. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इम्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus हारिदेभ्यः, लाक्षणिः, सान्तुवायिः, कौम्भकारिः॥ The word नापित् being a Vridhdha, non gotra word, will take इम् under IV. 1. 157 S. 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापित्तायनिः॥

*Vṛddha*:—The affix संख् comes after तक्षन् carpenter.' (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 and VI. 4. 65 S. 1160. Thus it will have तक्ष्यः or तक्षण्यः but will not take इम्॥

११७८। तिकादिभ्यः फिम्। ४। १। १५४ ॥

तैकायनिः॥

1178. The affix 'फिम्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः॥

The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वार्यायनिः॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word श्रीरथ—वरदा रोते—वरदाः सधियः, his son will be aurasa with añ, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ष्य of IV. 1. 159 S. 1174

will take the affix इङ् and not क्ङि of this Sūtra. See IL. 4, 58 and 68 S. 1276, 1150.

1 तिक 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला, (बाल K.) 5 फिला, 6 उरम् (उरय), 7 गाल्य (गाल्य K.) 8 सैन्यव, 9 यमुन्द, 10 रुम्य, 11 ग्राम्य, 12 नील, 13 शर्विष, 14 नीकृत्य, 15 कुह (कह K.) 16 देवरय, 17 सैनज (सैनिल K.) 18 भौरस (भौरय.) 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौरिकि, 22 चौरयत, 23 चैरयत, 24 शीकृत्य (शीकृत्य K.) 25 सैनयत, 26 वाजयत (वाजयत K.) 27 चम्पूयत्, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वीर्य, 31 चुपामद्, 32 शारङ्ग (शारङ्ग), 33 वृद्धका, 34 खल्वका (खल्व; खल्व K.) 35 ह्य, 36 सोमक, 37 वदत (वदत K.) 38 यत्, 39 सुयाम्, 40 श्वरय (श्वरय), 41 भीत, 42 जाजन, 43 रत्त, 44 शरक, 45 ज्वजवद, 46 वज्र, 47 बन्धु, 48 आबन्धका (as well as आबन्धका) ॥

११७६ । कौशल्यकार्माया च । ४ । १ । १५५ ॥

अपते किम् । इमोऽपवादः ॥ परमपुत्रेरेवायमिष्यते \* ॥ प्रत्ययसंनियोगेन 'पुत्र' इति निर्णयः । कुशलस्यापते कौशल्ययनिः । कार्मास्यापते कार्मायायनिः ॥ उगमवृषयोऽपि \* ॥ द्वाभ्यामपि । कार्मायायनिः ॥

1179. The affix किम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kāśalya, and Kārmārya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौशल्ययनिः and कार्मायायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौशल्य or कार्माय", but they mean "the son of कौशल्य, and कार्माय," because of the following *Ishti*.

*Ishti*:—The affix however denotes the descendant of the first original words कुशल and कर्मर ॥

*Part*:—The words उग and वृष take the augment वृ before the affix किम् ॥ Thus उगययनिः and वृषययनिः ॥

११८० । अणो दावः । ४ । १ । १५६ ॥

अपते किम् । इमोऽपवादः । कार्मायायनिः । अण इति किम् । दावः इति । दावः किम् । दावः इति । दावः इति किम् वा दावः \* ॥ दावः इति । दावः ॥

1180. The affix 'phiṇ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्मायायनिः 'son of Kārmārya', दावः इति 'son of Hātra'.

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दावः 'son of Hātra' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say 'dissyllabic word'? Observe दावः 'son of दावः' ॥

*Vart*:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix किम् ॥  
Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, वादायनिः or वादः ॥

११८१ । उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

आमायुतायनिः । मायां तु । आमायुतिः । वृद्धात्किन् । दाचिः । अगोत्रात्किन् । औपगविः ॥

1181. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, after a word with a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आमायुतायनिः "son of आमायुत", ॥

But according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form will be आमायुतिः ॥ Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable'? Observe दाचिः 'son of दत्तः' ॥ Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

११८२ । वाकिनादीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

अपत्ये किम् वा । वाकिनस्त्यपत्ये वाकिनकायनिः । वाकिनिः ॥

1182. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Thus वाकिनकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of इदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः ॥

१ वाकिनः २ औपेय (गर्ह्य K.) ३ कार्कश्य (कार्कश्य K.) ४ माकः ५ लङ्का,  
॥ अनिदीचोपपत्त्ये ॥

११८३ । पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ११९ ॥

अस्याम् किम् सिद्धस्तस्मिन्पुत्रे पुत्रान्तरस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः । गार्गी-  
पुत्रायनिः । गार्गीपुनिः ॥

1183. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

*Note*:—The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sūtra. Of course a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. 4. 157 S. 1181; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कृक optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

११८४ । प्राचाभट्टदात्तिफन्बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायणिः ॥

1184. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायणि. or ग्लौचुकि 'son of Gluchuka'.

*Note*—Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाय, बट्टे and अय्यतरस्वाम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz प्राचाय and बट्टे? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बट्टे is used to express the non-uniformity of sūtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as शक्तिः, पदाक्षिः ॥

११८५ । मनीर्जतायड्यनौपुत्र च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

मनुवाचायौ अणिः । मनुवः । मनुव्यः ॥

1185. The affixes अम् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अम् = मनुवः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुव्यः formed with यत् ॥

*Note*—These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मनुवाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the suffix यत् as मनु + यत् = मनुव्यः 'son of Manu', as in मानवीयम् ॥ So also the word मनुव्यः, when used, changed into वः denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dulness implied.

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्तत्रिविद्यादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदत्रिविद्ययोर्विषयादञ् स्यादपत्ये । दाशिवर्तनार्थेति सूत्रं नीपातनाद्विज्ञेयः । ऐश्याकः । ऐश्याकौ ॥ तत्रिविद्यमानपदवाच्यजनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् । तद्वाच्यपत्यस्यैतद्वाच्य इत्यमरः । तद्वाच्यपत्येति । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चालः ॥ पुरोरण्य वन्धव्यः \* ॥ पुरैवः ॥ पायदोर्द्वयः \* ॥ पायव्यः ॥

1186. 'The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus ऐश्याकः, dual ऐश्याकौ, plural ऐश्याकाः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. The final ङ of इश्याङ् is elided before this affix अञ् and we get the form ऐश्याकः because this anomalous form is so shown in VI. 4. 174 S 1145.

*Notes* :—Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अङ्; the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौण्यः 'the son of Drūṇya'; पुरैवः 'the son of Pura'. Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king there of. Thus पञ्चालाया राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

*Vart* :—Let the affix अञ् come after पुरु ॥ Thus पुरैवः ॥ "The king of the Pūru." The word pūru is not the name of a country. The form would have been evolved by Pragdivyattilya अङ्, the present *vārtika* is made in order to give it a tadrāja designation.

*Vart* :—The affix 'dyan' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पण्डितः, otherwise it will be पण्डितः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

*Note* :—The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. Thus the same word पाञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as original (not derivative) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. These words when denoting a country are always in the 'land', as पाञ्चालः, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular.

११८७ । सात्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६६ ॥

आभासपत्येऽम् । वृद्धेति व्यहोऽपवादः । सात्वेयः । गान्धारः । तस्य राजन्येयम् ।

1187. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 they having a Vridhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'kyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus सात्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhâri or the king of Gândhâri?' The vârtika under sūtra IV. 1. 168 S. 1186 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'.

११८८ । मगधकलिङ्गसुरमसादृश । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अभ्योऽपवादः । मगध् । कलिङ्गः । कलिङ्गः । सुरमसः । कलिङ्गः । कलिङ्गः । तस्य राजन्येयम् ॥

1188. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus अंगः, वंगः, सुहमः, कलिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa.' The Vârtika 'तस्य राजनि' given above applies to this also, as अंगो राजा, वङ्गो राजा &c.

११८९ । कुक्षेकोसलाजादाम्बुज्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

इडाद् । आम्बुज्यङ् । लोकीर्षः । इङ् । आम्बुज्यङ् । कुक्षेकोसलाजादाम्बुज्यङ् ।

1189. The affix 'इङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vridhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosula' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vridhi words आम्बुज्यङ्, लोकीर्षः 'the sons or kings of Ambushtha and Savelra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आम्बुज्यङ् 'the sons or kings of Avantî' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also कुक्षेकोसलाजादाम्बुज्यङ्, which are neither Vridhi nor end in short इ ॥

११६० । कुरुनादिभ्य रयः । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्यः । नैषध्यः । स नैषधस्वार्थपतेरित्यादौ नृ षैषिकोऽन् ॥

1190. The affix रय comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'an' and 'an'. Thus कौरव्य, नैषध्यः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note:—How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति षैषयम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then is नैषधस्वार्थपतेः सुतार्या? This is a poetic license, or the षन् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaṣhika an of IV. 2. 92 S. 1312.

११६१ । सालवाययधप्रत्यग्रथकलकुटाश्मकादिभ्य् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वी ययपदस्तदययथा सनुम्परादयस्तोभ्यः प्रत्यग्रपादिभ्यश्चिन्धय इभ्य् । अमोऽयपादः । षौदुम्भरिः । मात्यधियः । कालकुटिः । आरमकिः ॥ राजन्यधिवभ्य् ॥

1191. The affix इभ्य comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kulakūṭa', and 'Aśmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) formed by इभ्य्; also साल्वः formed by षन् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarāḥ, Tīlakhaīāḥ, Madrakārāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ, and Śaradandāḥ. The patronymic from these will be: षौदुम्भरिः, तैलवलिः, माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शरदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As मात्यधियः, कालकुटिः and आरमकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As षौदुम्भरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahābhāṣya, the words Būsa, Ajamiḍa, and Ajakanda also take this affix, as बौसिः, आजनीदिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

११६२ । ते तद्राजाः । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अमादय एतन्नेष्टाः ह्युः ॥

1192. These (viz. the affixes षन् IV. 1. 168 S. 1186. &c.) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note:—The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of



before IV. I. 168 S. 1186; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan. See II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

११६३ । तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् । २ । ४ । ६२ ॥

बहुष्वयेषु तद्राजस्य लुक् स्वाचक्षर्यकृते बहुष्वे वृत्तु स्त्रियाम् । ईश्वराक्षवः । पञ्चाला इत्यादि । कर्षं तर्दि कौरव्याः पञ्चपः । तस्यामेव रषीः पाण्डव्यः इति च । कौरव्ये पाण्डवे च साधव इति समाधेयम् । रष्यामन्वये वक्ष्ये, निरूप्यमाना यदुभिः कयंचिदिति तु रघुवहुशब्दयोस्तदपत्ये लक्षणम् ॥

1193. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174 S. 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the तद्राजा-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine.

राज्ञः = राज्ञे + षण् (IV. 1. 170 S. 1188) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural राज्ञाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix षण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛddhi vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63 S. 263); but राज्ञ्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of राज्ञी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But मित्रवांसर 'he to whom the prince of Vāṅga is beloved' forms its plural मित्रवांसरा 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vāṅga,' there being no elision.

Thus ईश्वराक्षवः the princes of Ikshvāku tribe; plural of ईश्वराक्षवः; the तद्राजा affix ताम् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) is elided in the plural and so also पञ्चालाः (plural of पाञ्चालः) the princes of the Pañchālās.

(Why are the तद्राजा affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्य and पाण्डव्य, in the following phrases :—“कौरव्याः पञ्चपः” “तस्यामेव रषीः पाण्डव्यः” ॥

The affix न after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the तद्राजा affix न, but the नञप्रत्ययः (IV. 4. 98 S. 1656) affix नञ् ॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्य or पाण्डवे च साधवः—कौरव्याः or पाण्डव्याः ॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and वहु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the apatyā affixes added to them can never get the designation of तद्राजा, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in “रघुनामन्वये वक्ष्ये” “मित्रवदनामन्वये वक्ष्ये” ॥ In other words, why have not the forms been रघुनामन्वयै and मित्रवदनै? Ans. Here the words रघु and वहु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and वहु ॥ So the words have taken no apatyā affix, and so there is no exception for eliding any affix in the plural.

११९४। कम्बोजाल्लुक् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

अस्मात्तद्वाजस्य लुक् । कम्बोजः । कम्बोजौ ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति धनञ्जयम् • ॥ चोलः । चकः । मञ्जलस्यस्याणो लुक् । कैरलः । यवनः । अजो लुक् । कम्बोजः समरे इति पाठः सुगमः । दीर्घादपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो येषामित्यर्थः । सिन्धुसप्तविंशतिविधोऽणमादिषण् ॥

1194. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrāja affix.

Namely, the affix अण् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja', कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas".

*Vdt* :—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Chola' &c Thus चोलः 'the king of the Cholas'. Here as well as in चकः the अण् (IV. 1. 121. S. 1124.) that comes after a dissyllabic word is elided. So also चकः, कैरलः, यवनः ॥ The elision in the last two is of अण् ॥ "कम्बोजाः समरे" is a better reading than कम्बोजाः समरे ॥ (If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that कम्बोजाः is formed by अण् of the sūtra IV. 3. 93 S. 1473 : in the sense of "whose native land is Kamboja"; and as it is not a Tadrāja, it is not elided in the plural.)

११९५। स्त्रियामयन्तिकुन्तिकुरुञ्च । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

तद्वाजस्य लुक् स्वाह । अयन्ती । कुन्ती । कुरुः ॥

1195. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrāja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'nyāṇ' (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) after the word Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अयन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes कृ in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. S. 521.

*Notes* :—Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आरभ्यः, गौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

११९६। अतश्च । ४ । १ । १७५ ॥

तद्वाजस्यकारस्य स्त्रियां लुक् स्वाह । शूरसेनी । मन्त्री । कथं मन्त्रीयुतादिति । इत्येव वा निति इत्यतः । भगवित्त्वं वा कल्प्यम् ॥

1196. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrāja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शौरसेनी; *m.* माहः, *f.* गह्री ॥

The word *अन्तः* of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of *tadanāta vidhi* (I. I. 73 S. 26). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrāja affix ending in *अ* is elided". There have been taught five Tadrāja affixes, namely 'अं (अ)', 'अः (अ)', 'ङ्गं (अ)', 'ङ्गा (अ)' and 'इं (इ)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in *अ*; therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kanti', and 'Karu'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. 1. 178 S. 1195 indicates by *ज्ञापक*, that the *tadanāta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore the feminine of *भान्वाद्यः* is *भान्वाद्या*, of *सौदीर्यः* is *सौदीर्या* ॥

How do you explain the form *गह्री* in *गह्रीसुतो*? According to Haradatta it is wrong, the proper form is *गह्रीसुतो* ॥ Or the form *गह्रीसुतो* is valid under the Bhargadī class (IV. 1. 178. S. 1197) and so the Tadrāja affix is not elided.

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्यः । ४ । १ । १७८ ॥

पश्चिमवर्तमानस्य न लुक् । पश्चिमासी । ऐदम् । भार्गी । गह्री । गह्री । गह्री । एते प्राच्यः । भार्गी । काकरी । कैकेयी । कैकेयीलक्ष तु जन्यजदकभासलक्षे युयौरे द्वीय । युषा । युष्वा । आभां द्रव्य इति दृक् । सः स्वार्थे यौधेयादिभ्योऽन्यमाविसम् । भार्ग्वराद्यम् इति ङीम् । अतथेति लुकि दृक्गन्तव्यात् ङीप्पुत्राच्चनिर्गुणित्त्वरः स्यात् । यौधेयी यौधेयी ॥

1197. The Tadrāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c. and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debar the elision of the Tadrāja affix *अ* (required by the last sūtra). Thus *पश्चिमासी*, *ऐदम्*, *भार्गी*, *गह्री*, *गह्री* these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the Sarasvati river. Similarly of *भर्ग* &c. Thus *भार्गी*, *काकरी*, *कैकेयी* ॥ The form *कैकेयी* without *vriddhi* is formed by the feminine affix *ङी* added to *कैकेय* with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter. So also of *यौधेय* &c. Thus *यौधेयी*, *रीधेयी* and *रोधेयी* ॥ The forms are thus derived. To *युषा* and *युष्वा* is added the affix *दृक्* because they are dissyllabic words (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124). Then is added to them *अम्* without change of signification, by V. 3. 117 S. 2070. This *अम्* is a Tadrāja affix by virtue of V. 3. 119 S. 2072. Thus we get *यौधेयः* and *रोधेयः* ॥ Their feminine is formed by *ङी* as they end in the affix *अम्* ॥ (IV. 1. 73. S. 527). Now had we elided the affix *अम्* (V. 3. 117 S. 2070) which is a Tadrāja, by the last sūtra IV. 1. 178 S. 1196; the words would have been *दृक्*-ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in *ङी*, which being *anudatta* would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udātta by VI. 1. 161 S. 3651. and so ह्रीष् would become udātta, and the feminines would be final acute. But it is desired that the final should not be udātta. Hence अम् is not elided. Thus we have वैदिशी and शैदिशी with udātta on the initial as formed by ह्रीन् (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686), and not वैदिशी and शैदिशी ॥

The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 S. 1196 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119 S. 2066 &c. Thus the Tadrāja affix अञ् in (V. 3. 117) added to पर्ण &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. म. पार्थिवः । पर्थ. म. माधुरः । अमुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 ककच (ककच K.) 3 केकच. 4 कारवीर, 5 साध्व, 6 छुर्याल, 7 वरश् (वरश् and वरल K.) 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 यौधेय, 3 यौधेय, 4 यथावाणेय (यावाणेय K.), 5 धौलेय (धातेयः धातेय K.) 6 विगर्ह, 7 भरत, 8 वहीनर ॥ K. 9 धर्तेय ॥

११९८ । अणिजोरनार्षयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ७८ ॥

ययातीनामत्यस्यत्तं तस्य समीपगुप्तोत्तमम् । गोत्रे अणिजोः विहितानार्षी तदन्तर्गुप्तोत्तमयोः प्रतिपत्तिकयोः सिद्धौ प्यङ्गदेशः स्यात् । निरिश्यमाखरसदृशा भवेन्मीत्यभिप्रेत्येव । यङ्गवितो । यङ्गवाद् । कुडुगगणधेयस्य स्त्री कौडुगमन्या । यथावा । अनार्षयोः किय. नासिद्धी । वैधामिनी । गुरुपोत्तमयोः किय. औपगधी । जातिलक्षणे ङीप् । गोत्रे किय. अणिजोः आल आङ्गवितो ॥

1198. Of the affixes अञ् and इञ् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (प्यङ्) for the ण् and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long औ under IV. 1. 74 S. 528; provided that, they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable.

Note:—The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिजोः 'of अण् and जि,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi,' (3) गुरुपोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upollama* i. e. last but one,' (4) प्यङ् 'the substitute is *chyāṇi*.' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अञ् and इञ् are replaced by प्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denote non-rishi gotra, and have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tama*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like वाचि &c.

*Paibhāṣhā* :—Substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule. (See p. 117). Therefore the substitute *व्यङ्* replaces *अण्* and *इण्* only.

⟨Of the substitute *व्यङ्* the letter *व्* and *ङ्* are indicatory, the real affix is *य*, the letter *व्* differentiating this affix from *व्यङ्* and the letter *ङ्* affording a common hold for both⟩.

In forming the feminine we shall have to add *चार्* by IV. 1. 74 S. 528. Thus *कुसुमगन्धि* 'having the smell of the white-lotus', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix *अण्* ॥ Thus *कुसुमगन्धि + अण्* (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088). Now we replace this affix by *व्यङ्* and have *कुसुमगन्ध्या* ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix *इण्* (as taught in Sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75 S. 529): as *पाराहिः* gives us *पाराह्या*, so also *वालाक्या* ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say 'of *अण्* and *इण्*' ॥ Witness *पार्श्वभाग* from *श्रुतभाग* ॥ Here the word *श्रुतभाग* belongs to *विश्वि* *gana*, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix *अण्* in forming the gotra patronymic: this affix *अण्* is not replaced by *व्यङ्*, and the feminine is by long *ई* (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix *अण्* or *इण्* ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness *वायिष्टी* and *वेम्बायिष्टी* ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe *पौदगरी* which is formed by *हीङ्* denoting *jāti*. (IV. 1. 63. S. 518). Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness *रादिच्छत्री* 'a woman born in Ahichhatra'.

११६६ । गोत्राचयवात् । ४ । १ । ७९ ॥

गोत्रावयव गोत्राभिमतः कुलादवास्ततो गोत्रे विहितबीजशिष्टोऽपि यथा व्यवहितः (वाद् । अणुत्पत्तिर्गर्भः । गोत्रिण्य । भोजिण्य ॥

1199. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, *व्यङ्* is the substitute of *अण्* and *इण्*, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase *अभिमतो* of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word *अणुत्पत्ति* ॥ The phrase *गोत्रावयव* means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i.e. names of *kulas* i.e. *कुलावयव*, such as families like *भरु*, *मुष्टिरु*, *बुन्दर* which are not famous and are not included in the gotra ( *Bravara-adhyāya* ). *भोजिण्य* and *गौराव* ॥

*Note* :—The word *अवयव* in the sūtra has various significations, one meaning 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like *देवदेवा अवयव्या* ॥ The

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the क्रीडादि class of the next aphorism. (In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so.)

In fact the word भोत्रायय is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya sabhāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the भव्यशब्दाय ॥ These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । क्रीडयादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८० ॥

क्रियां च्चत् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अगुरुपोसनायोजनपरिभारम्भः । क्रीडा । व्याख्या । खलुपुत्राय \* ॥ इत्या \* भोज चविदे \* ॥ भोज्या ॥

1200. The affix च्चत् comes in the feminine after the words क्रीडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is no heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix च्चत् or इम् ॥ In fact च्चत् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus क्रीड्या 'a female kraudī' So also व्याख्या 'a female vyādi'.

1 क्रीडि, 2 जाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिचिनि, 5 आपचिनि, These are formed इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). 6 चोपयत्, 7 चैदयत् (चैदयत्), 8 सैकयत् (सैकयत्) चैदयत् (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the च्चत् च्चत् ॥ 10 सौधानकि ॥ This formed by इम् with the substitute अकल् (IV. 1. 97 S. 1097) added to सुपात् ॥

11 सप्तपुत्राय Vartika:—The word खल takes च्चत् when denoting grown-up maiden, as सत्या; ; otherwise खल 'a daughter', formed by डाप्, or a by कीप् denoting a jāti.

12. भोजचविदे Vartika:—This debarb डीप् of jāti as भोज्या, (otherv डाप् as भोजाः भोजयतीति), 13 वीतकि, 14 क्रीडि, 15 भोजिकी, 16 भोजिकी, 17 खल 18 खलस्थान, 19 आपिचिनि 20 सौकश्य (सौकश्य) ॥ All these except the last formed by च्च of Gargādi class.

१२०१ । दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुद्रिकाण्डेविदिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

१ । ८१ ॥  
एयधनुर्धः च्चत्वा । अनीवार्यनिदे गोत्रेऽपि परत्वात्परत्वेति । पदे इती पदुपधाते ।  
दैवयज्ञां । दैवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201. The affix च्चत् optionally comes after the वृक्षिवृक्षि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुद्रि and काण्डेविदि ॥

Thus दैवयज्ञा or दैवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इम्, and the gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendant substitute shyā would have come by that sūtra, it would have

by IV. 1. 78, but whereas by that sūtra ॥ would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. (But if the sūtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87 S. 1079.) In the alternative when चङ्ग ॥ is not added, ङङ्ग will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 S. 520.

## अथ तद्धित चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXVII.

#### THE QUADRUPLE SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्तं रण्णात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

एकमेतेनेनेति रणः । कदाचित् रक्तं रक्तं कापाकम् । माङ्गिकम् । रण्णात् किम् । ऐवरीय रक्तं रक्तम् ॥

1202. The affix **रण्** already ordained (IV. 1. 88) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb **रण्** means to change the white color into another color. That by which a thing is colored is called रणः 'color', ऐव 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कदाचित् रक्तं रक्तं = कापाकम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also माङ्गिकम् ॥

Why do we say रण्णात् "after the name of a color"? Observe ऐवरीय रक्तं रक्तम्, here the affix **रण्** will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

*Note* :—In the sentence "कापाको रक्तमस्य कर्णो, कर्णो कुक्कुटस्य पादौ" the words कापाको and कर्णो are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 S. 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence (IV. 1. 82 S. 1072); as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

१२०३ । लाक्षाचौचनाहम् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिकः । रौप्यचकः ॥ एकलकर्षणायुषस्यकानम् ॥ ॥ लाक्षिकः । कार्ष्णिकः । प्राभादन-  
पीति वृत्तिकारः । प्राकलः । कार्ष्णिकः ॥ नील्या अहम् ॥ ॥ नील्या रक्तं नीलम् ॥ पीताहम् ॥  
हरिद्राभहारमगन्धाम् ॥ ॥ हरिद्रम् । महारमम् ॥

1203. The affix **उक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words *lākshā*, and *rochauā*, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).



This debars अण् ॥ Thus वाचाय एत्वं वचं = वाचिकम्, so also ऐचनीकम्, *Vartika* :—So also after शकल and कर्मम् ॥ Thus शकलिकः and कर्मिकः ॥

According to the opinion of the author of *Kasikā* the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्मम् : Thus शकलः and कर्मः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix अण् comes after नीलीः as नील्य एत्वं = नीलं वचं ॥ This debars अण् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix कच् (1. 3. 8 S. 195) comes after वीत, as वीत एत्वं = वीतकच् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix अण् comes after इन्द्रि and महात्वन, as इन्द्रि<sup>इन्द्रि</sup> एत्वं and महात्वनम् ॥

१२०४। नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः । ४ । २ । ३ ॥

पुष्येय युक्तं वीर्यमहः । वीरी राशिः ॥

1204. The affix अण् already ordained by IV. 1. 88 S. 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify ॥ time connected with the asterism.

*Note* :—A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterisms. Thus पुष्य, शिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms ; when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction.

Thus पुष्य + अण् = वीर्यः ( VI. 4. 149, S. 499 ) e. g. वीर्यमहं, and वीरीराशिः " the night in which the moon is in the Pushya".

*Notes* :—Why do we say वृत्तवेण 'connected with the asterism' ? Observe चन्द्रमया युक्ता राशिः ॥ Why do we say काल 'time' ? Observe पुष्येय युक्तमहमहः ॥

१२०५। तुल्यविशेषे । ४ । २ । ४ ॥

पूर्वेण विहितस्य तुल्यमाह पठिष्यदात्मकस्य कालस्मात्तान्तरविशेषेण गम्यते । अथ पुष्यः । कथं तर्हि पुष्ययुक्तं वीर्यमासीं वीचीति । विभाषा कालतुलीयवर्णकर्मकीयेभ्यो हस्ति निर्देशेन वीर्यमात्रमायमर्थः तुल्यं नैव शब्दविज्ञानात् । अथवा चन्द्रमासु अत एव तुल्यं युक्तमस्मात्तान्तरमात्रेण । अत्रापकात्पादिविधानमात्रेण आगच्छति ॥

1205. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours.

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 dandas ( 24 hours ) such as night &c. A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kāla) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing an asterism. To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (avisēsha). To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically. This can be done by affixes. Thus अद्य पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

If the full day of 24 hours, being avisēsha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a full-moon day? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्य पुष्यः पञ्चमी, &c. for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be full moon day; for then we must say अद्यःपौषी पौर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्यः पौर्णमासी ॥

Why is the affix not elided in पौषी in the sentence पुष्यपुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी (Amara Kosha I. 26). by the present sūtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a full-moon in that asterism. This rule we deduce by inference from the sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225, where Pāṇini has exhibited the words Phālgunī, Kārtikī, and Chaitrī without the elision of the case-affix.

The words Phālgunī &c. there mean "the day in which the full moon is in the asterism Phālgunā, Kṛittikā, or Chitrā" That sūtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon-asterism, see IV, 2. 21. S. 1221.

That sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism अवन्य there is *lup*-elision of the day-denoting affix, even when such day is the full-moon day. For the full-moon day would have been आवणी like प्लासुणी, but that sūtra shows it as अवन्य ॥ The word अवन्य means that Purnamāṣī day when the full moon is in Śravanā. Not only this, but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by *lup* after अवन्य yet the rule I. 2. 51 S. 1294 does not apply. (That rule declares that where there is a *lup*-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original.) The form ought to have been अवन् and not अवन्त had I. 2. 51 S. 1294 applied, as we find सूतः and अवन्तः in सूतेनावाहयेद् देवी अवन्ते विसर्जयेद् see IL 3-45 S. 642.

The form आवणी without *lup*-elision is also valid, on the maxim अवाधनान्यापि निपातनानि "The anomalous forms (nipātanas) are also non-deterrents i. e. they do not debar the regular forms". Therefore the irregular अवन्त

and the regular श्रावणी both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in Śravaṇā" are valid.

Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours. Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism. (1) As शीर्षादिनिः 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya.' शीर्षमहर् 'the day in which &c.' (2) But when the full period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also. As अद्यपुष्यः "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya." In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms. (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full. There the affix must be added. As अद्यशीर्षी "today is the day when the full-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also, (In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is full. As शीर्षो मासः "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya.")

१२०६ । संज्ञायां श्रावणाश्रद्धाभ्याम् । ४ । २ । ५ ॥

श्रीरामायणसंज्ञाः । श्रावणा रात्रिः । श्रावणो द्युर्गतः । संज्ञायां किम् । आदन्ती । आश्वत्थी ॥

1206. 'The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravaṇā and Āśvattha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

This sūtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or prahara &c.

Thus श्रावणा रात्रिः, श्रावणो द्युर्गतः "the night called Śravaṇā; the Muhūrta called Āśvattha". Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sanjñā?' Observe आदन्ती or आश्वत्थी ॥

१२०७ । द्रव्हाभ्याम् । ४ । २ । ६ ॥

नक्षत्राभ्याम् । काले एव स्वाह विधेये कथ्यते किम् । शिष्यपुनर्नक्षत्रीयम् । उपातृतापीयं रात्रिः ॥

1207. 'The affix ■ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms; whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time.

Thus राधानुराधीया सविः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥

*Note* :—See also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4. S. 1205 which ordains *hup* (1. 4. 2 S. 175) *Ekāika*; Or the ■ is not elided on the maxim मध्येऽपवाद “an *apavāda* rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it.” Therefore अज् which precedes IV. 2. 4 S. 1205 will be debarrred and not ह्य which succeeds it.

१२०८ । दृष्टं साम । ४ । २ । ७ ॥

तेनेनेव । वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं वसिष्ठं साम ॥ अस्मिन्नर्थेऽप्यु किञ्चावस्तवः \* ॥ दधानसा दृष्टनीयानम् ॥ औपानसम् ॥

1208. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1078) comes, after ■ word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of “seen”—the thing seen being the *Sāma Veda*.

Thus वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं = वाशिष्ठं साम “the portion of the *Sāma* seen by (or revealed to) *Vasiṣṭha*”.

*Vart* :—The affix अण् is optionally treated ■ if it had an indicative व् when the sense is that of “the *Sāma-Veda* seen.” Thus दधानसा दृष्टं साम = औपानसम् or औपानम्, (the force of दृष्ट being to elide the वि portion; VI. 4. 143, S. 316).

१२०९ । कलिदेवम् । ४ । २ । ८ ॥

कलिना दृष्टं कलिं साम ॥

1209. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the *Sāma-Veda* seen, after the word ‘*Kali*’, being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम = कलिदेवम् ॥ “The *Sāma Veda* revealed to *Kali*”. This sūtra is really a *Vārtika* and not a sūtra of *Pāṇini*.

*Vart* :—The affix ‘*ḍhak*’ comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of the *Sāma-Veda* seen. Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम = अग्नेवम् ‘the *Sāma-Veda* revealed to *Agni*’. अग्निं भवे = अग्नेवम् ‘who stays in *Agni*’ (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428) अग्नेरागतं, “what has come from *Agni*” = अग्नेवम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कलिना दृष्टं साम means ‘the *Sāma-Veda* seen by *Kali*, he who stays in *Kali*, what has come from *Kali* &c.,

*Vart* :—The affix अण् in the sense of ‘born’, is optionally treated as दित् provided that it be that अण् which being debarrred by IV. 3. 11, S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV. 1. 83. ; but it is debarred by उच्च् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. The वातमिपञ्चि जागः = वातमिपः or वातमिपञ्चः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix ईकृक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयिकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तृतीयिकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

*Vart* :—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

*Vart* :—The affix युञ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "the Sāma-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. Thus औपगवकम् or कषपटवकम् 'the Sāma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṣṭava'. The affix युञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana. The following Kārikā sums up the above vārtikas,

एदं सामं वि जाते च द्वितण्डिका विधीयते ।

जीकासीकक् न विद्याया गोषादुच्च्वन्त्यते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाद् उच्च् ऊपौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन एदं साम वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धे वदेतिलेपिन किमर्थं वयसौ द्वितौ ॥

महणं वासनदर्धं भूतमव्यत्य नमृत्पदे ॥

1210. The affixes उच्च् and ऊप come after the word Vāmadeva, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन एदं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यम् ॥ The indicatory ण् in 'dyat' shows that व has svarita accent (VI. 1. 185 S. 3729).

*Kārikā* :—Why the affixes व and वन् have an indicatory ण्, when the elision of the final णि would have taken place by वदेति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) even ? Ans. They are णि in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udatta when a negative particle is added to it. It serves the purpose of regulating नमृत् accent.

Q. The final व of वामदेव would have been elided by the rule VI. 4. 148 S. 311, without making this affix णि, then what is the use of making this affix णि ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jānapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhāṣā-निरनुबन्धकमदने न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". नानुबन्धकमदने नानुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

१२११। परिवृतो रथः । ४। २। १० ॥

वस्त्रेः परिवृतो वस्त्रो रथः । रथः क्षिप् । वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कार्यः । समन्ताद्वेष्टितः परिवृत उच्यते । तेनैव न । छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded'; the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेः परिवृतो रथः = वस्त्रात् "a chariot surrounded with cloth". Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कार्यः 'the body surrounded with cloth.' The word परिवृतम् means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः "the chariot surrounded by pupils."

१२१२। पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः । ४। २। ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृतः पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्तरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वापकः । कल्पयित्वैव सिद्धे यच्चमणौ निष्पद्यते ॥

1212. The affix **इनि** comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिम् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, which has the sense of *matup*, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

१२१३। द्वैपचैवाग्राहम् । ४। २। १२ ॥

द्वैपिनो विकारो द्वैपम् । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एवं देवाग्राः ॥

1213. The **अण्** comes after the words 'dvaiṣpa' and 'vaiyāghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपात् 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also देवाग्राः ॥

Note 1.—This affix अण् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

१२१४। कौमारपुर्वचच्चे । ४। २। १३ ॥

कौमारोऽविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वत्वे निपानचमिवम् । अपूर्वपत्नी कुमारी पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारपतिः । यद्वा । अपूर्वपतिः कृमारी पतिमुपपत्ता कौमारी मार्य ॥

1214. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'

Thus कौमारः पतिः = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारीदुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin', i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिदुपपन्नः "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

Note :—The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमारीमभार्या = कौमारः ; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तद्योद्धृतममेवेष्ट्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

यद्यप्य उद्धृतः आशय भोदनः । उद्धृततिहोद्धृत्यपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । तेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य निहित इत्यर्थः ॥

1215. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अण्वय means 'vessels': उद्धृत्य means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner'. Thus आशयेपुल्लनः = आशय भोदनः "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish." That is, the uchchiṣṭa or leavings of food already eaten; or the remainder of food that remains after dinner. So also शालिका, कर्पूरः ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another. Hence the Locative. In other words uddhṛita means here "placed"

Note :—Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe आशयप्रभृत्य योत्तः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 §. 1223 inclusive.

१२१८ । स्थण्डिलान्नाश्रित्यति प्रते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

स्थण्डिलः । अण्वयस्य स्थण्डिलं अण्वयः । स्थण्डिले भोजे स्थण्डिलं निहितः ॥

Thus स्याण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्याण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i.e. an ascetic or = Brahmachāri.

Note:—Why do we say 'vow' ? Observe स्याण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मरुचः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रतं means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'.

१२१७ । संस्कृतं भक्षः । ४ । २ । १६ ॥

समन्वन्तादिण स्यासंस्कृतेऽप्ये यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाच्चेत् स्युः । आद्रे संस्कृता भ्राष्ट्रा ददाः । ऋद्धि कपालिषु संस्कृतोऽडाकपालः पुरोडाशः ॥

1217. The affix अण comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus आद्रे संस्कृता भक्षः = आद्रे 'barley fried in the pan'. Similarly भृष्ट-कपालः पुरोडाशः here अण् is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080

Note:—Why do we say "if it means food" ? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मासायुजः ॥

१२१८ । शूलोक्ताद्यत् । ४ । २ । १७ ॥

अणोपवादः । शूले संस्कृतं शूलं मांसम् । उक्ता वागविशेषः । मस्यां संस्कृतम् उद्वयम् ॥

1218. The affix द्यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उक्ता ending in the locative case.

This debars अण (IV. 1. 83). As भूजे संस्कृतं = शूलं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also उद्वयम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'. For accent see VI. 1. 213 S. 3701.

१२१९ । दध्मिष्ठक् । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

अभि संस्कृतं दधिकम् ।

1219. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधि संस्कृतं = दधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'.

Note:—This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3 S. 1551, but the दधिकम् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd; while the दधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or pepper'.

१२२० । उद्विष्ठोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १९ ॥

उण् स्यात्पक्षेण ॥



1220. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उद्विक्त ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदधिक्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदधितम् by ञञ् ॥ The word औदधिक्कम् is thus formed. उद्विक्त + उक् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

१२२१ । इत्युक्तान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इत् उक् उक् स एवदन्तात्परस्य उद्विक्तः कः स्यात् । उद्विक्ते भवति वर्धते इत्युद्विक्तः । तं च संस्कृतः औदधिक्कः । औदधितः । इत्युक्तोः प्रतिपशोक्तयोर्महानिह । आधिया अरति आधिविकः । उदा अरति औदिकः ॥

दीप उद्वद्वधनम् \* ॥ औध्या अरति औध्वः ॥

1221. क is substituted for उ after a stem ending in इन्, उस्, उक्, ( उ, ऊ, ऋ ) and त् ॥

This word udasvit literally means that which grows by water. It is the name of whey in which half is water and half curd. Thus औदधित्कम्, or औदधितः by ञञ् ॥ The इन् and उस् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, आधिविकः (= आधिया अरति ), औधिविकः (= उदा अरति ) ॥

Varṭ :—So also after दीन्, as दीष्कः ( दीष्णोपपदि ) ॥

१२२२ । क्षीराहृद् ॥ ७ । २ । २० ॥

पाच संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते नहु भृत् इति । तेन दद्यान्त्यादि भवति । क्षैरेयी ॥

1222. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshira', ending in the locative case in construction.

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food'; and therefore the derivative applies to दद्यान् ( which is not an article of food. ? ),

This debars ञञ् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृतः = क्षैरेयी दद्यान् 'milky gruel'.

१२२३ । सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीनि । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

दिनमप्यर्थात्तावन्नि लभ्यते । पौर्ण पौर्णमासी नस्मिन् पौर्णे मासः ॥

1223. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. **पौर्णमासीति** "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word **संज्ञायाम्** in the sūtra. It does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by the author of the Kāśikā from a Vārtika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix **अस्** already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the series of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of, a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्-पौषी मासः 'the month Pausa i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'.

*Note* :—Similarly पौषाऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरुचे, because *daśarūcī* is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

*Note* :—The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अस् to पूर्णमासः ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way :—पुष्पो मासः-पूर्णमासः, पूर्णमास इव-पौर्णमासी ॥ The word अस् means "moon."

१२२४ । आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाह्नुक् । ४ । २ । २२ ॥

अग्ने श्रवणस्य इत्याग्रहायणी । प्रज्ञापकृतिमन्वाहम् । पूर्वपदासंज्ञायामिति मन्वाहम् । आग्रहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आग्रहायणीको मासः । अश्वत्येन पुक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्यः । निराशना-स्तीर्णनीत्यादि ह्रस्वः आश्वत्यिकः ॥

1224. The affix **ह्नुक्** comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'āgrahāyaṇī' and 'aśvattha' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-noon night.

The words **अस्मिन्पौर्णमासीति** of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अस् ॥ The word āgrahāyaṇī is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning agre hāyanam asyāḥ : "that which has the year (hāyana) before it"—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix अस्, because it belongs to Prajñādi class which is an ākritigāṇa (V. 4. 38 S. 2106). Thus अग्र+श्रवण+माह=आग्रहायणः ॥ The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः 'the month called āgrahāyaṇīka i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of āgrahāyaṇa. Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha. (The affix denoting time is elided as nipātana. From it we have आश्वत्यिकः ॥)

१२२५ । चिमाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यश्चा षष्ठेऽङ् । फाल्गुनिकः । फाल्गुने मासः । श्रवणिकः । श्रवणः । कार्तिकिकः । कार्तिकः । चैत्रिकः । चैत्रः ॥

1225. The affix *ठक्* optionally comes after the words 'Phālgunī', 'Śravanā', Kārtikī' and 'Chaitrī' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full in those asterisms.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रवणः or श्रवणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains *ठक्* instead of *अङ्* which also comes in the alternative

१२२६ । साप्तस्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्येति ऐन्द्रं इविः । पाशुपतस्य । बार्हस्पत्यस्य । सज्जमानस्यै उदेरयविष्णो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः । आग्नेयो वे ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति हु वैविकेऽयं सर्ववर्त्मसि इक् ॥

1226. The affix *अण्* (IV. 1. 88 S. 1078) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his".

〈स= 'after a word in the first case in construction' यस्य 'In the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् इविः 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly पाशुपतस्य 'oblation belonging to Paśupati.' So also बार्हस्पत्यस्य ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः the word *āindra* means the *hymn* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered. The affix is added, therefore, to denote the mantra by which a devatā is praised, and who is referred to, while the offering is thrown into fire. (Mantra-stutyā = mantreṇa stutyā. Stutyā is a feminine word in apposition with devatā, and formed by *kyap* and *ṭāp*. See III. 1. 109. S. 2857). And in आग्नेयो वे ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति the affix *इक्* is added by IV. 2. 33 S. 1236 in the *śāisika* sense to *agni*. It is added by analogy.

Note:—The whole phrase साप्तस्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35 S. 1238. Although the word स was understood in this sūtra by *anuvṛtti* from sūtra IV. 2. 21 S. 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛtti* of स does not



The affix ■ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apānnaptṛi. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अणेनपत्नीयं or अणानपत्नीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapāt or Appānnapāt'.

*Note* :—This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I. 3. 10 S. 128. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus : "The affixes प् and छ् come after Aponaptṛi and Apānnaptṛi", the meaning of which according to I. 3. 10 S. 128 would have been "the affix प् comes after Aponaptṛi, and छ् after Apānnaptṛi". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

*Vart* :—The word सतरुद्र takes प् and छ् both in the sense of 'that its deity,' e. g. सतरुद्रीयम् and सतरुद्रीयं ॥ The luk-elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV. 1. 38 S. 1080 does not take place here; for then the Vārtika would have become useless. The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word satarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

१२३१ । महेन्द्राद्याजौ च । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

याच्छ् । महेन्द्रियं इति । महेन्द्रम् । महेन्द्रीयम् ॥

1231. The affix घ्, and अण् as also the affix छ्, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम् इति : = महेन्द्रम् and महेन्द्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

१२३२ । सोमाद् व्यण् । ४ । २ । ३०

सौम्यम् । विद्यान्दीप् ॥ सौम्यं अण् ॥

1232. The affix व्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ (The छ् of व्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The व् causes the affixing of दीप् in the feminine.) Thus सौम्ये इति, सौम्यी अण् ॥ सौम्य + डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150 S. 472) = सौम्यी ॥

१२३३ । वायुतुपित्रुपसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । अतव्यम् ॥

1233. The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vāyu', 'ritu', Pitṛi' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, अतव्यम् ॥ The next form विह् + यत् requires the following sūtra for its evolution.

१२३४ । रीङ्गुतः । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अङ्गुतःकार्त्तसार्वधातुके यकारे व्यौ च परे अदन्ताद्वात्य रीङ्गुदेशः स्यात् । यत्वेति च । विज्यम् उपस्यम् ॥

1234. **री** is substituted for the final short **ऋ** of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix दिव् ॥

The anuvṛtti of किरुति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; (that of यश्चै and यश्चस्वार्थपादकयोः is present.) The **स्ति** and **दिव्** not being understood here, we have **पितादेयताभस्य = पित्र्यप्** which is thus formed **पितृ + यन् = पित्री + ये = पितृ + य** (इ being elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311). So also **उपस्यम्** ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say short **ऋ**? Observe **येकीर्यते**, from कृ **विलुपे**, with दृढ अतद्वद् धातोः and हलिश्च lengthening. निजेगिस्थते from कृ and गु ॥

१२३५ । यावापृथिवीधुनासीरमरुत्वग्नीषोमिवास्तोऽपतिगृहमेधाच्छ **व** ।  
४ । २ । ३२ ॥

यावात् । यावापृथिवीषम् । यावापृथिव्यम् । धुनासीरिवम् । धुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235. The affix **छ** comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvā-Prithivī', 'Sūnāsira', 'Marutvat', 'Agnishoma', 'Vāstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अञ् and ष्व ॥ Thus **यावापृथिवीषम्** or **यावापृथिव्यम्** 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. **धुनासीरिवम्** or **धुनासीर्यम्** 'belonging to Sūna (Wind) and Śīra (Sun)' (VI. 3. 26 S. 922 for the lengthening of the **अ** of धुन.) **मरुत्वतीषम्** or **मरुत्वत्यम्** ॥ **अग्निषोमीषम्** or **अग्निषोम्यम्** ॥ **वास्तोऽप्यतीषम्** or **वास्तोऽप्यत्यम्** ॥ **गृहमेधीषम्** or **गृहमेध्यम्** ॥

*Note* :—According to Haradatta, **Sūnāsira** is an epithet of **Indra**, **Marutvān** is also a name of **Indra**, meaning 'Lord of Maruts'. **Agnishoma** is formed by VI. 3. 27. S. 923. **Vāstoshpati** is an irregularly formed word = **Vāstunah pati**.

१२३६ । अग्नेदेव् । ४ । २ । ३३ ॥

अग्नेदेवम् ॥

1236. The affix **देव्** comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name **Agni**.

Thus **अग्निदेवताऽयम् = अग्नेयः** ॥

१२३७ । कालेभ्यो भववस् । ४ । २ । ३४ ॥

कालिकम् । कालेभ्यम् ॥

1237. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 to IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 (read with IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), the affix इञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there.' The same affix will also come in the sense of संसृज्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + इञ् = भास = इक VII. 3. 50 S. 1170); वावृषेऽथ (IV. 3. 17 S. 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासे देवतास्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

१२३८ । महाराजप्रोष्ठपदादृञ् । ४ । २ । ३५ ॥

माहाराजिकम् । प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

1238. The affix उञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahārāja' and 'Proshṭhapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवतास्य = माहाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

१२३९ । द्येतादृञ् । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अथ द्यौर्नरपदयोराद्यौ युद्धिः स्वाङ् मिथि णिति किति च परे । आग्निमाहृतम् ॥

1239. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory झ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas.

As आग्निमाहृतौ in आग्निमाहृतौ. अङ्गाङ्गिनाकमेत् ॥ आग्निमाहृतं कर्मे ॥

Note:—(The rule applies to Devatas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and occasional offerings (हवि) ॥) Therefore, not here. स्वाङ्गविद्यादौ देवेतेऽस्य = स्वाङ्गविद्यादः (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226). So also ब्राह्मणजापस्य by ण्य from ब्राह्मणजापती ॥ See VI. 3. 28 S. 922.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमाहृत, आग्निमाहृतम् is by VI. 3. 28 S. 922  
<A compound relates to a śakta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering>

१२४० । सैन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्येन्द्रस्य युद्धिर्न स्वाङ् । सौमेन्द्रः । परस्य किति । सैन्द्राग्रः ॥

1240. But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory झ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्रः, सौमेन्द्रः ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe सैन्द्राग्रमेकादशकपात्रं चरं निरूपेत् ॥

Note:—There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the ण् or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148 S.

311, and the 7<sup>th</sup> other (i. e. the ४) coalesces with the last vowel of the first term, सोम + इन्द्र + सण् = सोम + इन्द्र + ष = सोमे + न्द्र + ष ॥ Now, no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim: बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्व कार्यं भवति, पथविकारदेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरमिति चकार्यान् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गादप्यकारिणो न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antarang, take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound." It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वोदुक्तमस्य (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise इ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इदु having merged in पूर्व), would have been viddhi'd.

१२४१ । दीर्घाच्च वक्षस्य । ७ । ३ । २३ ॥

दीर्घाच्चस्य वक्षस्य न दुष्प्रतिः । ऐन्द्रावक्षस्य । दीर्घाच्चस्य । आग्निवाहवीनन्तुाहीनाभेत् ॥ सवस्तिनस्वर्तत् इति वक्षस्यस्य उपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ भागवतिकः कालः । पाकवक्षिकः ॥ पूर्णमासाद्यच्च वक्षस्यः \* ॥ पूर्णो मासोद्गम्य वर्तते इति पार्णमासी तिथिः ॥

1241. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or ऋ, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the viddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वक्ष, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावक्षस्य, मेवावक्षस्य from इन्द्रवक्षो &c (VI. 3. 26 S. 922). Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe आग्निवाहवीन् in आग्निवाहवीनन्तुाहीनाभेत् where a short vowel precedes it.

Note:—This word is derived from the compound word वागीवक्षो the इ of वाग् being lengthened by VI. 3. 27 S. 923. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28 S. 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वक्ष ॥

Vart:—After the Words वक्षस्य &c the affix वक्ष् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As वक्षस्योऽस्मिन् वर्तते = भागवतिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकवक्षिकः ॥

Vart:—After the words पूर्णमास, the affix अद्य comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोद्गम्य वर्तते = पार्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

१२४२ । पितृव्यमातृलयातामहपितामहाः । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

एतेभिपत्यन्ते ॥

पितृर्भातारि व्यन्त \* ॥ पितृर्भातारि पितृव्यः ॥ मातृर्भातारि \* ॥ मातृर्भातारि मातृलः ॥

मातृर्पितृर्भातारि पितरि ब्रह्महृत् ॥ मातृः पितृः मातृलः । पितृः पितृः पितृलः ॥ मातृलः पितृ \* ॥ मातृलः । पितृलः ॥



भवेदुभये सोढवृत्तमयीसचो वक्तव्यः \* ॥ सव्यापठसामर्थ्यात्त एः । अविसोढम् अविवृत्तम् ।  
अविमरीतम् ॥

वित्तनिष्फलतापेक्षेपञ्जी \* ॥ वित्तपिच्छः । तिमपेजः । वन्धस्तिष्ठ इत्यर्थः ॥

पिञ्जरुन्दसि दिग्ध \* ॥ तिलपिच्छः ॥

1242. The words *pitrivya*, 'a father's brother', *mātula*, 'a mother's brother', *mātāmaha*, 'a mother's father' and *pitāmaha*, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following.

*Vārtika*:—*विह्वलृभ्यां भ्रानरि च्यङ् हुलचौ* "the affixes *च्यङ्* and *हुलच* come respectively after the words *pitri* and *mātri* in the sense of his or her brother'. Thus *विह्वलृ* and *मातृलृ* respectively.

*Vārtika*:—*पतृणां वितरि कामहृच्*, *मातृविधिश्च* ॥ The affix *kāmahach* comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory *च्* ॥ Thus *वितामहः* (f. *वितामही*), *मातामहः* (f. *मातामही*) ॥

*Vārt*:—The affixes *सोढ*, *दूत*, and *मरीचच्* come after the word *अवि*, in the sense of 'milk'. As *अवेदुभयम्* = *अविसोढम्* or *अविवृत्तम्* or *अविमरीतम्* ॥ The *स* is not changed to *च्* in these; for if it was so changed, the author would have read *दोढच्* &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process. The fact of his using *सोढच्* &c shows that the *स* is not to be changed to *च्* in these examples.

*Vārt*:—The affixes *पिञ्ज* and *पेज* come after the word *वित्त*, in the sense of fruitless. As *निष्फलस्तजः* = *वित्तपिञ्जः* and *तिमपेजः* ॥

*Vārt*:—The affix *पिच्छ* is treated like *दिह्व* in the *Chhandas*. As *वित्तपिञ्जः* ॥

१२४३ । दस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकाणां समूहः काकम् । काक्यम् ।

1243. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

Thus *काकाणां समूहः* = *काकम्* ॥ So also *काक्यम्* ॥

*Note*:—The affix *सञ्* (IV. 1. 83 §. 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection. What is the example

of this ? (In order to apply the affix **अण्**, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply.) In other words, the affix **अण्** is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has *anudatta* accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a *Gotra*-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent *sūtras*. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix **इत्** by IV. 2. 47 S. 1256, a word having *anudatta* on the first syllable will have the affix **अण्** IV. 3. 44 S. 1419, a *Gotra* word will take **उम्** IV. 2. 39 S. 1246 and especial words like **केशर** &c take **यम्** &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is:—**काकाणां समूहः** = **काकम्** 'a collection of crows' **वाकम्** ॥ The phrase **सह्य समूहः** of this aphorism governs all the subsequent *sūtras* up of *sūtra* IV. 2. 51 S. 1260 inclusive.

*Vārtā*:—The affix **सामञ्** comes after the words **गुण**, &c. As **गुणघाता** 'a collection of qualities', **करणघाता** &c. The following are some of such words:—**गुण**, **करण**, **सह्य**, **शब्द**, **इन्द्रिय**, &c. It is an *Śkārtigāṇa*.

१२४४। भिक्षादिभ्योऽण्। ४। २। १८॥

भिक्षाणां समूहो भिक्षन् । गर्भिणीनां समूहो गर्भिण्यन् । इह मत्याह इति पुनराधेयते ॥

1244. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words '*bhikshā*' &c.

The repetition of the word **अण्** in this *sūtra*, though its *anuvṛtti* was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus **भिक्षाणां समूहः** = **भिक्षन्** "what is collected in the shape of alms". So also **गर्भिण्यन्** ॥ It is thus formed **गर्भिणी** + **अण्** = **गर्भिण्यन्** (the masculine form of a *Bha* is substituted, when a *Taddhita* affix follows without an Indicatory **ङ**, *अथर्व* संहिते See VI. 3. 35 S. 836 *Vārtika*) Now the *sūtra* VI. 4. 144 S. 679 requires the elision of the syllable **इन्** of **गर्भिन्**, but the following *sūtra* prevents that

१२४५। इन्मयनपत्ये। ६। २। १८४॥

अथर्वन्यायेऽपि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । तेन नस्तद्विज्ञ इति द्वितीयो ष । पुनर्वतीनां समूहो यौवनम् । शब्दन्तावद्वृत्ताच्चादेरपि यौवनम् ॥

1245. The final **इन्** of a *bha* stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic **अण्** affix.

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI. 4. 144 S. 679. Thus we get **गर्भिण्यन्** ॥ Similarly **यौवनम्** from **युवति** ॥ This word is *anudatta*-accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

यम् (IV. 2. 44. S. 1253) but takes ञ्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshādi class. When युक्ति becomes masculine, the सि ceases, and we have युक्त् + अण् = यौवनम् "a collection of young women."

The word यौवनम् however is another form. Here the affix added is ञ् (IV. 2. 44 S. 1253) and not ञ्, and it is added to युक्त् ending in ण् affix; which has anudatta on the first syllable.

१२४६ । गोत्रोक्षोष्टोरस्रराजराजम्यराजपुत्रयत्समनुभ्याजाद्वुम् । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यः समुद्दे हुम् इवात् । औत्तिकनिह मोर्ष तत्पापत्वमाचम् ॥

1246. The affix हुम् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshau', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word मोर्ष is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. The इ of the affix हुम् is replaced by ञ् by the following sūtra.

१२४७ । युवोरनाफौ । ७ । १ । १ ॥

इ हु एतयोरनुनासिकयोः । म.मात्रेण ञ्क एतावावैधौ स्तः । म्लशुकायनीनां समुद्दे म्लशुकायनकम् । मीक्षकादित्यादि । पापत्वस्य चेति दर्शने णि ॥

मल्लस्याङ्के राजपुत्रपुत्रपुत्रानः \* ॥ सम्यक्कम् । मनुष्यकम् ॥

पुष्पाद्येति यन्मध्यम् \* ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247. For यु and यु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन् and अक ॥

Note :—(यु and यु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised.) The अन् replaces यु, and अक replaces यु । Thus ल्यु (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) = अन्, as लृङ् + ल्यु = लृङ्गः स्वयः ॥ So also ल्यु and ल्युङ् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1381), as ल्युङ्गः स्वयः, चिरंतनः ॥ यु we find in ल्युङ् (III. 1. 133 S. 2895), as लृङ् + ल्युङ् = लृङ्गः स्वयः ॥ So also ल्यु (IV. 3. 23 S. 1478) as ल्युङ्गः स्वयः, चरुंतनः ॥

Thus ल्युङ्गः स्वयः = ल्युङ्गः स्वयः । So also ल्युङ्गः स्वयः from लृङ्, औष्ट्रकम् from लृङ् ; औष्ट्रकम् from लृङ् and ल्युङ्गः स्वयः from ल्युङ् । But ल्युङ्गः स्वयः requires the elision of य by VI. 4. 151 S. 3082. This, however, is prevented by the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—The अन् of ल्युङ्गः and ल्युङ्गः is not elided when the affix अक is added (VI. 4. 150 S. 472). Thus ल्युङ्गः स्वयः, ल्युङ्गः स्वयः ॥

The other words of sâtra IV. 2. 39. S. 1246 exhibit no irregularity. As राजपु-  
नकम्, पात्यकम् and याचकम् ॥

*Vârtika* :—The affix वृञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a  
collection of old men.

Why do we say nasalised वृ and वृ? Observe कर्णाय वृत् (V. 2. 123.  
S. 1929). Here the वृ is not replaced by वन, and we have कर्णायुः ॥ So also  
in मुनिवृत्त्यां वृत्तुः ॥ Here the वृ of वृत् and वृत् (U. III. 21) is re-  
not replaced by वन; as मुन्युः and वृत्तुः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned,  
the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible  
marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रविज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

१२४८ । केदारवच ४ । २ । ४० ॥

वाहुम् । केदार्यम् । केदारकम् ॥

राजिकाया वयसि वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ गानिक्यम् ॥

1248. The affix वञ् as well as the affix वृञ्, comes  
after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof.'

This debars इच् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदारवचम् समूहः=केदार्यम् or  
केदारकम् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix वञ् comes after वयसि e. g. गानिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । कवचवचिनञ् ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

कावेदारवचि । कवचिनां समूहः कावचिकम् ॥ केदारिकम् ॥

1249. The affix ङञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection  
thereof', after the word 'kedâra', and also after the word  
'kavachin'.

We read the *anuvritti* of केदार in this Sâtra, by virtue of the word च ॥  
Thus कवचिनां समूहः=कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 164 S. 1245); and केदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणववाहवाचम् ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाहव्यम् ॥

पुत्राहुपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ पुत्रव्यम् ॥

1250. The affix यञ् is added, in the sense of 'col-  
lection thereof,' after the words 'brâhmana', 'mâṇava', and  
'vâdava'.

(The indicator य् of यञ् makes the word take udâtta acc. on the  
first syllable (VI. 1. 197)) Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाहव्यम् ॥

*Vart* :—Also after the word पुत्र e. g. पुत्रव्यम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहाय्यां येति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अहुः स्वः प्रती ० ॥ अहीनः । अहर्गणसाध्यमुल्याकः ऋतुरित्यर्थः । फली किम् । प्राहः । ॥  
अण्डिकादिवाद्यम् । अहुःप्रत्ययेनेति निवामाहिलोपे न ॥

पश्ची भम् वक्तव्यः ० ॥

1251. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grāma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages.' (The words ending in तल् are all feminine.) So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'.

*Vdt*:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज and सहाय also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants', सहायता 'a collection of allies.'

*Vdt*:—The affix तल् is added to अहम्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days,' (Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days.) Otherwise the form is प्राहुः by वम् (see IV. 2. 45. S. 1254.) The final अह here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

*Vdt*:—The affix तल् comes after पक्ष, e. g. पक्षतल् 'a collection of axes'. The final ह् of पक्ष, is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पक्ष is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha-word by the next sūtra:—

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे वृत्ते पदतन्त्रं स्यात् । अन्त्यतन्त्रार्थो न । पक्षानां समूहः पक्षम् ॥

1252. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

Therefore the ह् of पक्ष does not take guṇa substitution. So we have पक्षानामसमूहः = पक्षम् and not पक्षम्.

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरेञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । मायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix एञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कापोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम् ।

१२५४। खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अम् स्यात् । खण्डिकानां समूहः खण्डिकम् ॥

1254. The affix अम् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khaṇḍika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having ānudaṭṭa on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things, e. g. खण्डिकम्, पादवम् ॥

१२५५। चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । उन्मोच्यम् ॥

1255. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

Note :—The Vedic Schools or Charakas are like कठ, कृत्वाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtras IV. 2. 126, S. 1506 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, S. 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *iṣṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणदर्शनायतोः ॥

Thus कठानां धर्मः=काठकम्. so also कृत्वाणां समूहः=कृत्वाकम् ॥ Similarly उन्मोच्यम् ॥

१२५६। अचिसहस्तिधेनोष्ठम् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

साक्षुकम् । शस्तिकम् । धेनुकम् ॥

1256. The affix ठम् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenn'.

This debars जम् and अम् ॥ The उपसर्गां समूहः=अष्टपिकम् । साक्षुकम् ॥ (The affix ठम् is replaced by इम् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170) or क (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170)) Thus शस्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, साक्षुकिकम् ॥

१२५७। केशाश्वभ्यां यञ्छावन्त्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

यत्ते डगर्ण । कैश्चम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः=कैश्चम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256), अश्वानां समूहः=आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63 S. 518) or अश्वीयम् ॥

१२५८। पादादिभ्यो यः । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पारया । तुण्या । धूम्या । कन्या । बाल्या ॥

1258. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पादा &c.

Thus दाश्या, छुम्बा, वन्दा and वाश्या. (These words are feminine)

1 दाश, 2 छुम्बा, 3 वन्दा, 4 वाश, 5 वाश्या, 6 वाश्या (वाश्या K.), 7 दाश्या,

8 गल, 9 पिटाक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 शल, 13 शत (शत K.), 14 वन 15 बालक ॥

१२५६। खलगोरथात्। ४। २। ५० ॥

खलया। गव्या। रथ्या ॥

1259. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलया, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the वाश्यादि class, in order that the next rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

१२५०। इनिप्रकटयचञ्च। ४। २। ५१ ॥

खलादिभ्यः क्रमात्सु। खलिनी। गोवा। रथकटवा ॥

खलादिभ्य इनिर्नक्तव्यः ० ॥ शकिनी। कुडुम्बिनी। साकुविमयोदम् ॥

1260. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'kaṭyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोवा रथकटवा ।

Vart :—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus खलिनी, कुडुम्बिनी, ॥ This is an ākṣiptigaṇa.

Vart :—The affix कण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमलकण्डम्, अम्बोजकण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्बोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज, गलिनी, शैतिली belong to this class. These are साकुविमयः ॥

Vart :—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words वर, करि, and दुरङ्ग ॥ As, वारस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and दुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart :—The affix कण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकण्डम् नृणकण्डम्, कर्मकण्डम् ॥

१२५१। विपयो देशे। ४। २। ५२ ॥

पद्यन्तवपदयः सुख्यन्तपरिशीलितेऽयं स च्छेदः। शिबिर्नां विपयो देशः शीघ्रः। देशे किम्। देशस्य विपयोऽनुवाकः ॥

1261. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

Thus शिबिर्नां विपयो देशः—छेदः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibis'. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देशस्य विपयोऽनुवाकः ॥

Note :—The anuvāṛti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) does not extend further but the anuvāṛti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) is to be read into it. The whole śāstra thus becomes तस्य विपयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country.' (The word विपयो 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometimes it means an estate, as विपयो क्षत्रः

'a village has been acquired.' Some times it means an object of perception, as वस्तु विषयो रूढं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देस has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । २ । ५३ ॥

राजन्यकः ॥

1262. The affix वुञ् comes after the words *rājanya* &c, in the same sense.

This debarṣ वुञ् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो वुञ् = राजन्यकः, ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 सानृत\*, 3 ब्राह्मण\*, 4 क्षात्राचार्य, 5 देवदात (देवदातव; देवदान), 6 शत्रुघ्न, 7 वरदा\*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजन्य\*, 10 मेनु\*, 11 बाल्यशामेय, 12 बाल्यशामेय, 13 वसन्त, 14 वैष्णव, 15 वैष्णव, 16 वसुध, 17 वीर\*, 18 वैष्णव (वैष्णव) 19 बाल्यशामेय, 20 सप्रिय, 21 दासि, 22 जर्जना, 23 सप्रिय, 24 वीर, 25 वीर, 26 वीर, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्याद्येषुकार्योद्विभ्यो विधल्मक्तलौ । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

भौरिक्यां विषयो देसः भौरिक्यविधम् । भौरिक्यविधम् । ऐयुकारिभक्तम् । सारथ्यायनभक्तम् ॥

1263. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukāri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debarṣ वण् ॥ Thus भौरिक्यविधम् भौरिक्यविधम् &c. ऐयुकारिभक्तम्, सारथ्यायनभक्तम् &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौरिकि, 3 यौवयन\*, 4 वैद्यव (वैद्यव), 5 कांगेय, 6 वाणिज्यक, 7 वाणिज्याय (वाणिज्याय; वाणिज्य, वाणिज्यक), 8 वैद्यव (वैद्यव), 9 वैद्यव, 10 वैद्यव ॥

1 ऐयुकारि, 2 सारथ्यायन (सारथ्यायन), 3 बाल्यायण, 4 बाल्यायण, 5 बाल्यायण (बाल्यायण), 6 बाल्यायण, 7 बाल्यायण, 8 बाल्यायण, 9 बाल्यायण, 10 बाल्यायण, 11 बाल्यायण (बाल्यायण), 12 बाल्यायण, 13 बाल्यायण\*, 14 बाल्यायण, 15 बाल्यायण, 16 बाल्यायण, 17 बाल्यायण\*, 18 बाल्यायण, 19 बाल्यायण, 20 बाल्यायण, 21 बाल्यायण, 22 बाल्यायण, 23 बाल्यायण, 24 बाल्यायण, 25 बाल्यायण (बाल्यायण and बाल्यायण), 26 बाल्यायण ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति ऋन्तः प्रगाथेषु । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

अण् । षड्किपादिरित्येति पाठकः धिक्तायः ॥

स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम् \* । विधुदेव षण्डमेम् ॥

1264. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragātha beginning therewith.

Note :—The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. <सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning



of the affix. (आदि 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakṛiti.) The word इति is added for the sake of precision. **उत्तरः** 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. **प्रगाथे** 'in the sense of Pragātha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the सूत्र means, that the affix अच् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre.

Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अच् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly **मनुष्यम्**, **जागृतः** &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha', the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka &c and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. **अच् इति सूत्रे प्रगाथेन विज्ञः किमस्ते** "गणपताय पक्षवर्षमासौ वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

**Varī :**—The affix अच् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word **सूत्र** formed is in the neuter gender. As, **त्रिष्टुभम्** 'the metre Trisṭubha', **आगतम्** &c.

१२६५ । संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धव्यः । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

**सौन्दर्यलङ्कारे** । सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य संग्रामस्येति सौभद्रः । भरता योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य भारतः ॥

1265. The same affix अच् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

**Note:**—The phrase **सौन्दर्य** is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case; and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This सुभद्र. प्रयोजनस्य संग्रामस्य = सौभद्रः "A battle fought for Subhadrā". Similarly भारतः ॥

**Note:**—Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrā is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६ । तदस्यां महत्त्वमिति क्रीडायां च । ४ । २ । ५७ ॥

शब्दः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां दाण्डा । मौढा ॥

1266. The affix **य** added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means : 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play ; the affix **य** is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon ; **य** is added to denote a play. Thus शब्दः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दाण्डा "a game played with sticks". So also मौढा "a game played with fists".

Note:—Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला शृङ्खलमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खट्वाः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (1V. 1. 4 S. and 15), the feminine being formed by **या** अ,

१२६७ । घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रघनान्तादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे ञीतिङ्गे षष्ठ्यर्थः स्यात् । घञ इति कृष्णमहर्षिकाकोट्युक्त्यापि महत्त्वम् ॥

1267. The affix **ञ**, added to a noun of action ending in the affix **घञ्** denotes an action occurring in that.

(These words are also feminine.) The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; ता 'that' अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. (क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix.) To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix **ञ** is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

The घञ् formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kāruka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix. As an example under this sūtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पातः preceded by the upapada श्येन ॥ Thus श्येन + पात + ञ् ॥ Now applies the following.

१२६८ । श्येनतिलस्य पाते ञे । ६ । ३ । ७१ ॥

श्येन तिल एतयोर्द्विगमः स्यात् अग्रत्यये चरे पातघञ्चे उच्चरये । श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते श्येनपातः शुभया । तिलपातोऽस्यां वर्तते तैलपाता स्वभा । श्येनतिलस्य किम् । श्येनपातोऽस्यां त्रिवी वर्तते दाण्डपाता विधिः ॥

1268. **सुञ्** is the augment of the words श्येन and तिल, before पात, when the affix **ञ** is added.

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते—श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ Thus श्येनपाता शुभया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वभा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown". Why do we say श्येन and तिल only? Observe दण्डपातोऽस्यां त्रिधौवर्षेति - दण्डपाता त्रिधिः; मौञ्जलपाता त्रिधिः ॥

Note :—Why do we say before अ? Observe श्येनपातः ॥

१२६९. तदधीते नद्वेद ४।२।५६ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेत् वा वेद्याकरणः ॥

1269. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In other words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As व्याकरणमधीते = वेद्याकरणः (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098) 'who knows grammar'. The word नृद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

१२७०. कस्तूथ्यादिसूत्रान्तादृक् ४।२।६० ॥

कस्तूथिष्वनाभिर्नमिषेद मनुजम् । तेषां दुस्त्रयैश्च वेदितुं तत्प्रतिपादकमप्यपरेभ्यस्त्वप्येतर्हि । प्रामिष्टोमिकः । वृक्षपेयिकः । उदधं चानविष्टेपस्तत्तद्वचनपरे प्रत्ययिष्वेपी कस्यस्योक्तम् । तदधीते वेद वा औपिकः ॥

सूत्रान्तादृक्त्वस्याप्यपरेभ्यो मेवेति ० ॥ न्यायकः वेद्याधिकः । वृक्षिन् कार्तिकः । लोकायतनः लोकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

सूत्रान्तादृक्त्वस्याप्यपरेभ्यो मेवेति ० ॥ सांख्यिकः । अकल्पादेः किद् । कल्पसूत्रः ॥

विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तापोति वक्तव्यम् ० ॥ वायस्यधिकः । मौल्यधिकः । प्राश्नतमनिकः । पातशक्त्यधिकः ॥

पञ्चमवधर्गनिर्गुणद्विष्टान्तादृक् इत्यप्यम् ० ॥ ब्राह्मणिकः । सांख्यिकः । धर्मिकः । विविधा विद्या विविधा तानभिर् वेद वा वैदिकः ॥

वायस्यनायथाविकोतिद्वारापुनरेवम् ० ॥ अथक्रीतनधिकृत्य कृतमाख्यानपुनराख्यानक्रीतं तदधीते वेत्ति वा वायक्रीतिकः । वायस्यनायथाविकृत्य कृतं वायस्यविकृतं वायस्यदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते प्रत्ये इत्यर्थे एतादृक्ः । तस्य त्रयास्त्रयाविकृत्यो बह्वनिति लृप् । अतोऽनेन नृद् । वायस्यविकृतः । ऐतिहासिकः । वीर्याधिकः ॥

उर्षादेः उर्षादेः सुगन्धः ० ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेदः । सर्वगन्धः । अर्थार्थिकः । शिरोर्लुगिति लृक् । हितन्यः ॥

इकन्योत्तरपदानुपपत्तेः पिकन्यः ० ॥ पूर्वपदिकः । उत्तरपदिकः । अन्तपदिकः । अन्तपदिकी । पटिपापिकः । पटिपदिकी ॥

1270. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word sūtra.

This *debates* अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice'; when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who studies that book.' Thus आग्निहोत्रिकः 'who understands Agnishtoma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it.' वाजपेयिकः श्रौतियकः ॥ Uktha is a kind of sāma. The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech. लोकायनिकः, शान्तिव्यवहारीकः, सामहयिकः, ॥

*Isthi* :—The affixes इक् and अण् do not come after the word वक्ष्य when used in its primary sense. Therefore श्रौतियकः always means 'one who studies the *prātisākhya* of the *Sāma Veda*' and never means 'he who understands वक्ष्य' ॥

Similarly न्याय्य or नैयायिकः, धृष्टिश्च or शान्तिकः; लोकायनश्च or लोकायनिकः &c. All these are words of the उक्त्यादि class, for a list of which see below.

As regards सङ्ग्रहान्त words to which also this sūtra is applicable, we must remember the following.

*Isthi* :—The affix इक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus सामहयिकः from संग्रहसूत्र meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sūtra.' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not सूत्र'? Observe कल्पसूत्रः 'one who studies Kalpa sūtra'; formed by the affix अण् and not इक् ॥

*Vdr* :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, ॥ वायस्यविद्यिकः, गौतमविद्यिकः, भाष्यलक्षणविद्यिकः, पाठशालाकल्पिकः ॥

*Vart* :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, सूत्र, धर्म संस्मर्ग and वि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीते = भाङ्गविद्या, क्षात्रविद्या, धर्मविद्या, सांस्मर्गविद्या, वैविद्याः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not इक् ॥

The word वैविद्या; has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्या meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधाविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as त्रिविधाविद्याधीते then, the form would be त्रिविद्यः and not वैविद्याः for it would be then सङ्निहान्यदिह्यु in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080,

*Vart* :—The affix इक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यानिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावकृतिकः, वासवदत्तकः, ऐतिहासिकः, गौराखकः ॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakṛita, is called by a figure of speech Yavakṛita. He who studies or knows the work यवक्रीतम् is यावक्रीतिकः ॥ Similarly the story relating to Vāsavadattā is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix इक् is ordained by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sūtra IV. 3. 87 S. 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vartika* लुवास्त्वयिकाधो बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives'. So छ being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added टक् ॥ So we get वासवदत्तकः ॥

*Vart*:—This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and त, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, 'one who studies all the Vedas'; So also सर्वतन्त्रः। सर्वार्तिकः, ॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्रः Here the samāsānta affix is elided by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080.

*Vart*:—The affix इक् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in वद् ; as, पूर्वपदिकः and उत्तरपदिकः ॥

*Vart*:—The affix पिक् comes in the same sense, after the compound words दत्तपद, and दृष्टिपद ॥ As दत्तपदिकः f. दत्तपदिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498), दृष्टिपदिकः (f. दृष्टिपदिकी) ॥

1 वचन, 2 लोकायन, 3 ग्याय, 4 ग्याय, 5 पुनस्तु, 6 निस्तु, 7 निमित्त  
8 द्विपदा, 9 व्योतिष (द्विपदा, व्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 वद्, 13 धर्म, 14 पथी, 17 क्रमेण, 16 अक्षय, 17 संविदा, 18 परकम (पद। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट (संपात also संघट्ट) 20 इति, 21 परिवद्, 22 संघट्ट, 23 गण, 24 लुण (लुणाद्युण श. गण, लुण), 25 आद्यवेद, 26 अनुलुण ॥

१२७१। क्रमादिभ्यो लुक्। ४। २। ६१ ॥

क्रमकः। क्रम, पद, विद्या, श्रीमांसा, इति क्रमादिः ॥

1271. The affix लुक् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 2. 1 S. 2397) परकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 विद्या, 4 श्रीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

१२७२। अनुब्राह्मणादिभिः। ४। २। ६२ ॥

अर्थेण संवेदयेत् ॥ ब्राह्मणवत्तरेण धर्मोऽनुब्राह्मणं तदधीति अनुब्राह्मणी । नान्यधीयेनेप सिद्धे अण्वापनार्थमिदम् ॥

1272. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrāhmanya'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brāhmana book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनी, &c. The affix इति also has the force of लुक्, and by Sātra V. 2. 115 S. 1932 गत इति एते, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इति and लुक् in the sense of लुक्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इति in that sense. Though it would have taken इति by the V. 2. 115 S. 1922; its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of वञ् । In the Bhāṣya however this Sūtra is declared superfluous, which implies that वञ् also is added.

१२७३ । वसन्तादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्तिकः । वसन्तादिमधीते वाचस्पतिकः । दण्डिद्वयमेवेति खवे निपातनादितो न ॥

1273. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'vasanta' &c.

This dabars वञ् । As, वासन्तिकः 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring.' वाचस्पतिकः &c. The final वञ् of वसन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sūtra VI. 4. 174 S., 1145.

1 वसन्त, 2 व्रीह्य, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 वृषभ, 8 शुभ, 9 धन, 10 वसुध, 11 वसन्त, 12 वसन्त ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्तास्तुक् ॥ ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययपरस्याद्येहोपेक्षितप्रत्ययस्य तुक् स्थात् । वचनं पथः । वचने कविधानमिति च । सौख्यास्तीति वणी, तस्ये वाचापत्ये पाणिनः ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk.'

*Note* :—This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—“There is तुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer.” The affixes denoting प्रोक्ता or the first preponder are taught in IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini.' पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also कविप्रधानः । The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीयि formed with वञ्, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ह्यिच् would be required by VI. 1. 15 S. 2409, as the word would end in वञ् ; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (वञ् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 4 S. 3708). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by वञ्, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the तुक् affix. (Phit Su II. 19).

The word पाणिनी is thus derived : वञ् has the same meaning as वचन ; this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क् having the force of the affix वञ् (See the *Vārtika* under III. 3. 58 S. 3234). One who has वञ् 'wealth' is called वञ्चि which is formed by adding the affix इन् to वञ् by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of वञ्चि will be वञ्चिनः formed by the affix वञ् । Thus वञ्चिन् + वञ् = वञ्चिन् ॥ The final इन् of वञ्चिन् is not elided by the following sūtra :—

१२७५ । गायिबिद्यिकेशिमणिपनिवञ्च । ६ । ४ । १६५ ॥

एतेऽणि प्रकृत्या स्युः । इति दिमोपो न । सक्ते युनि इम् । पाणिनिः ॥

1275. गायिन्, विदधिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गायिनोऽपत्यं = गायिन् । So also, वैदधिन्, केशिन्, गायिन्, and पाणिन् । This sūtra applies to Patronymics. To the word गायिन् thus formed, we add the युवन् Patronymic affix इम् । Thus we get गायिनिम् । Then applies the following sūtra :—

१२७६ । एवमन्त्रिण्यर्धजितो युनि लुगर्णिजोः । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एवमन्त्रयान्तात्त्वयिगणेष्वस्ययान्ताह्मन्मभिपायिनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद् भित्तश्च परयोर्गुणभिधावि-  
नोरणिमोर्हुक् स्यात् । कौरव्यः पिता । कौरव्यः पुत्रः । श्वाफल्कः पिता । श्वाफल्कः पुत्रः । यासिष्ठः  
पिता । यासिष्ठः पुत्रः । तैकायनिः पिता । तैकायनिः पुत्रः । एभ्यः किम् । शिवायणः । कौहडः पिता । तत  
इम् । कौहडिः पुत्रः । छुदि किम् । वाभरप्रत्यस्य ह्यभाः वाभरथाः । इति मणो लुक् तु न भवति ।  
आर्धमहगेन प्रतिपदीकृतस्य अन्त्येण एव महणात् । पाणिनिना षोडशं पाणिनीयम् । ब्रह्मार्थम् । इत्येतेष्वपि  
तु न । गोत्रे च इम् संभन्ताविति मध्यमागतत्वात् । ततोऽप्येतेष्वेदिष्वनोक्त्वा । स्वरं विद्यां च दिक्षुः ।  
पाणिनीयः । पाणिनीयाः ॥

1276. After a word ending with the Gotra affix एव (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative अ्, the affix अण् and इम् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1080) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 (the affix एव comes after लुक् &c., in denoting descendant) we get कुरु+एव=कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य+इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). Now this इम् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendant of Kuru.' So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Note :—Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the शिकदि class and by IV. 1. 164 S. 1178, it will take the affix किम् । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यकिम् (VII. 1. 2 S. 457). To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of शिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding एव under rule IV. 1. 151 S. 1175; that Tikādi word is formed by एव under rule IV. 1. 172 S. 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114 S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix नञ् may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and **स्वफल्कः** is a person of that family. Then **स्वफल्कः + अण् = स्वफल्कः** 'a descendant of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendant. In forming Yuvan descendant we have **स्वफल्कः + इम्**. Now this **इम्** must be elided by the present sūtra. So that **स्वफल्कः** means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishi family. The sūtra last mentioned (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) will also hold here. We take the word **वसिष्ठः**; and **वसिष्ठः + अण् = वसिष्ठः**; the Yuvan affix **इम्** will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word **वसिष्ठः** means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory **म्**. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104 S. 1106. declares 'the affix **अम्** comes after the words **विद्** &c., in denoting Gotra descendants.' Thus **विद् + अम् = वैवः**. Then add **इम्** to denote Yuvan descent, and we have **वैवः + इम्**. By the present rule this **इम्** is elided and thus we have **वैवः** both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix **इम्**. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix **अण्**. The rule IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 says 'the affix **किम्** comes after the words **सिक्** &c. in denoting descendant.' Thus **सिक् + किम् = कैकायनिः** (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add **अण्** by IV. 1. 83. Thus **कैकायनिः + अण्**. By the present sūtra, this **अण्** is elided and we have **कैकायनिः** both applicable to the father and the son.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 says:—'The affix **अण्** comes after **विह** &c., in forming Gotra.' **कौहृद् + अण् = कौहृद्**. Now this is neither a word formed by **अण्** nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having **म्** goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix **इम्** will not be elided after this. Thus **कौहृद् + इम्** (IV. 1. 95 S. 1195) = **कौहृदिः** 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided. Thus the pupils of **वामरथ्य** are called **वामरथ्यः** which word is thus formed: **वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः** 'a descendant of Vamaratha' (IV. 1. 115 S. 1118). Then to denote pupils we add **अण्** by IV. 2. 111 S. 1332. Thus **वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः** 'a pupil of Vamarathya.'

Note:—Why do we say 'Yuvan affix **अण्** and **इम्** are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan descendant of **रात्रि** 'grandson of **रत्र**' will be **रात्रायणः**. Here the affix **कम्** (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is not elided.



In forming the word पाणिनि, the षण् which went to form the word पाणिनः is not elided because the elision taught by the present sūtra refers to the षण् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sūtra and not the gotra षण्, for the षण् in पाणिनः is the general षण् and not the particular ऋषि denoting षण्. The work enunciated by Pāṇini is Pāṇiniyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix इ by IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. and not by the affix षण् of IV. 2. 112. S. 1333. For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इम् and so *prima facie* the sūtra IV. 2. 112. S. 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इम् referred to in that sūtra is the gotra affix इम्, as will be explained hereafter; while the इम् in पाणिनि is the द्विषण् affix इम् ॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीयः formed by adding षण् to पाणिनीयम्. This षण् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form. The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine. Thus पाणिनीयः and पाणिनीया ॥

१२७७ । सूत्राख्य कोपवात् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

सर्वपाणिनः ककारोपधात्वेत्येति न्नख्यम् । सुक् स्यात् । अश्वेत्तार्य आरम्भः । अष्टावकायाः परिमाणस्य अष्टकं पाणिनेः सप्तम् । तदधीक्षते विज्ञि वा अष्टकाः ॥

1277. The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकाः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Aṣṭaka.' So also दशाका वैशाखपरीयाः, जिज्ञाः काशकृष्णाः ॥

Note:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral as in the examples above given. Thus अष्टावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीक्षे = अष्टावार्तिकः । So also काशावकाः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe अष्टदशमधीक्षे = अष्टदशः ॥

१२७८ । छन्दोगाह्वयानि च सद्भिषयाणि । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

छन्दांसि प्राश्नायानि च धेनुप्रत्ययानि सद्भिषयाणि इतुः । अश्वेत्तार्येति न्नख्यम् । विना च मधो-  
पधात्तार्यः । कर्तुं प्रोक्तमधीक्षते कदाः । वैशाखमन्तकसिन्धुपिप्लविः । तद्व कदम्बकाविति लुक् ।  
मधोऽन मधम प्रोक्तार्यलुक् ॥

1278. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word श्रोत्र is to be read into this sūtra. (The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows.') (श्रुतिपद्याणि means 'this relation,' i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of श्रुतेर् or वेदिर्.) In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a श्रोत्र affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an श्रुतेर् or वेदिर् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a श्रोत्र affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by.' (In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.)

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda.' The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix शिति denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 S. 1484: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107 S. 1487, leaving the bare word कठ; then we add चय, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. S. 1443, कठ+चयि=कठ+० (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487); =कठ+चय=कठः (IV. 2. 64 S. 1443) Plural कठाः 'those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha.'

Note:—Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñavalkya. Thus शास्त्रवत्त्वेन श्रोत्रानि ब्राह्मणानि = शास्त्रवत्त्वेनानि। Similarly श्रौतानि। These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them. See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning 'and' is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus कारवादिनः, कौशिकिनः 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kūśika.' So also with regard to Sūtra texts: as, पाराशरियो भिक्षवः 'the Bhikṣhus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parāśara.' शैलानियो नराः, कर्मन्दिनः, कृष्णिनः &c.

Why do we say 'Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas'? Because the श्रोत्र affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple; as, पणिनीयं व्याकरणम्, वैदिककल्पः ॥

## CHAPTER XXVII—( Continued ).

*The Quadruply-significant Affixes.*

१२७९ । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तत्रास्ति । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

बहुम्बराः सन्ध्यास्मिन्नेषे ओडुम्बराः ॥

1279. ( An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything ) in the sense of 'that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom.

*Note* :—The words, of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that,' i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशे तत्रास्ति 'a country having that name'; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is :—'the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists.'<sup>1</sup>

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चतुर्धन्य 'quadruple significant.'

Thus बहुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = ओडुम्बराः । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix अण् ( IV. 1. 83 ).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुसाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता कुसाम्बी नगरी ॥

1280. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तत्रास्ति of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुसाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता—कुसाम्बी नगरी 'the city of Kūsāmbī, completed by Kūsāmba.' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established.

१२८१ । तद्व निवासः । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

विश्वनां निवासो देशः कैरा ॥

1281. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place;' the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means 'his dwelling place.' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus *सैव*: 'the country of the Sîbis.'

१२८२ । अदूरमवध । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरमव नगरं वैविधम् । चकारेण शानुत्वाच्चोऽर्थोऽन्विधाप्यन्ते । तेन वक्ष्यमाण-  
प्रमाणानां शानुर्थिकत्वं सिध्यति ॥

1282. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. (The word *तस्य* must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra.) It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place. Thus *विदिशाया अदूर मव-वैविधम्*. Vaidîśā is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows.

(The *च* has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sūtra and hence) the affixes to be taught hereafter are called *châturarthika* or quadruply significant.

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

नद्योपवादः । कश्चुत्तु-काञ्चतन्म । नद्यां तु परत्वात्तन्मत् । इक्षुमती ॥

1283. The affix *अञ्* comes after a stem ending in *उ* or *ऊ*, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix *अञ्* (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073).

Thus *काञ्चतन्म* from *कश्चुत्तु*. But from *इक्षु* we have *इक्षुमती* 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugarcane near it.' Here we add the affix *तन्म* taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85 S. 1304, which debars *अञ्* by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2. S. 175). The affix *अञ्* governs the six sūtras up to IV. 2. 77. S. 1289. The difference between *अञ्* and *अञ्* consists in the accent. The *अञ्* is first-acute (IV. 1. 197 S. 3686).

१२८४ । मतोश्च बहुवद्भात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बहुवद् अञ् वस्य मनुष्यस्तन्मादञ् नादञ् । सैधकावस्य । बहुविति किय । आहितवद् ।  
सङ्गमणं बहुविति तद्विधेयं यथा स्वान्मस्वन्विधेयं मा भूत् ॥

1284. The affix *अञ्* comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix *तन्म*, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word *बहुवद्* is a compound of *बहुव* meaning literally 'many vowels' *i, r*, polysyllabic, and of *वद्* meaning 'stem.' A word which,

exclusive of the affix मनुष्य, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अण् । This debars अण् । Thus ऐधमावर्तम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe आहिमर्त्यम्, धीवर्त्यम् । Here though the word अहिमर्त्य ends in the affix मनुष्य, yet the अहि or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries. In fact, the word अहिण् qualifies the word अहि, as it stands without the affix मनुष्य, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मातावर्ता निवासः = मातवर्त्यम् by अण् ॥

१२८५ । वहुचः कूपेषु । ४ । २ । ७३ ॥

अणोऽसंवादः । दीर्घरश्मेन निर्वृत्तो दीर्घरश्मः कूपः ॥

1285. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण् । Thus दीर्घरश्मेन निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घरश्मः 'a well completed by Dīrghavaratra.'

१२८६ । उद्वह्य विपाशाः । ४ । २ । ७४ ॥

विपाशा उत्तरे कूले ये कूपास्तस्यम् । अवह्नानर्थं नात्मः । इत्येव निर्वृत्तो वास्तः कूपः । उद्वह्य विपाशाः कूपेष्वपि ॥

1286. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipāśā.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus दौष्टः 'a well completed by Datta.'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipāśā, then the affix अण् will apply; as वास्तः, the difference being in the accent.

१२८७ । सङ्कलाविम्वय १४ । २ । ७५ ॥

इत्येवमिति निर्वृत्तान् । सङ्कलेन निर्वृत्तं वाङ्मन्यम् । षोडशस्य ॥

1287. The affix अण् comes after the word 'saṅkala' &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् । The word सङ्कलः is equivalent to संगतः यजः । Thus संगतः, शोचकः &c.

१२८८ । स्त्रीषु सौवीरसात्वमाहुः । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

कविभिरेषु एषु देशेषु धार्थ्यत्वम् । सौवीरे । इच्छावशेन निर्मृता सप्तमिषी नगरी । सात्ये (धूम्राग्नी । नाभि, माकन्दी ॥

1288. So also the affix अञ् comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sāvira, or Sālva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c. are attributes of देशे वसताम् ( IV. 2. 67 ) : so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus सौत्तमिषी 'the city founded by Dattāmitra' ( in Sauvira ). So also वैष्णमी ( in Sālva ). माकन्दी, ( in the Eastern countries ).

१२८९ । सुवास्तवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

अमोऽपवादः । सुवास्तोरदूरभवं सौवास्तवम् । वृद्धं । वार्यवम् । (सम्प्रदानं नद्यां नद्वती वाधना-  
वम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

1289. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c. in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix-अण् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2, 71 and 73. S. 1283 and 1285. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं-सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्यवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvritti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars 'matup' of IV. 2. 85. S. 1304, in the case of river names even. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु. 2 वृद्धं. 3 अण्ड 4 वार्यवम् ( वार्यवम् ), 5 सौवास्तु ( सौवास्तु ), 6 कर्कशम्, 7 शिखिन्द्रम्, 8 गर्ग, 9 कर्कश, 10 कर्कशीकर्ण ( कर्कशीकर्ण ), 11 कृष्णकर्ण ( कृष्ण ), 12 कर्क, 13 कर्कशधुमरी ( कर्कशम् ), 14 गोह ( गोह्य and ग्राहि ), 15 वादिवक्त्र 10 वृद्धं ॥

१२९० । रोणि । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीवद्वत्तन्मात्रं अण् । कृष्णमीपवादः । रोणः ॥ आभकरीयः ॥

1290. The affix अण् comes after रोण in the fourfold sense.

This debars अण् of IV. 2, 74 S. 1286. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sūtras. (The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound.) Thus रोणः, माजकराणः ॥

१२९१ । कोषघाव । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । अमोऽपवादः । कार्यक्षिद्रकः कृष्णः । कार्यवक्त्रम् । व्रीतद्वयम् ॥

1291. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV: 2, 71 and 73. S. 1283 and' 1285 Thus कार्यचिह्नका कृपः ॥ कार्यवेष्टकः ॥ कार्यवाक्यम् । वैयाकरणम् ॥

१२६२ । घुञ्जलकठजिलसेनिरदभयवफविफजिञ्जयकवठकोऽरीहणकशा-  
 ध्वर्यकुमुदकोऽशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसंखिसंकाशबलपत्तकणमुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ।  
 ४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्यः सप्तदशभ्यः सप्तदश क्रमोत्पत्त्युपेतुर्लक्ष्यम् । श्रीहणादिभ्यो णम् । श्रीहणेन निर्द्विजमारीहण-  
कम् । कृष्णादिभ्यश्च हण् । कार्पाशोऽयम् । कुरवादिभ्यः कः । शूरयकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यश्च ण् । कुडविकम् ।  
काशादिभ्य रलः । काशिलः । वृणादिभ्यः सः । वृणुसंभः । मैत्रादिभ्य इनिः । मैत्री । अशमादिभ्यो रः ।  
अशमरः । सख्यादिभ्यो ऽश् । साख्यश्च । सङ्काशादिभ्यो ण्यः । साङ्काश्यश्च । बलादिभ्यो यः । बल्यम् ।  
पक्षादिभ्यः फक् । पाक्षाक्षणः । पयः पन्यश्च । पान्यायनः । कर्णादिभ्यः क्षिप् । कर्णायनिः ।  
श्रुतङ्गादिभ्य इप् । श्रुतङ्गानिः । मगवादिभ्यो ञ्यः । मगवाः । बराहादिभ्यः कक् । बाराहकः । कुमुदादि-  
भ्यश्च ण् । कौडविकः ॥

1292. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1 इम् (=यम्) after सरीदण् &c. 2, छण् (=इय्) after कृषाण् &c. 3 क after दृष्ट्य &c. 4, ठण् (=इक्यं) after कुसुण् &c. 5, इण् after काण् &c. 6 ल (or ण) after लृण् &c. 7, इनि (=इन्) after मेघ् &c. 8, र after कुरवण् &c. 9, ठण् (=एय्) after ससिन् &c. 10, ण्य (=य) after संकाण् &c. 11, य after बल &c. 12 कक् (=गार्थिन्) after पक्ष &c. 13, किम् (=प्रायणि), after कण् &c. 14, इण् (=इ) after वृत्तगण् &c. 15, अय् (=य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16, कक् (=क्यं) after वराह &c. 17, ठक् (=इक्यं) after कृषण् &c.

Note :—The above affixes इत् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. वाहि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto इत् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-classes. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by 1. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) भाषाविज्ञानम्, (2) काव्याभिरुचिम्, (3) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (4) कुतुहलम्, (5) भाषाविज्ञानम्, (6) व्याकरणम्, (7) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (8) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (9) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (10) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (11) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (12) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (13) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (14) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (15) अष्टाध्यायीम्, (16) अष्टाध्यायीम्, and lastly (17) अष्टाध्यायीम्.

*Note* :—The word सिधिप will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes, viz. षड्विम्बदि, (36), कुपुषदि (14) and षड्विम्बदि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix षष् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the षष्वादि class (IV. 2. 82 S. 1301) therefore this universal षष् (IV. 1. 83) will be added after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when सिधिपण was formed from सिधिपण.

( १ ). १ महीरा, २ दुपन, ३ दुहन्, ४ मयन, ५ उलन, ६ किरण, ७ तांपरायन, ८ मोहा-  
ना, ९ मोहादन, १० मेमनादन, ११ मेमायन, १२ भायन, १३ भेमायन ( मो-० भेमायन ), १४  
मोमनादन ( मो ), १५ मोमनादन, १६ मोमायन, १७ भोमनायन, १८ मोमायन, १९ मेमादन, २०

20 कौन्हायण, \* 21 खाडायन, 22 चाण्डिहल्यायन, 23 रावसोप, 24 विषय, 25 विषास, 26 उहण्ड, 27 उहण्डन, 28 खाण्डवीरस (खाण्ड), 29 वीरज, 30 काशकृन्त (काश), 31 जाम्बवत (वत्त) 32 विमवा, 33 रेत (रेत), 34 विल्व (विल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 धिरीष, 37 नाधिर, 38 अञ्ज, 39 खाधिर, 40 सुधर्मव (सुधर्म K.), 41 एलह, \* 42 भगन्वन, \* 43 खण्ड, \* 44 कनल, \* (कजन), 45 यतदन, \* 46 सार, 47 वेमर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2). 1 कुशाब्ध, 2 चरिह, 3 चरिश्म (चरीश्म), 4 चरमन्, 5 विद्याल, 6 लोमवा, \* 7 रोमवा \* 8 रोमका, 9 लोमका, \* 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वृषल, \* 13 सुवंचल, \* 14 सुकर, 15 सुकर, 16 प्रतर (मातर), 17 सरस, 18 पुरज, 19 पुरज, \* 20 सुख, 21 घुम, 22 बाजिन, 23 वित्त (विनता, वतिता), 24 लवनस, 25 विकुव्यास (च. 1. कुविद्यास; विकुवास), 26 पराधर, \* 27 अहन्, 28 अयन्, \* 29 मौद्रल्य, ■ यूकर, \* (मौद्रल्यकर), 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर, 33 अथवांस and लमावन् ॥

(3). 1 सुकर, 2 ग्योथ, 3 शर (धिरा), 4 निश्चिन्, 5 निवास, 6 निवास, 7 निधान, 8 निधन्ध निधन्धन; निवन्ध), 9 निवन्ध, 10 परिगृह, 11 उपगृह 12 असाधि, 13 वित्त, 14 मत्त, \* 15 वेशम्, \* 16 उत्तराधनम्, 17 अवनम् \* 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खरि, 21 शर्करा, 22 अननुह, 23 अरह \* 24 पंचवध, 25 वेष्ट, 26 धीरवा, 27 खण्ड, 28 हण्ड, \* 29 परिहृन्, 30 कर्षन, 31 अंशु ॥

(4). 1 कुहुर, 2 शर्करा, 3 ग्योथ, 4 इहन् (इहन्, उहन्), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्ह, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्वाच, \* 11 शकट, \* 12 कच, \* 13 मधु, \* 14 क्षिरीप, 15 अम्भ, \* 16 आम्भ, 17 बल्लक, 18 अवाप, 19 कूप, 20 विकट्ट, 21 एवायान, 22 लण्टक, ■ पायप, 23 निज, 24 कत ॥

(5). 1 काश, 2 वास (वाश), 3 अम्भय, 4 पलास, 5 वीशुवा (वीशुव), 6 अरवा, 7 वास, 8 मज, 9 वन 10 कर्षन, 11 कण्डूट, \* 12 कट्ट, 13 युवा, 14 वित्त (विश and वित्त) 15 वृज, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर, \* 18 मधुर, \* 19 मज (सुद) 20 काविश्य, \* 21 अह, \* 22 वीपाल: 23 मर, 24 केशक ॥

(6). 1 वृज, 2 मज, 3 वृज, \* 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 धर्मा, 7 वराण, \* 8 वित्त, 9 वृज, \* 10 पाल, \* 11 अर्धन, \* 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण, \* 14 बल, 15 अरवा, 16 वृज, 17 वन, 18 लप ॥

(7). 1 वेशका, ■ वृषका (वृषका), 2 वृषका, 3 वृषका, 4 वृषका, 5 वृषका, 6 वृषका, 7 वृषका (वृषका), 8 कट्ट (कर्कटा), 9 लण्टक, 10 कट, \* 11 कूप, \* 12 वृज, \* 13 वृज, \* 14 वृज, \* 15 मज (मज), 16 परिवाप, \* 17 अवाप, \* अवाप, 18 वृषका, \* 19 गर्ह, \* 20 कूपक (कूपका), 21 विर्य, \* 22 वृषका, 23 वृषका, 24 मट्ट, 25 वृज ॥

(8). 1 अश्मन्, 2 वृज, (also वृज), 3 कूप (कूप and वृज), 4 वीन, 5 मज, 6 धर्मा, 7 वृज, 8 वृज, \* 9 वृज, 10 मज, 11 विद्या, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पान (पान), 14 कन्द, \* 15 कान्द, \* 17 मज, \* 18 वृज, \* 19 कुण्डल, \* 20 वीन, \* 21 वृज, \* ॥

(9). 1 सल्लि, 2 अश्विन्, 3 वासुदन्, 4 अश्विन्, ■ गोपिल (गोपित and गोपिल), 6 मज, 7 पाल (अश्वपाल मज, पाल), 8 चक (चक), ■ चक्रचक, \* 10 लाल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासन्, \* 14 वीर, \* 15 वृज, \* 16 वृज, \* 17 कुशीरक, \* 18 लहिर (लहिर, लीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरक, 21 समर, \* 22 वनल, 23 सुवन्, 24 मज, 25 लाल, 26 कवल, 27 समल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रपाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 वशीर ॥

(10). 1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कश्मीर (कश्मीर), 4 समीर, 5 अरसेन (अर), 6 लण्टक, 7 वृज, \* 8 सुवन्दिन (rightly सुवन्दिन), वन्दि (वन्दि) च. 9 वृज (वृज), 10 मज, 11 अज, \* 12 वासा, \* 13 पल्लि, \* 14 मज्जन्त, \* 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 वाशीन, 18 वृज, \* 19 वृज, \* ॥



20 श्रीर्षः\* 21 विरत (विरत्त; विरत !). 22 समस्तः\* 23 सीरः\* 24 पञ्जरः\* 25 मन्थः\*  
 26 मलः\* 27 रोमन्\* 28 लोमन्\* 29 पुलिन्\* 30 सुपरिः\* 31 कटिपः\* 32 सकार्ष्णः\*  
 33 वृद्धिः\* 34 धीर्षः 35 जगस्ति. 36 विकरः\* 37 नासिका. 38 एम. 39 चिकारः 40  
 विरतः ॥

(11). 1 घन. 2 पुल (पुल), 3 मलः\* 4 एमः\* 5 पटः\* 6 लकुलः\* 7 वरतः\*  
 8 पुलः\* 9 मूलः\* 10 मलः 11 पुलः 12 वनः 13 कुलः 14 पुल 15 कपज ॥

(12). 1 पञ्जः ॥ तुषः\* 3 तुषः\* 4 कुण्डः\* ॥ सण्डः\* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक),  
 7 कलिका\* 8 विषः 9 जगस्ति\* 10 पवित्रपत्र्य च (also पाम्पायन), 11 कुम्भः 12 सीरक  
 (सीरक), 13 सरकः 14 सकल (सकल), 15 सरस, 16 समस्त, 17 सतिवन् (वन्), 18  
 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्मिन्\* 21 मकरः\* 22 लोमकः 23 श्रीर्षः\* 24 निवातः\* 25 पाकः\*  
 26 तिष्ठकः 27 ककुषः\* 28 सुषुप्तकः 29 ईसकः (ईसक). 30 ईसकः\* 31 कुस्तः\* 32  
 विलः\* 33 विलः\* 34 समस्त, 35 हस्त, 36 कलः\* 37 सकार्ष्ण (सकपञ्जक), 38 जगन्,  
 39 मस्तिवल् ॥

(13). 1 कर्षः 2 वनिष्ट. 3 कर्षः 4 अकर्षण (लृष). ॥ सुपर (सुपर), 6 आनन्दुष (अनन्),  
 7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 विषयः, 9 कुम्भी\*, 10 कुम्भी\*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 18  
 कुलिशः 14 आण्डीवन्त (आण्डीवन्), 15 जपः\* 16 जपः\* 17 जगन्कः\* 18 अलुषः 19  
 वनः 20 स्थिरा ॥

(14). 1 सुनन्तम्. 2 सुनिधिन (विधि). 3 विप्रचित (विधि). 4 महाविपत्तः\* 5 महापुत्रः\*  
 6 स्वयः\* 7 श्वेतः 8 लाडिक (गडिक). 9 तुलः 10 विमः 11 वीर्यवादिन्. 12 सार्धः, 18 वृद्धः  
 14 राजितः 15 जीवः 16 सार्धः, 17 कर्षः\*, 18 विमर्षः\*.

(15). 1 प्रगविन्, 2 मगविन्. 3 मगविन् (मगविन्), 4 कपिज (कलिज), 5 लाडिक  
 (लाडिक), 6 गविन् (गविन्), 7 वृद्धः. 8 गडर (गजोर). 9 मन्वारः\* 10 कोविदार ॥

(16). 1 पण्डः 2 पण्डः 3 निरीवः 4 विनष्ट, 5 निवष्ट, 6 वलाहः\* 7 शृणु (शृणु),  
 8 विद्वन्, 9 विजम्भ. 10 विजम्भ, 11 निमग्नः\* 12 बाहुः 13 खादिरः 14 शर्करा, 15  
 विनष्ट, 16 विष्ट, 17 मूल ॥

(17). 1 कुपुषः 2 गोमय 3 मगवार 4 वृषयान्, 5 मगवार, 6 सार्वभौमि (ली), 7 धिरीवः.  
 8 गणित्यन्तः (शृणु). 9 कुण्डन, 10 कुटः 11 मधूकर्षः, 12 मधूकर्षः 13 प्राविशार्थः 14  
 सुपुष्पः, 15 कुण्ड ॥

१२९३ । जनपदे लुप । ४ । २ । ८१ ॥

जनपदे राज्ये चातुर्गर्कस्य सुनयन् ॥

1293. The name of a kingdom is formed by the  
 elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people  
 without the change of number and gender, is at the same  
 time the name of the kingdom).

Note:—The words within bracket, in the above sūtra are added by the reading  
 together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. §. 1299. Dr. Otto Böhltingk the learned  
 translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is  
 necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means: (The

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the place (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus वृषाक्षाना जनपदो जनपदः=वृषाणाः ॥ So also कुत्सः, मत्स्याः, मङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lap-sion of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरी जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees,' वैदिषो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिषः are not names of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets. (In fact the phrase तम्रसि is understood here also.)

१२९४ । लुपि युक्तवद्वाक्यवचने । १ । २ । ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतवद्विभक्तवचने स्तः । वृषाक्षानां निषादो जनपदः वृषाक्षः । कुत्सः । मङ्गाः । कलिङ्गाः ॥

1294. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

Note :—This sūtra consists of four words: लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4. पचने number.' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is elided by लुप् then the derivative word retains the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुप्' and 'let there be न लुप्' ॥ The direct notion of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by लुप् rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by न लुप्—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word चिरियाः meaning 'a village not far away from चिरीय trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word वृषाक्षः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as is mentioned by pāṇini in 1. 2. 63 following, and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus वृषाक्षः are a class of Kshatriyas; as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās; similarly कुत्सः, मङ्गाः, मगधाः, कलिङ्गाः ॥

१२९५ । तद्विशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाखत्वात् । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

युक्तवत् पचने च कर्तव्यं संज्ञायां प्रमाखत्वात् ॥

1295. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of *sañjñā* (or conventional term or idiom).

*Note*.—The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word *स्त्री*: 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly *साय*: 'water' is always feminine plural in form; so also *सुहा*, *दधी*, *सिकता* ॥ This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like *Pañchālā*, *Kaurava* &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of a *Tadhitā* affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar.

१२६६ । लुप्योमाप्रख्यानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुपि न कर्तव्योऽप्यवार्थस्त्विहामतीति ॥

1296. The sūtras declaring *lup*-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by *lup*-elision.

*Note*.—In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus *वरुणः* *Varuṇa* is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from *वरुणः* 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave *वरुण* trees at all near the town *Varuṇa*. Let us therefore call words like *वरुणः*, *पञ्चाला*, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the *Tadhitā* affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 S. 1281 and '82 ( *तस्य विषयः*, *सादृश्यात्* ), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to '*lup*' elision contained in IV. 2. 81 and 82 S. 1293 and 1294 ( *जगद्वे सुप्*, *पुण्यादिब* ) ॥

१२६७ । योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

एहि हि योगस्यावधार्यत्वेन बोधकं स्वासदा तस्मात् न दृश्येत ॥

1297. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

*Note*:—This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by sup-*er*-elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like *देशज्ञः* &c. are not derivative words, but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if *Panchāla* be the name of the country in which the *Kshatriyas* called *Pañchālās* live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called *Pañchālās*. But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called *कृति* words.

१२६८ । प्रधानमत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवैकैव वचनमनभिप्रायः । कुतः अर्थस्य लोकस एव सिद्धेः ॥

1298. The proposition (*vachanam*) that the meaning of the affix (*pratyārtha*) is the chief factor (*pradhānam*) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made; because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

*Note*:—The translation according to *Kāshikā* is as follows:

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (*pradhāna*, in a compound) or on the affix (*pratyaya*), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

*Note*:—This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word *vachanam*. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; 1. *Pradhāna*: 'Principal in compound'; 2. *Asin*

the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhāna 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the affix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say (in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c.). A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Rāja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an गौपय्य he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

१२९६ कालोपसर्जने च सुहृदम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

असीताया राधेः पञ्चदशमासमिव्याः पूर्वायेन च सलिलो दिपसोऽयस्यः । विहोषयद्वयसर्जने  
नित्यादि पूर्वापरार्थः परिभाषितं सन्नाप्यद्विषयार्थं समानम् । लोकप्रसिद्धे ॥

1299. And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kāla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight). Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients. These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c. is also determined by usage.

*Note:*—Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus those were authors who defined *plapariśat* as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that there are redundant definitions and reproducible, for the same reason as given in the previous note.

such words as *upasarjana*, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses. They say : "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word *upasarjana*, for they say :—"पयस्य गृहे भाने वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last ? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this ? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Bṛāhmi are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvandva compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

१३०० । विशेषणानां जाज्जातेः । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

सुवर्णस्य विशेषणानामपि सदासिद्धपक्षे स्त्री जातिं वर्जयित्वा । पञ्चाला रमणीयाः । गोदौ रमणीयौ । अजातिः शिवः । पञ्चाला जनपदः । गोदौ प्रासाः ॥

इतिहत्यादिषु स्थितिः \* ॥ इतिहत्याः कालानि इतिहत्याः ॥

खलसिक्तादिषु पक्षमयः \* ॥ खलसिक्तस्य पक्षमयस्य भवति खलसिक्ता वयानि ॥

मनुष्यत्वमपि गतिविधः \* ॥ मनुष्यत्वमपि लुप्त्यै विशेषणानां न । सुवर्णस्य तु भवतीत्यर्थः । पञ्चाला रमणीयाः ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned ; (i. e. when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup* ; the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चालाः रमणीयाः, बहुभ्रातृः, पशून्पशूनाः, बहुभ्रातृपञ्चालाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c. agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ ; being also in masculine plural. So also गोदौ रमणीयौ ॥ Why do we say ; when not expressing *jāti* ? For when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word ; then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चालाः जनपदः, गोदौ प्रासाः ॥

Note :—Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchālāḥ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of each word formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुजनः 'the country of Panchāla is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुजनः qualify directly the word जनपदः, and indirectly the word Panchāla, and therefore do not-agree with the latter.

*Vart*:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्यः फलानि-हरीतक्यः 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine. Here the affix denoting fruit is *lup*-elided by IV. 3. 167. S. 1546. The resultant noun *haritaki* meaning the fruit of *haritaki* agrees in gender only.

*Vart*:—The words *खलनिक* &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलनिके वनानि 'mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains'. Here खलनिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis.* neuter. Here the affix is *lup*-elided by IV. 2. 82, S. 1301.

*Vart*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the *lup* elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कर् (V. 3. 97 S. 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus मन्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus पंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have पंचा + कर्त्तृ (सुम्नतुष्ये V. 3. 98 S. 2053) = पञ्चयः। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus पंचा ममिकः 'the delightful straw figure of a man.'

१३०१ । वरणादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८२ ।

अथर्वदर्पा क्षारम्भः । वरणागामदूरमेवं नगरे वरणाः ॥

1301. Also after the word *वरणा* &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words *वरणा*: and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by 'लुप् ॥' The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणागामदूरमेवं नगरे = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā".

*Note*:—The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As पट्टकनदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, ( वरण ), 2 मृत्ती, 3 शास्त्रमणि, 4 शुण्डी, 5 श्याण्डी, ॥ वर्णा, 7 सामपणी, 8 गोद ( पूर्वो गोदो, पूर्वेषु गोदो, अपरेषु गोदो ), 9 आतिष्ठायाम, 10 आनपनी ( आत्पनी; आत्पद ), 11 अम्बु, 12 पुष्कर, 13 चम्पा, 14 पम्पा, 15 वत्सु, 16 उज्जयनी ( उज्जयिनी ), 17 शया, 18 मधुरा, 19 तच्छाशिला, 20 उरसा ( उरसा ), 21 गोमती, 22 वज्रभी, 23 कटुकन्दरी ( with कटुक ), 24 शिरीषा, 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिक, 28 वणिक ॥ Is an भाकृतिगण ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया च । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

अन्त्यादादुपर्यिकस्य वा सुप्त्वात् ॥

1302. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is *lup-elided*.

१३०३ । उपलौ च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्तः । कुमुदारे वराहारी च वाडसामप्याम्बु इत्यकौ । वामहृदयसामप्यौ च मौत्सार्गिकोऽयं सत्यं लुपिकल्पः । एद् रूपेण । शर्करा । शर्करेव । शर्करिकम् । शर्करीयम् । शर्करिकम् । शर्करिकम् ॥

1303. The affix *उल्* and *छ* come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Why do we say "optionally" in S. 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदवि ( 2 ) and वराहदि ( 14 ) ( IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 classes 4 and 16 ), and must necessarily take the affixes *उल्* and *कृल्* taught therein : for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix *अण्*, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality. And when the word takes this universal affix ( IV. 1. 83 S. 1013 ), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करेव, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्करेव, शर्करिकम् ( formed by उल् ), शर्करिकम् ( formed by कृल् ), शर्करिकम् ( formed by एक् ), and शर्करीयम् ( by छ ).

१३०४ । नद्यां मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

आदुपर्यिकः । इक्षुमती ॥

1304. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् ( मद् and मत् ). Thus उडुम्बरवती, मराकावती, श्रीरामवती, पुष्करवती, इक्षुमती, हुमती ॥ See IV. 3. 119. S. 1499 by which



the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219. S. 3705 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10. S. 1898 by which मन् becomes मन् ॥

Note :—The affix मनुष् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and मेरुथी which are formed by मन् added under IV. 2. 68.

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८६ ॥

मधुप् स्वापानुरधिकः । अन्वर्थं चारम्भः । मधुमान् ॥

1305. The affix मनुष् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

(The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river.) As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 विश, 3 स्वाण, 4 वेष्टु, 5 कर्कण्डु, 6 क्षमी, 7 क्षीर (क्षीर), 8 हिन, 9 क्षिप्रा, 10 चार्वाण (चर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्धली, 13 चार, 14 इष्टका, 15 माह्वति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्वी, 18 चकल, 19 चान्ना, 20 आशिषि (आमिषी), 21 इष्ट, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (रुष्टि रुष्टि), 24 रुष्य, 25 सचाक्षि, 26 खंड (खंडा), 27 वट, 28 वट (वट), 29 रम्य, 30 मृत्, 31 मरुत्, चार्वाण ॥

१३०६ । कुमुदनडधेतसेभ्यो ङमनुष् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुदात् । नडुम् । वेतस्वान् । आच्योर्लोप इति अन्ये मादुपधस इति वक्ष्यमाणेन वा ॥  
महिषाङ्गपेति चकम्भ ॥ ० ॥ ॥ महिष्माङ्गान् देवः ॥

1306. The affix ङमनुष् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and धेतस् in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुदात्, नडुम्, वेतस्वान् ॥ In the case of the first two words (kumudvat, and nadvat) the न of the affix is changed to व by VIII. 2. 10 S. 1898; and in the case of the last word (vetasvat) by VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.

Var :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाङ्कुलच् । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नडुल । शादी गुप्तालपरायोः । शादलः ॥

1307. The ङ्कुलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नडुलः and शादलः ॥ The word शाद means "mud" and "young grass." (See Amarakosha III. 3. 89).

१३०८ । शिवाया चतच् । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

चिवाचम् ॥

1308. The affix चतच् comes after the word शिवा in the above four senses.

Thus शिखावलम्ब 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'.

Note :—The word शिखा takes वलम्ब by V. 2. 111 §. 1918, the affix having the same force as मनुष्य V. 2. 94 §. 1894, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

१३०६ । उत्करादिभ्यश्चः । ४ । २ । २० ॥

उत्करीयः ॥

1308. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्करीयः ॥

1 उत्कर ॥ लफल, ३ शकर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 प्रक्रम, 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण)  
8 खल्लाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 किसक, 11 अणक, 12 वैष्ण, 13 विष्टुल, 14 अमरस्य, 15  
काश, 16 सुत्र (शकासुत्र ॥ काश, सुत्र), 17 भस्मा, 18 जाल, 19 जम्बा, 20 अजिर (अंजिन),  
21 चर्मन्, 22 चर्मोपा, 23 क्षान्त (क्षान्त), 24 खरि, 25 क्षुर्याय, 26 दवावनाथ, 27 नवाकव  
(नैव, वक), 28 वृक्ष, 29 वृक्ष, 30 शाक, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिनिपा, 33 अनेक, 34  
आतप, 35 फल, 36 सपर, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैशानक, 41 इडा, 42  
अरण्य, 43 निषाण्, 44 पर्व, 45 नीवायक, 46 शकर, 47 अचरोहित, 48 शार, 49  
विद्या, 50 देश, 51 अरीहन्, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर, 54 अम्बुपार्श्व, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56  
नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तवृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष), 57 शार्ङ्गवृक्ष, 58 वृक्ष, 59 अम्ब, 60 मण्ड, 61  
शार्ङ्गवृक्ष ॥

१३१० । नडादीनां कुक् च । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

नङकीयः ॥ कुञ्ज इत्यर्थः च ॥ कुञ्जकीयः ॥ तक्षत्रोपच ॥ तक्षकीयः ॥

1310. The augment कुक् comes after the words नङ &c. when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नङ &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नङ + कुक् + छ = नङकीयः; तक्षकीयः, &c.

Two Vārtikas :—The words कुञ्जा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्जा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न is elided : e. g. कुञ्जकीयः and तक्षकीयः ॥

1 नङ, 2 इक्ष, 3 पित्त, 4 वेष्ट, 5 वेष्ट, 6 वेष्ट, 7 इक्ष, 8 इक्ष, 9 फरीश,  
10 मृष्ट, 11 कुञ्जा (कुञ्जाया) इत्यर्थः च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपच ॥

१३११ । विल्वकादिभ्यश्चस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नडाद्यन्तर्गता विल्वकादिभ्यश्चस्य लुक् सङ्घितः परे । विल्वया यस्य सन्ति ता विल्वकीयाः ।  
सस्यां भवा विल्वकाः । वैष्णवीया । वैष्णवाः । इत्ये किं । विल्वयास्य लुक् स्यात् । लुक् स्यात् । निवृत्तिर्वा मृत् ।  
सन्त्ययाः सभियोगादिनामिति कुपयि निवृत्ते । लुक् स्यात् सर्वलोपायै । लोपो हि यनावस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems विल्वका &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The विस्व &c are a subdivision of the Nadādi class (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310), and the augment क् is added to them by IV. 2. 91. S. 1310. After these words, with the augment क्, the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix. Thus विस्वा वस्यां सन्ति = विस्वकीयाः; वस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैष्वक्ताः ॥ Similarly वैष्वकीयाः, वैष्वक्ताः, ॥

Why do we say the affix छ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क् ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim:—संनियोषतिष्ठानामन्यत्पश्ये (or अपश्ये) उभयोऽप्यपश्ये (or अपश्ये), “When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise”. (The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥ Had the word lopa been used, then य only of ईय would have been elided, because its *anuvṛtti* is understood from VI. 4. 149. S. 499.)

Here ends the chapter on Quadruply Significant affixes.

has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83 S. 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86 S. 1466) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89 S. 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90 S. 1470)."

१३१३ । राष्ट्रवारपरादौ । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

आभ्यां कनादसौ स्तः शेषे । राष्ट्रियः । वारपारीणः ॥

वारापराद्विगृहीतावपि विपरीता चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ अवारियाः पारीणः वारपारीयः । इह मकृद्विधिं वादादयद्व्युत्पन्ताः प्रत्यया वक्ष्यन्ते तेषां आवादयोऽप्यविशेषाः सनयविभक्तद्वयं वक्ष्यन्ते ॥

1313. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and वारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for च, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country,' अवारपारीयः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks.'

*Vart* :—The affix ख comes also when the words वार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. वारपारीयः 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीयः 'belonging to the other bank,' वारवारपारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this.' Here as well in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of 'being born' &c. will be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 1393 and sūtras that follow it.)

*Notes* :—There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is च, and the last where of are ह्यु (IV. 3. 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced there-from' IV. 2. 25 S. 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the denotational cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यराजौ । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

ग्राम्यः । ग्रामीणः ॥

1314. The affixes य and यञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma.'

As ग्राम्यः and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic.'

१३१५ । कृत्स्नयाविभ्यो ढकञ् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

कृत्स्नयाविभ्यः ढकञ् । तस्य आतसदिः कायेयका । नागरेयकः । वाणास्तिवृत्तेः मायेयकः ॥

1315. The affix ढकञ् (एक) comes after the words फणि &c.

As कानेयकः, मानेयकः and if we take the anuvṛtti of ग्रन्थान् from the last sūtra, we have दामेयकः ॥

1 कवि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोघन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर)  
9 माहिष्मती, 10 दमती, (धर्मपत्नी) 11 वयक, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुन्वाय (कुन्वा) दलपथ,  
14 पञ्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेण १४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कौलेयकः श्वा । कौलोऽन्यः । कौलेयकौऽसिः । कौलोऽन्यः । वैरेयकौऽलङ्कारः । वैरोऽन्यः ॥

1316. The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament.'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c.): but the whole word has a specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौलेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath). वैरेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by ञच् as, कौलः, कौशः and वैशः ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

मानेयम् । नदिभ्यम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317. The affix ढक् (एक) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i.e. IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c).

Thus नदिवत्, 'pertaining to a river,' नदिभ्यम् 'earthen,' &c. वाराणसेयम् ॥

1 नदी, 2 नदी, 3 वाराणसी, 4 आबस्ती, 5 कौशम्भी, 6 वनकौशम्भी (वनवी)  
7 कावपी, 8 कावपी (फारी) 9 खादिरि, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 वाज (वावा) 12 माया  
(मावा) 13 शास्त्रा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वा, 15 सेतुवी (वालेनवी) 16 वदवाया दूषे, 17 शास्त्रा ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्वनगरम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As वैरेयम्, वनेयम् and गिरियम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापश्चात्पूरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

दक्षिणेशान्तमध्यम् । दक्षिणातः । पश्चातः । पोरस्तः ॥

1318. After the words 'dakṣiṇā', 'pascāt,' and 'puras', the affix 'tyak' (त्यै) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पश्चिमः 'occidental', पूर्वः 'oriental'

१३१६ । कापिश्याः स्फक् । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कापिश्यां जातसि कापिश्याकं मधु । कापिश्यायनी द्राक्षा ॥

1319. After the word 'Kāpīśī', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by डीप् IV. 1. 41 S, 498).

Thus कापिश्यायने मधु, कापिश्यायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

१३२० । राक्षोरमनुष्येण च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

यात् स्फक् । राक्षसो गौ । राक्षसायणः । अननुष्य इति किय् । राक्षसको मनुष्यः ॥

1320 After the words रंक् the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राक्षसो गौः or राक्षसायणो गौः ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe राक्षसको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Note:—Q. The word रंक् belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take स्फक् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इप्; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add स्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted, we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राक्षस. "a woolen blanket". (When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and स्फक् of this sūtra.) The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarrd by the special affix स्फक् ॥

The word रंक् is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarrd by इप् of IV. 2. 125 S, 1349, and इप् is debarrd by टप् of IV. 2. 119 S, 1313, and टप् is debarrd by अण् of IV. 2. 122 S, 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debarrs that and ordains अण् and स्फक् ॥

१३२१ । पुत्रागपामुदकप्रतीचो यत् । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

(१३२१ । पात्राय । अत्राय । इतीय । प्रतीय ॥

1321. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix च् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्. (IV. 4. 130 S. 3476) and प्रतीच्यम्. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyal' and 'tyu' e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). the word अत्राच means south.

१३२२ ॥ कन्धायाच्छ् । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

कान्थिकः ॥

1322. After the word 'Kanthā', comes the affix छ् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

१३२३ । यणौ लुक् । ४ । २ । १०३ ॥

यणौर्दस्तास्य लनीयरेतो यणौः तद्विषयार्थवाचिकन्यासाज्जलुब्ध स्यात् । यत्र हि शार्तं निन्देच्छेत् कान्थिकम् ॥

1323. To the same stem is added the affix लुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varnu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varnu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. Thus कान्थिकम् ॥ As in the sentence यत्र हि शार्तं निन्देच्छेत् कान्थिकम् (?)

१३२४ । कल्पयाश्चश्च । ४ । २ । १०४ ॥

अनेहकृतसिधेभ्य एव \* ॥ अमाश्लिकसहार्थयोः । अनात् । इहत्वा । कृत्यः । तत्तात्प्यः । हत्वा । परिगणनं किय । उपविष्टाङ्गनौपविष्टः ॥

कल्पयन्तं अमाश्ले टिलोपः \* ॥ अमिलोऽदे देहिपटिलोपविधानात् । तेषां च । अमाश्लोपः ॥ स्त्रोत्रेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् । निरुक्तः ॥

नितो गति \* ॥

1324. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide and the following *vārtikas* restrict it.

*Vārt.* The affix च् is restricted to the following Indeclinables :—

अमा near or 'together' इह 'here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7 S. 1953) and च (V. 3. 10 S. 1957). As अमाच्य 'a minister' इहत्वा, कृत्यः, तत्तात्प्यः, अनात्, &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe : औपविष्टः, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि ॥

*Vart*:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha : A<sup>२</sup> सौवर्गमिकः (स्वर्गममनाद) This is an anitya rule because lopa is ordained of the हि syllable of bahis by vārtika under IV.1. 55 S. 1877. Had the हि elision of the present vārtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vārtika teaching the हि elision of bahis.

Thus there is no हि elision of भगवत् and क्षत्रवत् when they take the affix छ in the same sense. As भगवत्क्षीय and क्षत्रवत्क्षीयः ॥

*Vart*:—The खप् is added to the upasarga वि in the sense of "fixed" as, निखः = ध्रुवः ॥

*Vart*:—The खप् is added to the upasarga निस् in the sense of 'gone'. As निदधः "Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste". It is thus formed : निस् + ख ॥ Now applies the following sūtr

१३२५ । इस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते । ८ । ३ । १०१ ॥

इस्वादिषाः पश्यन् सख्यः पः स्वात्तादौ तद्धिते । विपक्षो र्गोभ्येभ्यो निदधश्चाण्डालादिः ॥

भरण्यापहः \* ॥ भारण्याः ध्रुवनसः ॥

दूरादेशः \* ॥ दूरेशः ॥

वज्रपादादम् \* ॥ वज्रपादाः ॥

1325. ख् is substituted for a final ख preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त् ॥

Therefore the निस् is replaced by ख before खप् ॥ Thus we get निख + ख = निदधः meaning one who has gone out of caste such as Chandālas &c.

*Note*:—The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तत्, तन, तय, ख, तम्, खप्, ॥ As तत्—सर्विद्वत् यजुद्वत् । तन । सर्विद्वत् । यजुद्वत् । तय । यजुद्वत् । आह्वानानां निकृताः । ख । सर्विद्वत् । यजु । सर्विद्वत् । यजुद्वत् । तम् । सर्विद्वत् । यजुद्वत् । खप् । भाविभ्यो वद्धेते ॥

*Vart*:—The affix ण comes after भरण्या e. g. भारण्याः ध्रुवनसः 'forest flower's.

*Vart*:—The affix एण्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरेशः पथिकः 'a traveller'.

*Vart*:—The affix अहम् comes after उत्तर e. g. भोत्तराहः ॥

१३२६ । ऐवमोहाः अवसोऽन्यनरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एवमवसा । पञ्च वक्ष्यमाणा द्युष्ट्युत्ता । ऐवमवसा । ऐवमवसानम् । असायम् । अस्तवम् । अवसायम् । अवसानम् । पञ्च योपनिषत्सु वक्ष्यते ॥

1326. The affix खप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas,' 'hyas,' and 'śvas'; in the remaining senses.



These take optionally च्च; in the other alternative they will take बुद् and द्बुद् as taught hereafter.

As ऐवमस्त्वम् or ऐवमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391), शस्त्वम् or शस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391); अस्त्वम् or अस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391) or शौचस्तिष्ठम् (IV. 3. 15 S. 1385). The word 'śvas' takes the augment बुद् also, hence the above three forms.

१३२७ । तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्जौ । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

यथासंख्येन । काकतीरम् । पान्थलीरम् । शैवरूप्यम् । तीररूप्याम्वाहिति नान्कम् । बहुरूप्याम्वाहिति । बाहुरूप्यम् ॥

1327. The affix **ञ्ज** comes after a word ending with तीर, and the **ञ** comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars ण् । Thus काकतीरम्, पान्थलीरम्, शैवरूप्यम् । The words formed by रूप्य, take the affix ङीष् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); those in ञ् take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). The sūtra is not enunciated as लीङ्कार्णान्; for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023). Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by ञ् ॥

१३२८ । दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञार्थाञ् । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

अगोऽपवादः । शैवशालः । असेज्ञार्थां किञ्च । संज्ञाभूतावाः मङ्गलार्थां ञ् । पूर्वोक्तानामर्थान् भवः पूर्वोक्तानामर्थः । मार्थां यामममराणामित्युत्तरपदवृत्तिः ॥

1328. The affix **ञ** comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name.

↳ To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix **ञ** is added, forming the feminine in ञ् । The word असंज्ञार्थम् qualifies the 'base.' This debars ञ् । Thus पूर्वशाला + ञ् = शैवशालः (VI. 4. 148. VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? 'Observe, from the word पूर्वोक्तानामर्थी (II. 1. 50. S. 727) we have पूर्वोक्तानामर्थः' (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400), The example illustrates, 'how first a compound of Tatpuruṣa kind is formed by the words पूर्व + इशुकामशाली; 'Ishukāmaśālī in-the-East'; the whole being the name of the city. Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule (VII. 2. 117; S. 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz. the letter ई of इशुकामशाली by rule VII. 3. 14. S. 1400.

१३२६ । मद्देश्योऽञ् । ४ । २ । १०८ ॥

विषयपूर्वपदादित्येव । विषयोऽप्यत्राद्यानिति मद्देश्युक्तत्वादतिवृद्धिः । वीर्यमङ् । आपरमङ् ॥

1329. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्, preceded by a word denoting direction ; in the remaining senses.

Thus वीर्यमङ् / वीर्य । आपरमङ् / अपर ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is viddhied by VII. 3. 13 S. 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद् ॥

१३३० । उदीच्यग्रामाद्य बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । वैषयुरञ् ॥

1330. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word विद् ceases here. The अञ् debars अञ् । Thus वैषयुरञ् ॥

१३३१ । ग्रस्योत्तरपदपलयादिजोषयाञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

माहिमिग्रस्यः । पालय । मैत्रीनञ् ॥

1331. The affix अञ् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with ग्रस्य, after the words पलया &c., and after a word having a penultimate ङ, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus माहिमिग्रस्य, पालय, मैत्रीनञ् ॥

1 पलया, 2 परिषदा, 3 योषक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलसीट (मलसीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहु-  
(कीट)), 7 भाजकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलजीकर, 10 कमलभिष, 11 गौडी, 12 नैकती  
(नैकती), 13 परिषदा, 14 आसीन, 15 गामधी, 16 पदपद, 17 उदयाञ् (उदयाञ्), 18  
मलसीट, 19 सलसीन ॥

१३३२ । ऊष्यादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो भोजमाययान्तेभ्योऽञ् स्यात् । कण्ठो गगर्गदि । कापलस्य छपरा काण्ठः ।

1332. The affix अञ् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्ठ &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words *Kaṇva* &c., in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix *-ञ्* is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix *उ* (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus *काण्वाः* 'the pupils of *Kaṇva*.'

Thus *Kaṇva*-class is a sub-class of *Gargādī*. The Family-name from *काण्व* is *काण्व्य* by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix *ञ्* is added, *काण्वञ्* + *अण्* = *काण्वैः* (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

१३३३ । इञ्च । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इञ्च त्वन्ताण् स्यात् । दाक्षाः । गोत्रे स्त्रिम् । सौतङ्गमेति सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रनिह-  
पाक्षीयं ननु सौत्तिकम् । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333. After a Family-name formed by *इञ्*, the affix *अण्* is added in the remaining senses.

Thus from *इञ्* we have the Patronymic *दाक्षि*, from which *दाक्षाः* 'the pupils of *Dākshi*.' The final *इ* is elided before *अण्* by VI. 4. 148. S. 311.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe *सौतङ्गनिः*, a word formed by *इञ्* of IV. 2. 80, S. 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70 S. 1280-82. The further derivative from this will be *सौतङ्गमीयम्* by *ह्रस्व* (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). The word *Gotra* in this sūtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books: and not worldly gotras, or family descent. Therefore the rule does not apply in *पाणिनीयम्* ॥

१३३४ । न ह्यञ्चः प्राच्यभरतेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इममेत्ययोऽपवादः । प्राक्षीयः । काक्षीयः । भरताणां प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपपत्तानन्वयः प्राच्यग्रहणे  
भरताणामपहणस्य निमित्तम् ॥

1334. The affix *अण्* is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix *इञ्*, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of *Bharata*.

This sūtra debars *अण्* which would have come by the last sūtra. The result is that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, from the *सौत्तिक* derivatives by affix *उ* (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus *प्राक्षीयः* and *काक्षीयः* from, *प्राक्षि* or *काक्षी*. The word *प्राक्षि* and *काक्षी* are *Vṛiddha* words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take *उ* ॥

The *Bharatas* belong also to the *East-Folk* or *Prāchyas*. Their separate mention here indicates by *Jāpaka* or inference, that wherever *Prāchyas* is used in these sūtras, it does not include the *Bharatas*. See II. 4. 66.

१३३५ । वृद्धिर्यस्याच्चाभादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । १ । १ । ७३ ॥

यस्य सवृत्तायस्याचो मध्ये आदिर्ह्रस्वस्तद्वृद्धसंतं स्यात् ॥

1335. That word, among the vowels of which the first is *u* *vṛiddhi*, is called *vṛiddham*.

This defines the word *वृद्धम्*. The *sūtra* consists of five words :—*वृद्धि* 'the *vṛiddhi* vowel'; *यस्य* 'whose,' *अचाम्* 'among the vowels,' *आदि* 'is first'; *तद्* 'that'; *वृद्धम्* 'is called *vṛiddham*.'

*Note* :—If a word consisting of many vowels, has a *vṛiddhi* vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called *vṛiddham*. Thus the words *माला*, *पाला* &c., have the first vowel *मा* a *vṛiddhi* vowel, therefore, they are called *vṛiddham*.

The word *vṛiddham* has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain *taddhita* affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) by which the affix *ह* is added to *vṛiddham*. Thus *माला* + *ह* = *मालीयः* ॥

१३३६ । त्यदादीनि च । १ । १ । ७४ ॥

वृद्धसंज्ञानि स्तुः ॥

1336. The words *tyad* &c., are also called *vṛiddham*.

*Note* :—The *त्यद्* &c. have been given in the list of *sarvanāmas*. These words are also called *vṛiddham*. Thus *त्यद्* + *ह* = *तलीयम्*. So also *तलीयम्*, *द्वलीयम्*, *अस्तीयम्*, *वशादीयानि*, *मादायानि* &c.

१३३७ । वृत्ताच्छः । १ । २ । ११४ ॥

पालीयः । मालीयः । तलीयः ॥

1337. After a word called *Vṛiddha*, the affix *ह* is added in the remaining senses.

The word *शेष* does not govern this *sūtra*. This is a general rule. This debars *शब्द*. Thus from *शब्द* we have *शब्दीय* (VI. 4. 148. S. 311 and VI. 4. 152 S. 2119). So also *पालीयः*, *मालीयः*, *तलीयः* ॥

१३३८ । एह् प्राचां देशे । १ । १ । ७५ ॥

एह् दम्भाच्चाभक्तिस्तद्वृद्धसंतं च स्थारेषामिषां । देशीयपत्नीयः । गोनर्दीयः । भोजकदीयः । एहे सानि । देशीयपत्नीयः । गोनर्दीयः । भोजकदीयः । एह् किम् । आदिप्लवः । काम्यसुखजः ॥ वा नामधेयस्य वृत्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ देशदत्तः । देवदत्तीयः ॥

1338. A word that has the letters *ए* and *ओ* as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of *vṛiddham*, when it is the name of a country.

A. *गोनर्दीय* is a country of the east; it is a *vṛiddham* word and we have *गोनर्दीयः* + *ह* = *गोनर्दीयः*; similarly *देशीयपत्नीयम्*, *भोजकदीयः*. Alternatively, with the affix *भा* the forms will be *गोनर्दीयः*, *देशीयपत्नीयः*, *भोजकदीयः* ॥

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vṛiddham*; and as such will not take the affix छ; as आदिच्छन्, कान्यकुब्जः ॥

*Vart*:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vṛiddham*. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तिया, or we may have देवदत्ता ॥

१३३६ । भवत्तुक्छसौ । ४ । २ । ११५ ॥

वृद्धाद्वत्त एतौ स्तः । भावत्तः । जयत्तव । भवदीयः । वृद्धादिस्त्वनुवृत्तेः शतन्तादृष्टेः । भावतः ।

1339. The affixes टक् and छस् come after the *Vṛiddha*

word भवत् in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a *Vṛiddha* word, because it belongs to *tyadādi* class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336). This rule debarcs छ of IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. In the affix छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of *Paḍa* पद (I. 4. 17 S. 230). Thus भवत् + टक् = भावत्तः । भवत् + छस् = भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as *Vṛiddha*, then it takes the general affix अस्; as भावतः । This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing वत् to भू ॥

१३४० । काश्यादिभ्यस्तुम्बिहौ । ४ । २ । ११६ ॥

इकार उपारणार्थः । काशिकी । काशिका । वैदिकी । वैदिका ॥

भाष्येतिह्यस्यत्वात्तान्तात् ॥ आपदादिरकृतिगणः । आपत्काशिकी । आपत्काशिका ॥

1340. The affixes टम् and भिह् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes टम् and भिह्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by टम् will take ह्रीस् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), the others will take यप् (IV. 1. 4. S. 454). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, वैदिका or वैदिकी ॥

*Note*:—The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

*Note*:—The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. S. 1338. Thus देवदत्तिकाः । But when it is the name of a *Vāḍika* village, it is not a *Vṛiddha* word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

*Vart*:—This affix comes after compound words ending in कान् and preceded by आपत्, कर्ष्य and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or का, कौर्ष्यकालिकी or का. तद्कालिकी or का ॥

1 कश्चि, 2 चेदि (वेदी), 3 सांवाति.\* 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोहनाम (मोहनाम)  
 7 शकुनाय, 8 शक्तिकर्ष, 9 कुनामन्, (कुनामन्), 10 क्षिप्य, 11 कण्ठ, 12 गोवासन  
 (गोवासन), 13 भारद्वाज, 14 शार्ङ्गदन्, 15 अग्निष, 16 देववृक्ष, 17 वृक्षनाम (दासनाम), 18  
 सौवायता (सौवायतान), 19 वृषवाज, 20 वषवाज, 21 देववाज, 22 मोदन, 23 सिधुनिष,  
 24 वासनिष, 25 मुधाविष,\* 26 सोमनिष,\* 27 छागनिष,\* 28 सधनिष,\* 29 व्यावर्द्धिपूर्वपशु  
 (वापद्, कर्ष, तद्) काशान्वाह, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौतिकि, 32 भौतिकि, 33 सर्वनिष, 34  
 साधुनिष ॥

१३४१। वाहीकप्रामेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकप्रामेभ्यश्च वृद्धेभ्यश्चमिडौ स्तः । उत्थापवाकः । कास्तीरं नाम वाहीकप्रामः ।  
 कास्तीरिणी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341. The affixes ठञ् and मिड् come, in the remaining  
 senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of  
 Vāhika.

The word वृक्षम् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix  
 छ् (JV. 2, 114 S. 1337) Thus कास्तीरिणी or कास्तीरिका ॥

१३४२। विमाधोशीमरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

विमाधोशीमरेषु वृद्धेभ्यश्चमिडौ वा स्तः । सौवर्षनिषी । सौवर्षनिषा । सौवर्षनीया ॥

1342. The affixes ठञ् and मिड् come optionally in  
 the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting  
 Vāhika villages situated in Uśnara.

Thus सौवर्षनिषी, सौवर्षनिषा, and सौवर्षनीया ॥

१३४३। ओर्वेषे ठञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उपनिषादिवाचिणश्च । निषादकर्षुः, निषादकर्षुकाः । किञ्च इति ह्रस्वः । देवे किञ् ।  
 पदोच्छ्वासाः वादवाः । मिडं पदवर्तयितुं ठञ्महश्च । वृक्षाच्छ्वादे वरणाच्छ्वादे वापते । सात्तिकर्षुकाः ॥

1343. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses,  
 after ॥ Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृक्षम्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been  
 understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating  
 it in the next.

Thus निषादकर्षुकाः from निषादकर्षुः; the long ऊ is shortened by VII. 4.  
 13. S.834 before the affix क् । Why do we say 'denoting a country'?  
 Observe वादवाः 'the pupils of पद्' formed by ञ् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of ठञ् and मिड् both were current;  
 hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anu-  
 vṛitti of ठञ् from the last sūtra, without drawing in the anuvṛitti of मिड् ॥

This sūtra being subsequent in order to IV. 2. 114 S. 1337, debars that sūtra; and hence in the case of vṛiddha words ending in ञ and denoting a locality, छ is not added, but the डम् of the present sūtra. Thus क्षासिकडम् ॥

१३४४ । वृद्धात्माचाम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिनां वृद्धादेवेति नियमये यद्वय । आह्वयम्भुक् । वाक्भुक् । देह मन्त्रवास्तवः ।  
मात्रवास्तवः ॥

1344. The affix डम् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word ending in ञ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks.

⟨The phrase प्राग्देशे is here understood.⟩ Thus आह्वयम्भुक्, वाक्भुक् ॥

The affix डम् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore (it does not apply to मन्त्रवास्तव, from which we have मात्रवास्तवः ॥)

१३४५ । धन्वयोपचादुष्णम् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्वद्विशेषवाचिनां लकारिवधाप देशवाचिनां वृद्धादुष्णं स्वह । देशवर्तं धन्व देशपक्षः ।  
साह्वारयकाभिव्यक्त्यर्थो दुष्णरुखादिष्वपेक्ष यथान्तो । साह्वारयकः । काम्पित्यकः ॥

1345. The affix डुप् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

⟨The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here.⟩ The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, देशवर्तकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly साह्वारयकः and काम्पित्यकः are examples of य penultimate. (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292).

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताद्य । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

पुनरन्ताद्विशेषवाचिनां डुप् स्वह । छत्रवापयकः । मालावयकः । मन्त्रपुरकः । पेलुवहकः ।  
पुरान्ताद्यदणमप्रागपेक्ष । प्राग्देश वृत्तेषा सिद्धय ।

1346. The affix डुप् comes, in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus मन्त्रवयकः, मन्त्रपुरकः, पेलुवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix डुप् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope.

१३४७ । रोपघेतोः प्राच्याम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपघादीकारान्ताश्च प्राच्यदेशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ्ज् स्यात् । पाठलिपुत्रकः । ईदम्, काकन्दकः ॥

1347. The affix **वुञ्ज्** comes in the remaining senses after a Vridhdha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate **र** or ending in **ई** ॥

This debars **छ** ॥ This पाठलिपुत्रकः ॥ So also with words ending in **ई** ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, ( VI. 4. 148 ).

Note :—Why do we say प्राच्याम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दाक्षामिषयि formed by **छ** ॥ The **ह्** in ईदम् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

१३४८ । जनपदसद्वधयोश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनरसद्वधियाचिनश्च वृद्धाद्वुञ्ज् स्यात् । आदर्शकः । वैमर्शकः ॥

1348. The affix **वुञ्ज्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vridhdha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

(The phrases वृद्धात् and ऐशे are understood here) being qualified by जनपद and सद्वधि ॥ This debars the affix **छ** ॥ Thus आदर्शकः ॥ an example of जनपद- ॥

Note :—And औपुत्रक and श्यामश्वानक from औपुत्र and श्यामश्वान two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदवधि ॥

(The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village, This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of **छ** by IV. 2. 137 S. 1361 to words like निमर्श which is an arid desert : ॥ वैमर्शकः ॥ The word सद्वधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

१३४९ । अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

वृद्धाद्वुद्धाच्च जनपदसद्वधियाचिनो बहुवचनविषयत्वाविषयिकाद्वुञ्ज् स्यात् । अवृद्धावर्गी वृद्धावृद्धावर्गाः । अवृद्धाजनपदम्, आङ्गकः । अवृद्धाजनपदवधिः, आङ्गीकः । वृद्धाजनपदात्, शर्शकः । वृद्धाजनपदवधिः, कामञ्जकः । विषयवदर्थं किञ्च । एकदेशेण वृद्धे वा भूत् । पर्वती च पर्वती च पर्वती च पर्वत्यः, तान्त्रि मते पर्वतः ॥

1349. The affix **वुञ्ज्** comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vridhdha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vridhdha words.

The words जनपद and सद्वधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debars **छ** and **ञ** ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and गङ्गिकाः which are non-Vridhdha



Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have राज्ञः, राज्ञः and कालिङ्गः. Similarly मज्जीमाः and मज्जकन्ताः are always non-Vṛiddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms; we have from them मज्जीमकः and मज्जकन्तकः. The affix will apply, of course to Vṛiddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus शर्वकः and जाम्बकः from शर्वाः and जाम्बाः. So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom: कालङ्गाः—कालङ्गकः, वैकुलिकाः—वैकुलिकः.

Why have we used the word विषय in the sūtra? (The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form.) Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी. The derivative from it will be वर्तनः. For वर्तन्यः is an ekaśeṣha plural of वर्तनी + वर्तनी + वर्तनी.

१३५० । कच्छाग्निपद्मवर्तोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धावपृद्धाश्च धुम् स्यात् । शर्वकच्छकः । कायवामकः । सैन्यवक्त्रकः । बाहुवर्तकः ॥

1350. The affix धुम् comes in the remaining senses after ■ word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kuchchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars ■ and अण्. As शर्वकच्छकः, कायवामकः, सैन्यवक्त्रकः, and बाहुवर्तकः. Kāśika reads the sūtra as वक्तो &c.

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

१३५१ । धुमादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १२७ ॥

देशवाचिभ्यो धुम् । धौमकः । तैर्यकः ॥

1351. The affix धुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. धौमकः, तैर्यकः &c.

Note:—The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken धुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य् as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken धुम् by IV. 2. 124; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां राजायाणां स्व = वैदेहकः "the property of Videha Kshatriyās". So also आनर्तकः. The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus समुद्रिकः नौः and समुद्रिको मनुष्यः. Otherwise not; समुद्रिय = "Oceanic water".

1 घूम, 2 खड्ग (खड्ग and खड्ग), 3 क्षणादन, 4 क्षुब्धनाय (क्षुब्धनाद), 5 माहकस्थली 6 मानकस्थली\*, 7 माहिकस्थली\*, 8 मानस्थली (माहस्थली), 9 महस्थली\*, 10 महकस्थली\*, 11 सधुद्रस्थली, 12 दाण्डावनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजपुत्र, 16 सावासाह, 17 राध, (विष्य), 18 निचवर्ध (निचवर्ध, निच. वल), 19 मलानी\*, 20 मलकुल, 21 भागीकुल (भागीकुल), 22 भागाव, 23 मल्लव, 24 संक्षीय (संक्षीय), 25 बर्ध, 26 वधर्ध, 27 वर्ध (वर्धवर्ध), 28 आनर्ध, 29 भाठ, 30 पाधेय, 31 पाध, 32 पक्षी (पक्षी) 33 आगक्षी, 34 भातगक्षी, 35 आधय, 36 धीर्य (अधवास तीर्य), 37 कुलातुलीवीर्य, 38 सधुद्राभावि मधुप्ये च, 39 कुलि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीय), 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयिनी, (उज्जयिनी), 44 उद्धार\*, 45 सधुद्राधय, 46 साकल, 47 चोचस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 वर्धकुल, 50 मनवक्षी, 51 क्षुद्रक्षी ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुस्सनप्राधीष्ययोः । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगरात्प्राधीष्य् स्यात्कुस्सने प्राधीष्ये च गम्ये । नगरकक्षीरः क्षिप्त्वा वा । कृत्तवेति किञ् ।  
नागरा ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1352. The affix **कुस्** comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word **कुस्सनं** which is equivalent to **मिन्दनं** or 'blame or censure', and **प्राधीष्य** which means **नैपुण्य** "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus **नगरकः** 'a thief or a skilful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe **नागरा ब्राह्मणाः** 'the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas'.

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

कुम् । अरण्यान्मनुष्यावपवादः ॥

पत्न्याद्याद्व्याधिविहारादनुष्णहनिविति शब्दश्च \* ॥ अरण्यकः वन्याः वन्यायो न्यायो विहारी मनुष्यो हारी वा ॥

वा वीर्यवर्ध \* ॥ अरण्यवर्धः अरण्ये वा वीर्यवर्धः ॥

1353. The affix **कुम्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the word **अरण्य**, in the sense of a man.

*Vart*:—Optionally when the sense is that of cow-dung, as *आरण्याः* or *आरण्याः शोणवाः* ॥

*Note*:—Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be *अण्* ॥ As *आरण्याः* पशवः 'wild beasts'.

१३५४ । विभाषाकुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

यम् । कोरवकः । कोरवः । यौगन्धरकः । यौगन्धरः ॥

1354. The affix *युञ्* comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus *कोरवकः* or *कोरवः*, *यौगन्धरकः* or *यौगन्धरः* ॥

१३५५ । मद्रदृज्योः कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

(मद्रपददृज्योऽपवाहः) मद्रेषु जातो मद्रकः । वृजिकः ॥

1355. The affix *कन्* comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars *यम्*, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus *मद्रकः* 'born in Madra', *वृजिकः* ॥

१३५६ । कोपघादण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

नाहिषिकः ॥

1356. The affix *अण्* comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter *क* as its penultimate.

(This debars *यम्* in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken *अण्* even without this rule.) Thus *आहिषिकः* "born in *आहिषिका*." So also *नाहिषिकः* ॥

*Note*:—The affix *अण्* will apply even when the word ends in *ट्*, which would have otherwise taken *यम्* by IV. 2. 119 §. 1343.) Thus *देहवाकः* "born in *देहवाकु*" ॥ The word *देहे* is understood in this sūtra.

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देहावापिभ्योऽण् । कुमाविरणवाकः । काच्छः । सेन्धवः ॥

1357. The affix *अण्* comes, in the remaining senses, after the words *kachchha* &c denoting places.

The word *देहे* is understood here. This debars *यम्* &c. Thus *काच्छः* *सेन्धवः*, *वाणवः* &c.

*Note*:—The words *कच्छ* &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The

word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken झञ् by the last sūtra also, because it has क् as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain conditions.

1 काच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 यक्ष, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुगन्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 करवीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुक्ष, 10 मधुवण्ड (मधु, वण्ड, खण्ड) 11 क्षीप, 12 शनूष, 13 यजमाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कल्लुर (कुल्ल) 16 रक्षु ॥

१३५८ । मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्बुञ् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

कच्छाययोऽपवादः । कच्छे जातारिः काच्छको मनुष्यः । काच्छकं हसितम् । मनुष्येति किञ् । काच्छो गोः ॥

1358. The affix वुञ् comes after the words kachohha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars झञ् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch' काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'.

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गोः 'The cow of Kutch'.

१३५९ । अपवातो साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वस्यस्य कच्छादिनाद्वुञ्चि विज्ञे नियमार्थविदम् । अपसतावेति साल्वको ब्राह्मणः । रवातो किञ् । साल्वः पशविर्गजति ॥

1359. The affix वुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c. when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

(The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction.) Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्वः पशविर्गजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

१३६० । गोयवान्योश्च । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वाद्वुञ् । कच्छाययोऽपवादः । साल्वको गोः साल्विका यवाञ् । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c. after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars झञ् of IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. Thus साल्वको गोः 'the cows born in Sālva', साल्विका यवाञ् 'the barley gruel of Sālva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गतोत्तरपदाच्छः । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

इति । अतोऽपवादः । कृकमर्तोयम् । उत्तरपदग्रहणं बहुपूर्वनिरासार्थम् ॥

1361. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars छञ् ॥ (The word इति is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes हञ् and झिच् of sūtra IV. 2. 117 S. 1341. Thus कृकमर्तोयं, 'born in the wolf's hole.' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix नञ्, as बहुमर्तञ् ॥ Here बहु is an affix ( V. 3. 68 S. 2023 ) and not a pada.

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छः स्यात् । गहीयः ॥

हस्तपार्श्वसोमोपथ \* ॥ हुस्तनीयम् । पार्श्वनीयम् । व्यस्यदातां भगवते द्वितोपस्थानिस्थतां शापयितुमिच्छ ॥

कुञ्जमस्य परस्य च \* ॥ जननीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च \* ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

हवस्य च \* ॥ हवकीयम् ॥ पेशुकादिभ्यश्च छञ्पाठ्यः \* ॥ पेशुकीयम् । वैशकीयम् । भीत्तरपश्वकीयम् ॥

1362. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaba &c.

This debars चञ् &c. Thus गहीयः 'belonging to a cave'. अस्तः हवीय &c. *Vartika* :—The words हुस्तन् and पार्श्वतः get the affix छ, but (before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided) Thus हुस्तनीयम् and पार्श्वनीयम् ॥ This Vārtika also indicates that the elision of स् of the Indeclinable as ordained by the Vārtika under S. 1324 is a rule of limited scope.

*Vart* :—The augment कुञ् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ As जननीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

*Vart* :—The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

*Vart* :—The same augment is added to the word हव as हवकीयम् ॥

*Vart* :—The affix छञ् comes after the words पेशु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an माकृतिशब्दः ॥ Thus पेशुकीयम्, वैशकीयम्, भीत्तरपश्वकीयम्, प्राश्यकीयम्, माष्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

*Note* :—In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमपदम् प्राप्तां परणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम् when the affix ण is to be added. Thus मध्यनीयः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charapa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्याः" ॥ (The word मध्यम् here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ (So also when the affix चय् is applied in the case of चरत्. it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 8. 89 S. 1469 and not all the other senses.) Thus चरः प्राच्याः, चरः कौदिच्याः, चरो मध्यमाः "three Charyas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle".

1 मद्. 2 अन्तःस्थ. 3 सम. 4 विषम. 5 मध्यमध्यम बाह्य चरत्, 6 उत्तम, 7 अद्. 8 चद्. 9 मत्त. 10 पूर्वचद्. 11 अपरचद्. 12 अथम शास्त्र. 13 उत्तम शास्त्र. 14 एकशास्त्र. 15 समानशास्त्र. 16 समानचाम्, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकवृक्षात्, 20 इत्यद्, 21 इत्यनीक (इत्यनी). 22 अवशब्दन्त (अवशब्दी शब्दो अवशब्दन्त), 23 कामप्रसङ्ग, 24 कामादन (आदिकादायनि; खाद्यायनि and खाद्यायनी), 25 कामादिति (कविशक्ति and कामादिति), 26 कामादिति, 27 कौदिचि, 28 कौदिचि. 29 कामादिति. 30 देवशक्ति (देवशक्ति), 31 शक्ति, 32 आदिति. 33 आदिति. 34 च्यादि. 35 कौदिचि. 36 कामादिति. 37 कामादिति. 38 कामादिति, (कामादिति), 39 भोजि, 40 आदिति (आदिति). 41 आदिति, 42 आदिति, 43 कामादिति (कामादिति). 44 कामादिति. 45 कामादिति, 46 एक. 47 च्यादि. 48 कामादिति, 49 चद्. 50 मत्त. 51 उत्तर. 52 कामादिति (कामादिति). 53 मध्यमार्धमहोत्तमः (also मध्यमार्धमहोत्तमः). 54 अनवरत्तु कुरुत्तु (also अनवरत्तु and अनवरत्तु). 55 देवशक्ति, 56 देवशक्ति, 57 कामादिति. 58 कौदिचि. 59 कामादिति it is an आदिति.

१३६३ । प्राच्यां कटादेः । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

प्राचीनवाचिनः कटादेः । रमात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् ॥

1863. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देवे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देवे ॥ This declares चय् ॥ Thus अयोध्यात्, अयोध्यात्, अयोध्यात्, ॥ १३६४ । राक्षः क च । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

पृथग्व्याजं विदं गच्छाद्विजेन कविशक्तिं विधावति । राजकीयम् ॥

1864, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राक्षन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches the substitution of क ; for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देवे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

१३६५ । पृथग्व्याजं कान्तसोपधात् । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

पृथग्व्याजं कान्तसोपधात् कट्टिचयिन्तः । रमात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् । अयोध्यात् ॥

1365. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after ॥ Viddha word denoting a place and ending with अक् or उक्. or having स as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the षण् of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV. 2. 117 and 123. S. 1341 and 1347.

Thus एकः—ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥ “One born in Brāhmaṇaka—a country where the Brāhmaṇa caste live by the profession of arms.” द्वयः—शामन्त्रिकीयम् ॥

*Note*:—The words सौमुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in एक ॥ Thus सौमुकीयम्, सौमुकीयम्, एन्द्रसौमुकीयम् ॥

१३६६ । कथ्यपलदनगरमामहदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कथ्याविपक्षकोत्तरपदोत्तरभाषिनो वृत्तान्तः स्यात् । उत्तरमिदं विपक्षः । शक्तिः—दीप्यम् । शक्तिपलदीयम् । शक्तिनदीयम् । शास्त्रमानीयम् । दर्शनदीयम् ॥

1866. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vṛiddha words, having the words kauthā, palada, nagara, grāma and brada, as last terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इय् and अिह of IV. 2. 117 S. 1341.

Thus शक्तिपलदीयम्, शक्तिपलदीयम्, शक्तिपलदीयम्, शक्तिमानीयम्, शक्तिदीयम् ॥

१३६७ । पर्वतात् । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीयः ॥

1867. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीको राज्ञः “the hill-king”. पर्वतीयः प्रहः “the hill man”.

१३६८ । विभाषाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्यमिदं पर्वतात् वा स्थापयितुम् । पर्वतीयानि पर्वताणि वा पलायि । मनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीको मनुष्यः ॥

1868. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पर्वतानि पलायि “hill fruits”.

Why do we say मनुष्ये “not-human”? Observe पर्वतीको मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

१३६९ । कुक्कुपर्वतान्तरात् । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

मार्गान्तरात्पर्वतान्तरात् । कुक्कुपर्वतम् । पर्वतीयम् । पर्वतानि किम् । कुक्कुपर्वतम् । पर्वतीयम् ॥

1869. The affix ञ comes in the remaining senses after कुक्कुप and पर्व when denoting the country of Bhāradvāja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and वर्षीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bhāradvājas?" Observe फार्कणम्, पार्कम् &c. -

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् ॥ ४ । ३ । १ ॥

भाष्यः । पक्षेऽण् । युयोर्युष्माकं वा अयं युष्मदीयः । अस्मादयः ॥

1370. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad'.

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word अ indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण् and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (1. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛddha, = they belong to Tsyādi class (1. 1. 74 S. 1336), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माकः + अण् (IV. 3. 2 S. 1371) यौष्माकः । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2).

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माकः + ईय (IV. 3. 2. S. 1371) = यौष्माकीयः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII 4. 2 S. 475 and 197). So also आस्माकः । अस्मदीयः; and आस्माकीयः ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन्नाणि च युष्माकास्माकौ । ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यो लः खञ्छाणि च । यौष्माकीयः । आस्माकीयः । यौष्माकः । आस्माकः ॥

1371. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note:—The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (1. 3. 10 S. 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) तस्मिन् खञ् युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां भवतः (2) ततोऽण् च ॥ 1. c. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively. (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding sūtra, c. g. यौष्माकीयः, आस्माकीयः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥

Note:—This substitution does not take place when ण् is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥



१३७२ । तवकममकाचेकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्थशेषिनेर्धुव्यत्तनशेस्तवकममकौ स्तः स्वय्यणि च । तावकीनः । तवकः । तामकीनः । तामकः । छि तु ॥

1372. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushnad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अञ् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee,' तामकीनः "belonging to me," तवकः and तामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be त्वदीयः, and मदीयः by the following rule.

*Note*—The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix तु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, S. 203 there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने = equal to एकादिः ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ६८ ॥

नपदन्तयोर्कार्थसौख्यी स्तः प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । त्वदीयः । मदीयः ॥

1373. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As त्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, S. 1337, L. 1. 74 S. 1336). Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As त्व युष्मः = त्वयुष्मः, मयुष्मः ॥ त्वे कार्योऽयं = त्वत्रायः ॥

*Note*—When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकनिदं), अस्मदीयं; युष्मत्पुत्रः (= युष्माकं पुत्रः), अस्मत्पुत्रः ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्धः ॥

1374. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अर्ध ॥ Thus अर्धः 'belonging to half'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

पराधर्मः । अवराधर्मः । अधमाधर्मः । उत्तमाधर्मः ॥

1375. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adharna', and 'uttama'.

Thus पराधर्मः, अवराधर्मः, अधमाधर्मः, उत्तमाधर्मः ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदाहञ्च । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

वाच्यः । वीर्याधिक्यः । पूर्वार्थः ॥

1376. And the affix **उञ्** also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By य, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अञ् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्थम् or वीर्याधिक्यः ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदार्थान्तादञ्ठौ स्तः । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वापूर्वार्थाः । वीर्याधिकाः । ग्रामस्य पूर्वार्थप्रत्ये भवा इति तद्वितार्थे समासः । अञ्महर्ण्येनैवार्थः । अञ्चोपसृक्ते यतोऽप्यहर्ण्यः संभाव्येत ॥

1377. The affixes **अञ्** and **उञ्** come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदाह is to be read into the sūtra. This debars अञ् ॥ Thus इमे खलुस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पूर्वार्थाः or वीर्याधिकाः "Those, verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". The word वीर्याध्याः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वार्थमर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

Though the anuvṛtti of अञ् was current in this Sūtra from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision, for had the sūtra been ग्राम जनपदैकदेशादञ्च, then the य would have drawn in not only the affix **अञ्** but the affix यत् which is not desired.

१३७८ । मध्यान्मः । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यमः ॥

1378. After the word मध्य there is the affix **म** in the remaining senses.

This debars अर्थः ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

१३७९ । अ सांप्रतिफे । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यपदशब्दकारप्रत्ययः स्यात्सांप्रतिकेऽर्थे । अर्थार्थपदार्थहीनो मध्यः देयाकरणाः । मध्यं दाहः । नातिहृत्वं नातिदीर्घमित्यर्थः ॥

1379. The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घं नातिहृत्वं मध्यं दाहः "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short". ना-दी देयाकरणाः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull."

१३८० । द्वीपादनुत्तमुद्धं यञ् । ४ । ३ । १० ॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे यो द्वीपस्तादनुत्तमुद्धं यञ् । द्वेय्यः । द्वेय्यः ॥

1380. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

Note :—The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhādi ( IV. 2. 133 S. 1357 ), and would have taken कृञ् ; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134 S. 1358, it would have taken घृञ् also. The present sūtra debarre both these affixes, when the word द्वीप means समुत्तमुद्ध or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वेय्य or द्वेय्य, 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वेय्य-भवनोऽदुपरिस्थितम् ॥

१३८१ । कालादुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११ ॥

कालवाचिभ्यश्च कञ् । मासिकञ् । सांस्वर्तिकञ् । सांभवतिकञ् । वीरः पुनिकः । कथं मर्दि कार्यस्य समसोऽनविक्रये इति कालिदासः अनुवित्तोपसर्गादि भाष्यः । समानवासीनं मासादीनि विनाशे न । समसंश्च एवैत इति प्राग्वहिकाः ॥ तत्र अत्र इति वाचस्वालापिचारः ॥

1381. The affix उञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debarre कञ् ॥ The affix कञ् which comes after Vriddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकञ् 'monthly', सांस्वर्तिकञ् 'annual', सांभवतिकञ् "morning and evening," वीरः पुनिकः 'again and again'.

How do you explain the forms सार and सार्व in the following lines of Kālidāsa and Bhāṛavi सार्वस्य समसो विपणिते ( Kālidāsa ) and अनुवित्तोपसर्गाया ( Bhāṛavi )? Or the forms समानवासीनम् and मासादीनम्? These forms are ungrammatical according to the best authorities.

Note :—The words which denote time, even, indirectly, also take this affix.   
▲ सांस्वर्तिकञ्, सांभवतिकञ् ॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto IV. 3. 1383. ( तत्र आहः ) ॥

१३८२ । आश्वे शरद्वः । ४ । ३ । १२ ॥

उञ् स्थात् । श्रुत्यलोऽपवादः । शरदिकं आश्वम् ॥

1382. The affix उञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्वः, when expressing आश्व ॥

This debarre कञ् ( IV. 3. 16 S. 1387 ). The word आश्वे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अश्वत्थवृक्षः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शरदिकं आश्वं 'the autumnal 'Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शरद्वः ॥

१३८३ । विमाणां वेमासपयोः । ४ । ३ । १३ ॥

शारदिकः शारदो वा रोग आलपो वा । एतयोः किम् । शारदं हृषि ।

1383. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको or शारदो रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिकः or शारद आलपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine.'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, 'शारदं हृषि' 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the क्तु णञ् (IV. 3. 16).

१३८४ । निशप्रदोषाभ्यां च । ४ । ३ । १४ ॥

वा ढञ् न्यात् । नैष्ठिकम् । नैश्वर्यम् । प्राक्षेपिकम् । प्राक्षेपम् ॥

1384 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', 'and pradoshā'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 S 1381, the ढञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैश्वर्यम् or नैष्ठिकम् 'nocturnal', प्राक्षेपिकम् or प्राक्षेपम् ॥

१३८५ । श्वसस्तुद्ध च । ४ । ३ । १५ ॥

श्वसस्तुद्धम् वा स्वाशस्व तुष्टागमम् ॥

1385. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद्ध ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix लप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. S. 1326. This sūtra ordains ढञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. S. 1391 Thus श्वस्+तुद्ध+ढञ् now applies the following sūtra :—

१३८६ । हारादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ४ ॥

हारः, हारः, व्याकषः, रसति. हारः, रफपृष्ठः, स्वादु वृद्ध श्वस्. श्वस् एषां न वृद्धिः कालगम् । शीघ्रतिथम् ॥

1386. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory य्, ए or ऋ the Yiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or ए but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in हार &c.

The following is a list of Dvārādī words :—

1 हारः, 2 श्वस्, 3 व्याकषः, 4 व्याकषः, 5 रसति, 6 हारः (हारः), 7 रफपृष्ठः, 8 स्वादु, 9 श्वस्, 10 श्वस्, 11 हारः ॥

Thus श्वस्+तुद्ध+ढञ्=शीघ्रम्+हृ+इक (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098)=शीघ्रतिथम् (ephemeral).

Note.—As हारो विदुषः=दोषारिणः, दोषारणालम् from हारणम् ॥ The Taddhita rule १३८६ here. शीघ्रः from श्वस्, (श्वस्वपिष्टमृदुगोमयः) ॥ So also शीघ्रारण्यम्, शीघ्रधः

सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयत्कृषः from व्यत्कृष, (व्यत्कृषे भयः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति भाह), सौरः from स्वर (स्वर्भयः) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (शोभनी-अध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्वैकृतः from स्वैकृतः; सौवादुघदुघ from स्वादुघदु, सौवनम् from भवन् the prakṛiti-bhāva in by (VI. 4. 167 B. 1155), while सौवम् from भवन् where there is no prakṛiti-bhāva (by कम् IV. 3. 154): शौवादङ्गः (भासङ्गाय भयः) Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्येह); सौवदा/निकः from स्वदा/न with the affix इङ् (अध्यासनादित्वा इङ्). This sūtra is made because the व् and ह् here are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra.

१३८७ । संधिवेलावृत्तु मघत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

संधिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो मघत्रेभ्यश्च काण् कृत्विभ्योऽण् स्यान् । सन्धिवेलायां भवे सान्धिवेलम् ।  
मैत्रम् । सैषम् ॥ संधिवेला, संध्या, अनावस्य, ज्योतिषी, चतुर्दशी, वीर्यमासी, प्रतिपद् ॥  
संवत्सरान् फलपर्वणोः \* ॥ सांवत्सरं फलं पर्वे वा । सांवत्सरिकमन्वद् ॥

1387. The affix **काण्** comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'sandhi-velā' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word **काण्वत्** is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars इङ् ॥ The repetition of **अण्** debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vridha in this list (IV. 2. 114S. 1337). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, साम्नाम्. (2) मैत्रम् ज्योतिषम् (3) सैषम्, सौवम् are examples of sandhivelā, season and asterisms respectively.

1 संधिवेला, 2 सध्या, 3 अनावस्य, 4 ज्योतिषी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 वीर्यमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

*Var:*—The affix **अण्** is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival,' as सांवत्सरं फलं or पर्वे ॥ Otherwise सांवत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८ । प्रावृष एण्यः । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्यः ॥

1388. The affix **एण्य** comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष् ॥

*Note:*—This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्ये बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season".

१३८९ । वर्षाभ्यस्तुक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षाद्यु साधु वादिके वाचः । कात्यायनाद्युप्युक्तवर्षाभ्यस्तुकिं सामर्थ्ये ॥

1389. The affix **स्तुक्** comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The इक् has the force of सञ्चु &c of IV. 3. 43 S. 1418 here.

१३६० । सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्तादण् स्यात्तोपश्च वेदत्रैकयोः । चकाराण्यच् अट्पण् । हेमन्तम् । हेमन्तम् ।

1390. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter स of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तम् or हेमन्तम् ॥

Note:—The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies to the *Upanishads* as well as in the classical literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 S. 1387 as हेमन्ती पशुक्तिः but there is no elision of स there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21 S. 3452) and हेमन्तम् ॥

१३९१ । सायं चिरं प्राहे मगेऽन्येऽन्यदृचुत्पुलौ तुक् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिदशभुजोऽप्यन्यथा कालवाच्येभ्यश्चुत्पुलौ स्तस्योस्तुद च । तुद । प्रागनादयः अनघातन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तमम् । चिरन्तमम् । प्राहेतमम् । महेतमम् । निषातनम् । विषातनम् ।

पिरपत्यरातिभ्यश्चो वक्तव्यः \* ॥ पिरतम् । पस्तम् । परातिम् ॥

अमादिभ्याङ्गिभ्यश्च \* ॥ अमिम् । अदिम् । अङ्गिम् ॥

अन्ताच्च \* ॥ अन्तिम् ॥

1391. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राहे 'in the fore-noon', मगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुद ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं + ट्यु = सायं + अम = सायं + तुद + अम = सायन्तमम् 'belonging to the evening'. पिरतमम्, 'lasting'; प्राहेतमम् 'what is of the forenoon', अघेतमम् 'what is of the early morning'.

The replacement of ट्यु by अम under VII. 1. 1. S. 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment तुद to the affix: because we find it so in the forms like अनघातन &c used by Pāṇini himself in III. 2. 121 S. 2:05 &c Had it been added first, then the affix would have become ट्यु, and the form would have been अनघाट्यु like एष्टु: for there is no rule which would have changed ट्यु into अम ॥ प्राहे and मगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are विषातनम् 'belonging to the night.' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day.'

1392:—The affix अ comes after the words पिर, पस्त (meaning in the past year) and अङ्गि (meaning in the year before the last). As पिरात्तम्, पस्तम्, and पारादिभ्यश्च ॥

*Vart* :—The affix **डिभच्** comes after **अम**, **आदि** and **पष्ठाद्**, as, **अमिभम्**, **आदिभम्** and **पष्ठादिभम्** ॥

*Vart* :—So also after **अन्त**, as, **अन्तिभम्** ॥

*Note* :—The difference between **त्यु** and **त्यल** is in accent. Thus **सायन्तम्** and **सायन्तम्**, **चिरन्तम्** and **चिरन्तम्**, **प्राहन्तम्** and **प्राहन्तम्**, **प्रमेतन्**, **प्रमेतन्**, **दिशन्तम्** and **दिशन्तम्**, **दोषान्तम्** and **दोषान्तम्** ॥ See VI. 1. 193. S. 9676.

१३०२ । चिभाषा पूर्वाह्नापसहाम्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

**आभ्यां लुलुको** या **स्तस्त्वोस्तुद्** च । **पक्षे ऽभ्** । **प्राहन्तम्** । **अपराहन्तम्** । **पकाशन्तम्** । **विलुक्** । **पूर्वाह्** । **सोदोऽस्येति** विभे ह **पूर्वाहन्तम्** । **अपराहन्तम्** । **पौर्वाहिकम्** । **आपराहिकम्** ॥

1892. Optionally after the words **पूर्वाह** and **अपराह**, there are the affixes **इयु** and **इयुद्** and their augment is **तुद्** ॥

In the alternative **उभ्** of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 also occurs. As **पुर्वाहन्तम्**, **अपराहन्तम्** with **त्यु**, or **पौर्वाहिकम्**, **आपराहिकम्** with **थाद्**. With **त्यल** we have **पुर्वाहन्तम्** and **अपराहन्तम्** ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17 S. 975. When the compound is such as not retaining the case-affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying **पूर्वाह्ना** **सोदोऽस्य** (IV. 3. 52 S. 1427) then we have, **पूर्वाह्णम्**, **अपराह्णम्**, **पौर्वाहिकम्** ॥ **आपराहिकम्** ॥

१३६३ । तम जात । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

**तमनीकनृपाज्जात इत्येवञ्चाप्यो** **पादश्च** **त्यु** । **कुपे** **जात** । **जीव** । **जीवत** । **राष्ट्रि** । **आवरापरीण इत्यादि** ॥

1893. The affixes ordained above or here after; come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes **अय** &c. **च** &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. S. 1312. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus **सुग्रेयावः**—**सुग्रे**+**अय**—**जात**: 'born in Srugbna'. **उत्सावः** 'born in Utsa', **राष्ट्रिक** (IV. 2. 93 S. 1313) **आवरापरीण** &c.

१३६४ । प्रावृषष्ठप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

**एष्यस्तावयद्** । **प्रावृषि** **जात** । **प्रावृषिक** ॥

1894. After the word **प्रावृ** being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix **ठप्** in the sense of produced therein.

This debars **एष्य** of sūtra IV. 3. 17 S. 1388. The **प** of **ठप्** is for the sake of accent. **प्रावृषिजातः**—**प्रावृषिक**: 'produced in the rainy season'.

१३९५ । संज्ञायां शरदो वुञ् । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

शरदोऽपवादः । शरदका इर्मविलोपा मुद्रविशेषाच्च ॥

1395. The affix वुञ् comes after the word शरद in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born' therein.' the whole word being a name.

This debars वुञ् of IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शरदका इर्मः 'the grass called Śāradaka.' शरदका वृक्षाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Note:—According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 8. 38, S. 1413.

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारीऽप्ययम् । इत्यस्त दत्तस्याप्याच् ॥

1396. Upto VII. 3. 31 S. 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛiddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 S. 2574. exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11. S. 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्वपदार्थिकः, अपरपदार्थिकः, पूर्वहेतुमन्, अपरहेतुमन् ॥

Note:—In these sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 S. 1397 (अप्ययवान्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttnapada-vṛiddhi.' This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

१३९७ । अययवाहताः । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अययवाहताः पूर्वपदार्थवाहिनोऽप्यामहेत्थो वृद्धिः स्यात् । मिति निमित्तं किति अ वृद्धिते परे । पूर्वपदार्थिकः । अपरहेतुमन् । अययवाहताः । एवायु एवायु मयः पूर्वपदार्थिकः । अतोऽप्ययवाहताः । अययवाहताः । अययवाहताः । अययवाहताः ॥

1397. Before = Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or इ, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.



As ह्रस्वार्धिकः from पूर्व+वर्षा+इक् meaning वर्षायाम् पूर्वः ॥ अपरहेमन्तः meaning हेमन्तस्यापरः ॥

Note :—The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c. takes place by II. 2. 1 S. 712 and then by IV. 3. 18 S. 1389 there is इक् after वर्ष, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of स by IV. 3. 22. S. 1390. The Tadanta-vidhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: (but tadanta-vidhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛiddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion). We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛiddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22 S. 1390), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (कृतोर्वृद्धिं नद्विधावयवान् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्णवृ वर्षाद्यु भवः पौर्वर्धिक with इक् (IV. 3. 11 S. 1389) and no vṛiddhi of the अ of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vṛiddhi is ordained after a word denoting season; provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part, and not otherwise." Therefore the vṛiddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varṣā, but is in apposition with it. The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

१३९८ । सुसर्वाधीजनपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १२ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः । सुपाञ्चालकः । अर्थपाञ्चालकः । जनपदस्यव्यतिथि इक् । सुसर्वाधीजनपदस्येति तदन्तविधिः ॥

1398. After सु, सर्व and अर्थ, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛiddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicative ञ्, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः, and अर्थपाञ्चालकः, formed with इक् (IV. 2. 124. S. 1348) read with IV. 2. 125 S. 1349, though the word is not a Vṛiddha. This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वाधीक शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्थ or a direction-denoting word")

Note :—As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sūtra (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

१३९९ । दिशांश्चमन्त्राणाम् । ७ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिशांश्चमन्त्रजनपदवाचिनो वृद्धिः । पूर्वपाञ्चालकः । दिशः किम् । पूर्वपाञ्चालकानामर्थं पौर्वपञ्चालः । मन्त्राणां किम् । पौर्वमन्त्रः । शेषदिशाश्च उत्तरार्थः ॥

1399. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मन्त्र,

gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

As पूर्ववर्णान्तकः, ( IV. 2. 125, 107 ) The Taddhita-vicāni applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction?' Observe पूर्वः पञ्चाङ्गानां=पूर्ववर्णान्तकः, तत्र भवः, पूर्ववर्णान्तकः ॥ Why do we say with the exception of मङ्ग ? Observe पूर्वमङ्गः with मङ्ग ( IV. 2. 108 S. 1329 ). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of "direction" only runs.

१४०० । प्राचीं ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

दिशः । वेषां । अक्षरवाचिनां नामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य च वृद्धिः । पूर्वपुकात्मक्यां भवः । पूर्वपुकात्मकः । नगरी, पूर्वप्रादेशिपुष्पकः ॥

1400. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वपुकात्मकः "born in Purveshu kāmāṣamī". So also अपरपुकात्मकः, पूर्ववर्णान्तकः, अपरवर्णान्तकः ( IV. 2. 107 S. 1328 ) These are town names, पूर्वप्रादेशिपुष्पकः, अपरप्रादेशिपुष्पकः, पूर्वकाव्यकुञ्जः, अपरकाव्यकुञ्जः ॥ These are city names.

Note 1.—The word प्राचीं in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24. ॥, 1481 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians' but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वपुकात्मकः is thus formed. पूर्वा च भवती इपुकात्मकरी=पूर्वपुकात्मकरी ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50 S. 727. Then the affix इ is added to it, in the sense of सती भवः by IV. 2. 107 S. 1328. In पूर्वप्रादेशिपुष्पकः the affix इम् is added by IV. 2. 128 S. 1347. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Pura-pāṭali-putra means 'the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra'.

१४०१ । पूर्वाह्णपराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराव्युत् । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः । आर्द्रकः । मूलकः । प्रदोषकः । अवस्करकः ॥

1401. The affix व्युत् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्र, मूल, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः ॥ This debars IV. 3. 24 S. 1392. So also आर्द्रकः । मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. प्रदोषकः ॥ This debars टम् of IV. 3. 14. S. 1384. अवस्करकः This debars the general शन् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

१४०२ । पयः पच्य स । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

पयि जातः पच्यकः ॥

1406. And the affixes **अह्** and **अप्** come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्यैः and औपरः n-

१४०७ । श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढावह्वल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एभ्यो नञ्चयचिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् ॥

1407. The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhā', 'phalguni', 'anurādhā', 'svāti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastā', 'viśākhā', 'ashādhā', and 'bahulā,' all denoting asterisms.

Note :—The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by 1. 2. 49. 8.

1408. Thus अविष्टात् जातः = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishṭhā'. So also फल्गुनः, अदुराधः, स्वाति, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बह्वलः ॥ The 'Bahulā' is another name of the asterism कुम्भिका ॥ It is exhibited in the sūtra as bahulā with a short अ, as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva shortening.

१४०८ । लुक् तद्धितलुकि । ११ । २ । ४९ ॥

तद्धितलुकि सधुपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् अविष्टात् जातः अविष्टः । फल्गुनः इत्यादि ॥ चिन्तारोपितोऽङ्गीभ्यः स्त्रियानुपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ चिन्तारोपे जातं चिन्ता । रेवती । रोहिणी । आभ्यां लुक् तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते विपक्षद्वेराकृतिगणनस्यास्तुनर्हति ॥

फल्गुन्यपराभ्यां धत्ते वक्तव्ये \* ॥ स्त्रियामित्येव । । फल्गुनी । अषाढा ॥

अविष्टापाशाभ्यां छप्यक्तव्यः \* ॥ अस्त्रियमादि । अविष्टीयः । अषाढीयः ॥ -.

1408. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added.

The word लुक् defined in 1. 1. 61.-S. 260, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्; there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. The word upasārjana used in explaining this sūtra by the author should be taken in its popular, sense of non-principal, secondary; and not the technical upasārjana of grammar.

Thus अविष्टा + (अणुलुक्) = अविष्टः ॥ The Taddhita suffix being *linked*; the original feminine termination अ also becomes luk. Therefore the derivative of अविष्टा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्टः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Vart :—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चिन्ता, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चिन्तायां जातः 'a woman produced under Chitrā' will be called चिन्ता ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine

affix which had been elided after the two words Revatī and Rohinī, by the present sūtra I. 2. 49 S. 1408 is reordained by IV. 1. 41, S. 498 because these words belong to the Pippalyādi subdivision of the वैरादि class. The Pippalyādi being an ākṣtigaya contains these words also.

*Vart*:—The affixes ट् and ण् come respectively after फल्गुनी\* and ज्येष्ठा\* in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी\* (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) and ज्येष्ठा\* ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

*Vart*:—The affix लृङ् also comes after 'Śravishthā' and 'Ashādhā,' even when females are not denoted. As चाविष्टीयः and जाषाढीयः ॥

१४०६ । जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् । ७ । ३ । १८ ॥

प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरपक्षे चाभावेऽप्यो वृद्धिः स्याज्जातार्थे मिति मिति किति च । प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः । प्रोष्ठपदो मातृपक्षः । जे इति किम् । प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः प्रोष्ठपदः । बहुवचननिर्देशात्पर्यायोऽपि दृश्यते । भावपदः ॥

1409. In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory ज्, श् or क् ॥

The word ज् means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here. (प्रोष्ठपद\* is the name of an asterism) (the day when the moon is there is also called प्रोष्ठपद\* (the affix ण् of IV. 2. 3, S. 1204 ॥ elided by IV. 2. 4 S. 1205) ; प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो मातृपक्षः ( with ण् IV. 3. 16 S. 1387 ). Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्रोष्ठपदोऽपि ( = प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः ) धरणीमभिवर्धति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भावपद are also to be included. As भावपदः ॥

१४१० । स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाश्च । ४ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । गोशालः । खरशालः । विभाषा सेवेति नपुंसकत्वे द्वस्वरम् ॥

1410. There is *luk-clision* of the affix denoting "born therein" after a word ending in 'sthāna', and after the words 'goshāla' and 'kharasāla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, गोस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥ The word goshāla and kharasāla in the sūtra end in a short अ because they are Neuter under II. 4. 25 S. 828.

१४११ । वत्सशालामिजिदश्वयुक्शतमिवजो वा । ४ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थस्य लुक् स्यात् । वत्सशाले जातो वत्सशालः । वात्सशालः इत्यादि ॥ जातार्थे प्रतिपद्यतोऽप्यत्र द्विवचनम् ॥ जातमिवजः । शतमिवजः । शतमिवज् ॥

1411. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasāla', 'abhijit', 'aśvayuk', and 'śatabhik'.

As वत्सशाले जातः = वत्सशालेः, अभिजित् or अभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or अश्वयुक्तः, शतभिषक् or शतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशालः are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

*Vart*:—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as लिट्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. (The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2. S. 1550 by force of IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 but it is debarred by वच् of IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषजः or शतभिषजः, or शतभिषक् ॥)

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिणः । रोहिणः ॥

1412. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran').

१४१३ । कुतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तद्विषयः । कुत्र कुतः कथः क्रीतः कुशलो वा कौशलः ॥

1413. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'.

Thus कौशलः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Sruṣṭha".

१४१४ । प्रायमघः । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तद्विषयः । पूर्वं प्रायेण बाह्येन भवति श्रेष्ठः ॥

1414. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्राय means something less than all i.e. abundant. Thus श्रेष्ठः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Sruṣṭha', = पूर्वं प्रायेण बाह्येन भवति ॥

*Note* :—This sūtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sūtra सप्तमः (IV. 3. ■ S. 1428). If सप्तमः be explained as अनिष्टमः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

१४१५ । उपजानूपकार्षोपनीवेष्टक् । ४ । ३ । ४० ॥

शोपज्ञानुक्तः । शोपकार्षिकः । शोपनीवेष्टिकः ॥

1415. The affix षक् comes in the sense of 'generally found there in', after the words 'upajānu', 'upakārṇa', and upanīvi', being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars सप् &c. Thus शोपज्ञानुक्तः, शोपकार्षिकः, शोपनीवेष्टिकः ॥

*Note* :—All these three words of the sūtra are indeclinables, because they are Avyayibhāva compounds. In the sūtra, they have formed a samāhāra Dvandva and masculine.

१४१६ । संभूते । ४ । ३ । ४१ ॥

सुते संभवति शीघ्रः ॥

1416. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आष्, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'.

*Note* :—Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the words ज्ञात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy', i. e. सन्दर्भः and समाख्यातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुते संभवति = शीघ्रः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna'. The word सप्त is understood here also.

१४१७ । कोशद्वयम् । ४ । ३ । ४२ ॥

कौशेयं वस्त्रम् ॥

1417. The affix द्वम् comes after the word कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that'

This debars सप् ॥ Thus कौशे संभूते = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes'

*Note* :—The word कोश means 'cocoon'. कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon', and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however रुद्धि and means 'silken'. Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134 S. 1514 under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact, after the sūtra दृष्य-इम् (IV. 3. 159 S. 1537), the addition of कोशाच् would have been more appropriate.

१४१८ । कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्यच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुहेमन्तः प्राकारः । वसन्ते पुष्पयन्ति वासन्त्यः कुन्दजन्ताः । शरदि वध्यन्ते शारदः शालयः ॥

1418. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधु = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः । So also वसन्ते पुष्पयन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दजन्ताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring'. So also शरदि वध्यन्ति = शारदाः शालयः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'.

Note:—This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix चण् &c. The word pushpyat in the sūtra is the Present Participle or अद्य of the Divādi पुष्य ॥

१४१९ । उते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते वष्यन्ते हेमन्ता वषाः ॥

1419. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते वष्यन्ते = हेमन्ता वषाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' वीष्मा श्रीहयः ॥

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anapatti of वत् only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या युज् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

अश्वयुज्यादः । आश्वयुज्यायुजा आश्वयुज्का माषाः ॥

1420. The affix युज् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This declares इम् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या युजः = आश्वयुज्का माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī' Āśvayujī is the name of the full moon in the Asterism of Āśvayuj. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्विनी instead of आश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

वत् चण् । वष्यत्यः । वष्यत् । वसन्तकम् । वसन्तम् ॥

1421. The affix युज् comes optionally after the words 'gri-hma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'.



This debars ऋण् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus रोष्णम् or रोष्णकम् सत्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. रासन्तम् or रासन्तकम् ॥

१४२२। देयमृणो ४। ३। ४७ ॥

कामोदित्वेव । मासे देयमृणं मासिकम् ॥

1422. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month".

Note :—Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

१४२३। कलाप्यभ्ययवहुसाद्वुम् ४। ३। ४८ ॥

यस्मिन् काले मयूराः कलापिनी भवन्ति स उपवासकलापी तत्र देयमृणं कलापकम् । अरद-  
शयस्य फलमरवायस्तशुक्लः कालोऽभ्ययः । यस्मिन् कालेऽरदस्याः फलमस्ति तत्र देयमरवत्यकम् । यस्मिन्  
वहुसहस्रस्योक्ते तत्र देयं बहुसकम् ॥

1423. The affix वुम् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अभ्यय, and वहुस denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the āśvatha tree fructifies is called अरदशयः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called बहुस 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलापिकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season)' So also अभ्ययकम् "a debt due when the fig-trees, flowers." And बहुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed'.

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमावृत्तम् ४। ३। ४९ ॥

ग्रीष्मे देयमृणं ग्रीष्मकम् । आवरसमकम् ॥

1424. The affix वृत्तम् comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grīṣma' and 'avarasama.'

This debars the कण् and उम् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् 'a debt which will be due next year', or 'which fell due last year.'

Note :—This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वृत् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. <The word स्या is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'> The word आवरसमकम् means either अगामिनि संवत्सरायामावसरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वत्सम् ; 'a debt which will be due next year,' or 'which fell due last year.'

१४२५। संवत्सराग्रहायणित्यां उच्च ४। ३। ५० ॥

यादुम् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सांवत्सरकम् । आग्रहायणिकम् । आग्रहायणकम् ॥

1425. The affix उञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'āgrahāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे वुञ्=सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

Note:—The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivellādi Class (IV. 3. 16, S. 1387) and takes वुञ् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins उञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

१४२६ । व्याहरति घृगः । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालपाथिनः सतम्यन्ताच्छब्दायत इत्यर्थे व्याहारयः घृगः यो व्याहरति स घृगमेव । निघायां व्याहरति भेषो घृगः । भैक्षिकः ॥

1426. An affix (like अण् or उञ् &c.) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निघायां व्याहरति घृगः=भेषः or भैक्षिकः "an animal that makes noise at night." So also प्रादेवाण् or प्रादेविकः (IV. 3. 14, S. 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning'. The affix added is उञ्, in the alternative with वुञ्, by IV. 3. 14, S. 1384.

Note:—Why do we say घृगः 'a beast' ? Observe निघायां व्याहरति इत्युक्तः for 'owl' is a bird. Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander.' The Sūtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time."

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कालादिनेषु । निघायाश्चरितकथ्ययमे निघा सोढोढमस्य भेषः । भैक्षिकः ॥

1427. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालम् is understood here also. तद्=that : सोढम्=शिशम् or शोढम् "endured or habituated". Thus निघा सङ्गमनिसङ्गमनम्=निघा "reading by night". तद् सोढस्य छात्रस्य=भेषः or भैक्षिकः "a student who is habituated or cured by reading by night". The affix is शान् by IV. 3. 14, S. 1384.

१४२८ । मत्र भयः । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

मत्रे भयं छात्रः । भैक्षिकः ॥

1428. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालच्च् ceases. The sense of सच्च् here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sūtra सच्च् जातः (IV. 3. 25. S. 1393). Thus, सुप्ते सच्च्=सौप्तः "who stays in Sṛughna", राध्न्या ॥

Note:—The repetition of सच्च् in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

१४२६ । दिगादिभ्यो यत् । ४ । ३ । ५४ ॥

विरयच् । कर्म्यच् ॥

1429. The affix यच्च् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अच्च् and छच्च् ॥ As दिशि सच्च्=दिक्स्थ 'lying in a particular quarter', कर्म्यच्च् ॥

Note:—The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्ये 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उदक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उदक्स्थ = रजस्वला, otherwise we have श्रीरुकी मन्थः ॥

1 दिक्, 2 कर्म, 3 पुग, 4 गच्च्, 5 पच्च्, 6 धावच्च् (धाव्यच्च्), 7 मिच्च्, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पदिच्च्, 11 रश्मि, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षि, 15 वेद्य, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 सूक्ष्म, 22 उदक्स्थानावाय, 23 न्याय, 24 वेद्य, 25 वेद्य (दिक्), 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अशुर्वेद्य ॥

१४३० । शरीरावयवाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५५ ॥

व्ययच् । कर्म्यच् ॥

1430. The affix यच्च् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अच्च् ॥ As दन्तेषु सच्च्=दन्त्यच्च् 'dental, i. e. what stays there, कर्म्यच्च् ॥

१४३१ । प्राचां नगरान्ते । ७ । ३ । २४ ॥

प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपक्षोत्तरपक्षश्च प्राचाम्भेदेष्टो वृद्धिर्भिति स्थिति किति च । छान्दोग्ये भवः सौहृदान्तरः । वैश्वान्तरः । प्राचां दिक् । महानगरपुष्टश्च तत्र भवो यावन्मरः ॥

1431. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण, or ङ्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem नगर ॥

As सौदामन्यः ( = सुदामन्ये भवः ), पौर्वनामः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माहनगरः, from महनगरः the city of the Northern people.

Note :—The word अङ्गस्य of VI. 4. 1. S. 200. governs this sūtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination.

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषतमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

जङ्गलाद्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्ववत्स्यात्मानादेशो वृद्धिश्चत्तरपदस्य वा ङिति ङिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले भवं कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुजङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । सौवर्णवलजम् । सौवर्णवालजम् ॥

1432. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems जङ्गल, धेनु and वलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुवाङ्गलम्, "existing in Kurujangala", वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्. सौवर्णवलजम् or सौवर्णवालजम् ॥

१४३३ । दृतिकुक्षिकलशियस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दृक् । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

दृतिवम् । कौक्षियम् । कलशिर्पटः नम भवे कालोद्यम् । वास्तिवम् । वास्तिवम् । दृतिवम् ।

1433. The affix दृक् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti', 'kukshi', 'kalasi', 'vasti', 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दृतिवम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षियम्. कालोद्यम्, 'what exists in a pot', वास्तिवम्, वास्तिवम् and वाहेद्यम् ॥ वाहेद्यम् is the name of a poison. The word दृति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like दृतिशीघ्र मोः, दृतिमान् = धनवान् ॥

१४३४ । प्रीयाम्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५७ ॥

प्राप् दण् । भेदयम् । वेद्यम् ॥

1434. The affix अण् also (as well as दृक्) comes after the word 'grīvā' in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars दण् (IV. 3. 55 S. 1430) प्रीयायु भवं = भेदयम् or वेद्यम् ॥

Note :—The word प्रीया means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

१४३५ । गन्धोऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५८ ॥

गन्धोऽण् च गन्धोऽण् ॥



Thus आधिदैविकम्; आधिभौतिकम्; ऐश्वरीयिकम्; पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words 'belong' to the Ākritigaṇa of अथान्त्य &c.

Note:—(1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकस्वेद्म्) V. I. 21. and IV. 3. 120.; (2) आनुहोदिकः (= अनुहोदेन चरति IV. 4-8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. I. 96). (4) आनुसांयस्त्रिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by उम् from अनुसम्भस्त्रेण शयिते) (5) आंगारैष्यः (son of अङ्गारैष्य). (6) आसिहास्यम् (= आसिहले मत्). Some read this word as अस्यहस्य; this will also take अष् as belonging to विभुस्त्रादि class. As आस्यहास्य (= आस्यहस्यवाच्योऽसिप्रथ्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्यहोदि, as आस्यहोदिकः (= अस्यहोदि प्रयोजनस्ये). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) बाधैष्यः (= बाधोगत्त अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) दुस्तकतयोऽपत्यं = पौस्तकसायिः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi-class. (9) आनुहात from अनुहात ॥ The same as above. (10) कुस्तकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौस्तकतः (11) कौस्तकाञ्चपतः (= कुस्तकाञ्चपतेषु भवः) ॥ The affix घञ् is not added here, because अनपदसङ्घातो अनपदमहयेन श्रूयते ॥

१४३६ । देविकाशिंशादित्यचाङ्दीर्घसप्तश्रेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषा षष्पानां वृद्धिमात्रावशेष आह स्यात् भित्ति शिति किति च । शायिकम् । देविकाकृते भवः शायिकाकृतः । शास्यः । शिंशकाया विकारः चांघ्रयमवतः । पलाशादिभ्यो वेद्यम् । शित्याह इहं शित्योहम् । दीर्घसप्त भवे शायितम् । शेषसि भवे आसप्तम् ॥

1439. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory व्, ण्, or क्, follows, आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following five words:— devikā, śimśapā, dityavāt, dīrghasatra, and śreyas.

Thus शायिकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in शायिकमुदकम्; शायिकाकृतः शास्यः (= देविकाकृते भवः). Similarly चांघ्रयमवतः (= शिंशकायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāśādi class (IV. 3. 141 S. 1521), and takes अष् or अञ्, the difference being in accent. Similarly शित्याहम् from शित्याह, (शित्याह इहं) and शायितम् (दीर्घसप्ते भवे) and शेषसप्तम् (आसप्ते भवे) ॥

१४४० । ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

उम् (सात् । आभ्यधीनापहिलेप । परास्परान्तः । आनुप्रायिकः ॥

1440. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayibhāva), there is the affix उम् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The word "after an Avyayibhāva" is understood here also. Thus परिग्रामिकः and आनुप्रायिकः ॥

१४४१ । जिहामूलाङ्गुलेऽतः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

(जिहामूलवत् । अङ्गुलीवत् ॥

1441. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'anṅuli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यद् ( IV. 3. 55 ). Thus जिह्वामूलीयद्, अङ्गुलीयद् ॥

१४४२ । घर्गान्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कवर्गीयद् ॥

1442. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

As कवर्गीयद्, यवर्गीयद् ॥

१४४३ । अक्षये यत्कावन्त्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

पक्षे पूर्वैश्च छः । मङ्गल्यः । मङ्गलीजः । मङ्गलीजः । अक्षये किम् । कवर्गीयो वर्यः ॥

1443. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यद् and छ are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As मङ्गल्यः ( by यद् ) मङ्गलीजः, ( by छ ), and मङ्गलीयः ( by छ ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'क्षय' ? For then it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गोविर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class.'

१४४४ । कर्णललाटास्कनलंकारे । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कारिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444. The affix कर् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karṇa' and 'lalāṭa', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कारिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting an ornament' ? Observe कर्णम् 'what is in the ear'.

१४४५ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

इति व्याख्यानः सीतो मयः । वेदः । कार्यः । ह्यस्तु मयं सोमम् ॥

1445. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note :—That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'.

The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्य व्याख्यानम् as well as तस्य यद्, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः—सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes'. So also तैहः 'Tainga—a Commentary on Verbal affixes', कर्तः 'Kârta—a Commentary on krt affixes', सौप &c. may also mean सुसुभ भयं &c.

*Note* :—The anuvṛtti of भूय and स्वास्थान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛtti of भूय into this sūtra also.

१४४६ । गह्वरोऽन्तोदात्ताद्वम् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

एवमप्यसौर्दिधायकं साकं पश्यन्तम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तथं भवो वा साम्बलितिकः ॥

1446. The affix ट्ठ comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udatta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars ज्ञम्. Thus वाचस्पतियम् 'a commentary on the rules of changes of ज्ञ and ञ into य and ञ.' The word वाचस्पतियम् is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169).

Note :—Why do we say बहुवचन: 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम तैहम् &c. A word of two syllables will take इङ् (IV, 3. 72 S. 1451). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe **सहितम्** from **सहितम्**. This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49).

१४४७ । कतुयज्ञेभ्यस्त । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

सोमसाधेयु मासैवेती ऽसिद्धौ । तथाग्मनरोपादानेन सिद्धे उभयोपादानसामर्थ्याऽसोमका अपरिह  
 शृण्वन् । अग्निहोमस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवे वा आग्नेयिकः । वाजपेयिकः । पाकदाहिकः । नादयहिकः ।  
 धृत्यथ तं स्वकपेदिति निर्दिशार्थम् । अनन्तोपादानार्थं आग्नेयः ॥

1446. The affix **उक्** comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a *kratu* or a *yañña*.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma-juice is the chief ingredient. But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non-soma sacrifices also.

This debars जय् ॥ Kratu:—शान्तिशेखिकः, 'a commentary on a work on Agnistoma sacrifices' याज्ञेयिकः, ॥ yajña:—पाकशान्तिकः, गुणशान्तिकः ॥ The word पाक means 'small'. A minor or small sacrifice is called पाकशान्तिकः. It is a Karma-dhāraya samāsa and has the final acute accent of samāsa in general. The



sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञः । The word यज्ञ is derived from √यज् with the affix यङ् (III. 3. 90. S. 3268). It retains its accent in the compound being a Kṛit-word. वाचस्पतिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The word 'vājapeya' is acute in the middle, because वेय being a Kridanta-word, formed by यङ्, retains its accent in the compound (VI. 2. 139. S. 3873).

Note:—The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Somp-yujñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only. Thus पाञ्चौषधिकः, साधौषधिकः ॥

Note:—The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stoti (स्तुति) "praise". The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnistoma. It has acute on the final by परादिश्च परान्तश्च ॥

The word vājapeya is a compound of vāja "a kind of barley-gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is drunk". It is formed by यङ् affix of the 'kṛtṣya-lyu-ṭo bahulam' subdivision. The neutre is on ये by VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४४८ । अध्यायेष्वेयवैः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

वसिष्ठश्चैवो लक्षणां व्याख्यानस्तत्र नवो वा वसिष्ठिकी उपस्थाः । वस्यवेदु किम् । वसिष्ठी प्रह् ॥  
इटी वस्यो वसिष्ठस्तत्र व्याख्यानस्तत्र नवो वा वसिष्ठिकी उपस्थाः । वस्यवेदु किम् । वसिष्ठी प्रह् ॥

1448. The affix डङ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

Note:—The word वसिष्ठ is the name of वसिष्ठ and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यानस्तत्र नवो वा = वसिष्ठिकी उपस्थाः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word वसिष्ठ means "a work the author of which is a Rishi."

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasishṭha is called by lakṣhaṇa or indirectly वसिष्ठ also. वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र नवो वा = वसिष्ठिकी उपस्थाः "Vāsisṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha".

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वसिष्ठी प्रह् ॥

१४४९ । पौरोडाशपुरोडाशस्तत्र । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशस्तत्र नवो वा पौरोडाशः वसः प्रह् । पौरोडाशिकः ॥

1449. The affix डङ् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pau-roḍāśa' and 'puroḍāśa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such puroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

१४१०। छन्दसो यदपौ। ४। ३। ७१॥

छन्दस्य। छान्दसः॥

1450. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhandas.

This debars टक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः॥

१४५१। छज्जुद्वाह्यकर्मयमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताङ्क्। ४। ३। ७२॥

द्वय्। ऐदिकः। पाद्यकः। षक्। पानुहोतृकः। ब्राह्मणिकः। आर्थिकः। इत्यादि॥

1451. The affix टक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brāhmaṇa', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'puraschareṇa', 'nāma', 'ākhyāta' and 'nāmākhyāta', being the names of explainable works.

Note:—The word nāma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the first part of the sūtra, viz. dryach. Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with ākhyāta.

This debars णच् and टच्॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—ऐदिकः, पाद्यकः॥ 2. Ending in ऋ:—पानुहोतृकः॥ ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, आध्वर्यकः, आच्यार्यकः, पौरुषशक्तिकः, नायिकः, आद्यव्यक्तिकः, नाममन्त्रव्यक्तिकः॥

१४५२। अणुमयनादिभ्यः। ४। ३। ७३॥

उमोदेरपवायः। आर्गयनः। औपनिषदः। देवाकरयः॥

1452. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars टम्, टक् and छ॥ आर्गयनः, औपनिषदः, देवाकरयः॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the anuvṛitti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus पारद्विषयः॥

1 धनयन्, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोगान्, 4 छन्दोगाषा, 5 छन्दोविचित्रि, 6 न्याय,  
7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकारण, 10 निषय, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 क्षत्रविद्या,  
14 विद्या, 15 तत्प्राप्त, 16 उत्प्राप्त, 17 उद्याय, 18 संवत्सर, 19 छन्दर्व, 20 उपनिषद्, 21  
निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी, 25 व्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत आगतः । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुग्रासगतः सौप्रः ॥

1453. An affix (IV. 1. 83. S. 1373 &c) comes after a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुग्रासगतः = सौप्रः 'what has come from Srugra'.

१४५४ । उगायस्यानेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

ह्युक्तशालाया आगतः शौक्कशालिकः ॥

1454. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix उक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

Note:—The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आकरयान ॥

This debars अण् and उ ॥ Thus शौक्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'.

Note:—The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 66 S. 25).

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्यानङ्कछादीनां आगताः । शुण्डिकाशालगतः शौण्डिकः । कार्यकाः । तैर्यः ॥

1455. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars इक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्यका, तैर्यः ॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV 3. 78, S. 1452. बाधकवाधनार्थम् ॥ As शौण्डिकः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कुक्कय, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उद्याय, 5 उक्त, 6 शौर्य, 7 शुनि, 8 हुण्, 9 वर्य ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोतिसंबन्धेभ्यो बुज् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

शौषाध्यकः । वैताप्यकः ॥

1456. The affix बुज् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yonī, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोतिसंबन्ध-

न्याः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix हुम् ॥ This debars अद् and छ् ॥ Thus उपाध्यायकामतः—अपौषाध्यायकः, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' So also सौमित्रसन्धः as पैतामदकः 'wealth derived from a grand-father.'

१४५७ । अतृकम् । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

दुमोऽपवादः । होतृकम् । सातृकम् ॥

1457. The affix ठम् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short अ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars हुम् ॥ Thus होतृकमत्तम्=होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri.' So also of 'blood,' as :—सातृकम् ॥

Note :—The ह् in कम् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long अ ॥

Note :—When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

१४५८ । पितृपैत्र्यम् । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

आहम् । पितृ कृतम् । यस्मैति शेषः । पित्र्यम् । पितृवद् ॥

1458. The affix यद् as well as ठम् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितृकमत्तम्=पितृ+यद्=पितृ+य=पितृय+य=पित्र्यम् (the णि is replaced by णि by VII. 4. 27. and the long ई of णि is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'paternal—i. e. wealth inherited from father.' With इम्=पितृकम् ॥

१४५९ । गोषादङ्कवत् । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

विदेश्य भागतं वेदम् । गार्ग्यम् । शत्रुम् । औपमन्यकम् ॥

1459. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

Note :—The word गोष in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 and 127 S. 1507. The affix हुम् of IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अङ्क of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus वेदम्, गार्ग्यम्, शत्रुम् formed by अङ्क of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. औपमन्यनामङ्कः=औपमन्यकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also आपदयकः, नादयकः, आरायकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपमन्यकम्=औपम-

नकम्, कापटवकम्, नादायनकम्, चारावकम् ) formed by वृष् ( IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 ).

*Note* :—The word वृष् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in काक्षिभ्यो भयवत् ( IV. 2. 34 S. 1237 ), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ( IV. 2. 46 S. 1255 ).

१४६० । नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रद्रुकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञः परेवां शुच्यादिपञ्चानामांश्चो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा त्रितये परे । आशीचम् । अशीचम् । आनीश्वर्यम् । अनीश्वर्यम् । आशीचक्षम् । अशीचक्षम् । आशीचक्षम् । अशीचक्षम् । अनीपुणम् । अनीपुणम् ॥

1460. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative व्, ण् or क्, the Vridhhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्र, द्रुकुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle.

As आशीचम् or आशीचम्, अनीश्वर्यम् or अनीश्वर्यम्, अनीचक्षम् or अनीचक्षम्, अनीचक्षम् or अनीचक्षम्, अनीचक्षम् or अनीचक्षम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां क्यः । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

समादागतं समक्यम् । विषमक्यम् । पक्षे महादित्वाच्छः । समीचम् । विषमीचम् । देवदत्तक्यम् । देवदत्तक्यम् । देवदत्तक्यम् ॥

1461. The affix क्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समक्यम् or समीचम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 S. 1362. meaning 'what proceeds from = like cause'. So also विषमक्यम् or विषमीचम् ॥ So pf men also देवदत्तक्यम् or देवदत्तम् ( IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 ) 'what originates with देवदत्तः' ॥

*Note* :—The word हेतुमनुष्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi ( 1. 1. 68 S. 25 ) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in 11. 3. 23 S. 368 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting = हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25 S. 602.

१४६२ । मयद् च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

सममयम् । विषममयम् । देवदत्तमयम् ॥

1462. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममद्यम्, विभममद्यम्, देवमद्यम्, ॥

Note:—The द् of मद्यद् indicates that the feminines of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 25 S. 470), अङ्-सममयी ङ. The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10 S. 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽप्यतरस्यां स्यामद्यद् ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

‘सतः’ इत्येव । हिमवतः प्रभवति हिमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of ‘what appears for the first time’.

The word सतः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति=हेमवती “The Haimavati”, a name of the Ganges, meaning ‘which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown’.

Note:—So also दारदी “The Dārādī” i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्तिः, because that is included in तद् जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

१४६४ । विदूराग्रवत्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूराग्रमवति वैदूर्यं मणिः ॥

1464. ‘The affix य comes, in the sense of ‘what manifests itself there’, after the words ‘vidūra’.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus विदूराग्रमवति-वैदूर्यं ‘a kind of gem found at Vidūra’.

Note:—The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidūra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidūra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate sthāni (vālavāya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidūra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidūra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vālavāya by the name of Vidūra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvan.

१४६५ । लङ्गच्छति पण्डितयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

लङ्गे गच्छति पण्डितः पण्डितो वा ॥

1465. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of ‘what

goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus वृषम् गच्छति = शेषः "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna". The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Note:—Why do we say वृषिदूतयोः "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe वृषं गच्छति सायः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

१४६६ । अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

तद्विधेयः । वृषम् अभिनिष्क्रामति सौमं कान्यकुब्जद्वारम् ॥

1466. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus सौमः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna'—as a gate of Kānyakubja.

Note:—Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe वृषम् अभिनिष्क्रामति इवः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

१४६७ । अधिष्ठत्य कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तद्विधेयः । शारीरकमधिष्ठत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शारीरकीयः । शारीरकं भाष्यनिर्दिष्टमिवोपपत्त्यात् ॥

1467. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book'.

The word अधिष्ठत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to'. Thus शारीरकमधिष्ठत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः = शारीरकीयः i.e. a book relating to the Śāṅkara sūtras. The form शारीरकं भाष्यम् is however more generally employed. Here no distinction is made between the sūtras and the bhāṣya. Hence the commentary is called śārtraka.

१४६८ । शिशुकन्द्यमसभदन्विन्द्रजननादिग्रन्थः । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

शिशुर्नाम क्रन्दनं शिशुकन्दः समधिष्ठत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शिशुकन्दगीतः । कन्द्यः समो यमसभम् ज्ञापयत्युपनिषत्तत्वात् । असभधीयः । किरातार्त्तनीयम् । इन्द्रजननादिराकुतिग्रन्थः । इन्द्रजननीयम् । शिशुर्भाष्यनीयम् ॥

1468. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz. 'śiśukranda', 'yamasabha' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words 'indranana' &c.

The word **सृ** (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) and **अभिजनं कृते** should be read into the sūtra. This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **शिशुकन्दौघः** 'a book treating of the crying of infants', **यमसमय** 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. The compound is Neuter irregularly (*nipātāna*).

Dvandva-Compound: as **क्रियतार्तुनीयम्** ॥

There is no list of **इन्द्रजनवादि** words. They are *ākritigaṇa*, and must be determined by usage. Thus **इन्द्रजननीयम्**, **विरुद्धभोजनावयम्** &c.

*Note* :—The words **शिशुकन्द** and **यमसम** might have been included in the inchoate class **इन्द्रजनवादि** ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification. .

**१४६६-१ शोऽस्य निवासः । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥**

**श्रीः निवासोऽस्य शीघ्रः ॥**

1469. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place.'

*Note* :—The word **स** shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. **अस्य** 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. **निवासः** shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. **निवासः** means "a country i. e. where a person lives (*nivāsaṁ samāna*)".

**सृष्णो निवासोऽस्य = शीघ्रः** 'a present dweller of Sruḡhna'.

**१४७० । अभिजनस्य । ४ । ३-१ । ८७ ॥**

**सृष्टाशमनोऽस्य शीघ्रः** . **अथ स्वयं वसति स निवासः । अथ पूर्वोदयितं शोऽभिजनः इति विवेकः ॥**

1470. After a word in the 1st case in construction an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between **निवासः** and **अभिजनः** is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his **निवास** or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (**अभिजनाः**) have lived, that is his **अभिजन** 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus **शीघ्रः** 'a person whose ancestral home is in Sruḡhna'.

*Note* :—The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhijana' only runs.

**१४७१ । आयुष्यजीविभ्यश्च द्यः पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥**

**पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमान्तादभिजनस्य द्यः** (वेत्यर्थे) **द्यः** **स्यात्** । **ह्यस्य** **पर्वतोऽभिजनो देवानां प्रथमीति ते ह्यस्योदीयाः । आयुष्येति क्तिम् । अद्यतः पर्वतोऽभिजनो देवां ते आद्योदादिजाः ॥**



1471. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्यभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषायायुधजीविनां=हृद्गोलीयः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛdgola mountain'.

Why do we say आयुधजीविनः? Observe ब्राह्मण द्विषाः "the Brāhmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains".

Note:—Why do we say 'mountains'? . Observe, सार्कारवका आयुधजीविनः ॥

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शण्डिकया ॥

1472. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c.

This debars कण् &c. Thus पाण्डिकया, सार्वदेवः &c.

1 पाण्डिक, 2 सार्वदेव, 3 सार्वदेव, 4 कण्, 5 शण्ड (शण्ड), 6 कण्, 7 शण्ड, 8 शण्ड ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सिन्धुवादिभ्योऽण् तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽम् स्थादुक्तोऽर्थः । सिन्धुवः । तक्षशिला तक्षरी अभिजनोऽस्य साक्षशिलः ॥

1473. The affixes अण् and अम् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'

Thus सिन्धुवः । So also साक्षशिलः ॥

Note:—Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu-class, are found in the Kauchhhādi class (IV. 2. 133 S. 1367) also. Those words could have taken कण् by sūtra IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of कण् (IV. 2. 134 S. 1358.) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, S. 1358 when the further signification of अभिजन is added to them.

1 सिन्धु, 2 कण्, 3 मयुगल, 4 कण्, 5 सार्व, 6 कण्, 7 मयुगल, 8 सिन्धु, 9 कण् (कण्), 10 कण् (कण्), 11 मयुगल (मयुगल), 12 कण्, 13 कण् ॥

1 सार्व, 2 सार्व, 3 कण्, 4 कण्, 5 कण्, 6 कण्, 7 कण्, 8 कण्, 9 कण्, 10 कण्, 11 कण्, 12 कण्, 13 कण्, 14 कण्, 15 कण् ॥

१४७४ । त्वीशसामातुरवर्मातीकुसुमाराहदक्षदण्डकः । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

तुली अभिजनोऽस्य घोदेयः । शास्तातुरीयः । धर्मवेयः । कौषधार्यः ॥

1474. After the words तूदी, शास्तातुर, धर्मवी, and कूचधार, come respectively the affixes दक्, छण्, दम्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars जण् ॥ Thus घोदेयः, शास्तातुरीयः, धर्मवेयः and कौषधार्यः ॥

१४७५ । भक्तिः । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

सोऽस्तेत्युपसंते । यज्यते संपद्यते इति भक्तिः । ब्रह्मो भक्तिरस्य श्रीमः ॥

1475. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping', or 'loving'.

Thus ब्रह्मो भक्तिरस्य = श्रीमः 'a person who is loyal to Sṛugha'.

The anuvṛtti of the word अभिजनोऽस्य ceases. The words सः and अस्म्य should be read into the sūtra

१४७६ । अचित्ताददेशकालादुक् । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अपूना भक्तिरस्य आपृषिकः । वायविकः । अचित्तादिकः । वैवस्वतः । अवेष्टादिकः । श्रीमः । अमृतादिकः । यमः ॥

1476. After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix दक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars यय् ; and छ also. Thus अपूनाभक्तिरस्य = आपृषिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. वायविकं ॥

Why do we say 'not possessing consciousness'? Observe वैवस्वतः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe श्रीमः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe यमः. 'who loves summer.'

१४७७ । महाराजादृक् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

महाराजिकः ॥

1477. The affix दम् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars यय् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this दम् and the दक् of the last aphorism, is in the accent only.

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

वासुदेवकः । अर्जुनकः ॥

1478. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ६९ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । परस्माद्व्याख्यं वाचते । ग्लुचुकाद्यनिर्भक्षितस्य स्त्रीशकायनकः । नाकुलकः । बहुलप्रत्ययान्नह । पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीयः ॥

1479. The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus : स्त्रीशकायनकः 'who loves or serves &c. Gluchukāyani'. Kshatriyas :—नाकुलकः ॥

Note :—The word संज्ञक्यो in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of well-known or famous Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः ॥

Note :—The word गौत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

१४८० । जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशुभानां वदवचनं । ४ ।

३ । १०० ॥

जनपदस्थानिवाधिनां बहुवचने जनपदवाचिनां समानशुभानां जनपदवत्सर्वे स्याज्जस्य । प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदवत्सर्वेति प्रकाशं ये मत्स्या वत्सर्वेति विदधन्ते । अङ्गा जनपदे भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । जनपदिनां किञ् । वङ्गात्वा ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य राङ्गकः । जनपदेनेति किञ् । वीरयो राजा भक्तिरस्य वीर्यकः ॥

1480. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

Note :—The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम्, gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. KshatriyaPrinces, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', अनपदम् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada.' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word'. Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards अनपद words are given in Sūtras IV. 2. 124 S. 1348 &c. and those affixes will apply here.

Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य=अङ्गकः formed by वृष् of sūtra IV. 2. 125, S. 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Angās' Similarly वाङ्गकः, खेङ्गकः, पैङ्गकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिय भक्तिरस्य=अङ्गका formed by the same affix वृष्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas Angās'. So वाङ्गका, खेङ्गका, पैङ्गका, &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriya Princes'; (janapadinām) Observe, ईचामा आङ्गाया भक्तिरस्य=ईचाङ्गाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

Why do we say अनपदेन समान एतन्नाम 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus पौरस्य राजा स भक्तिरस्य=पौरस्यः ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् ।

1481. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकटितोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ण्ये (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pānini.'

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोक्ताण्डिका । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

छन्दोब्राह्मणयोगी सङ्घियता । तित्तिरिणो भोक्तृमपीयते वैत्तिरीयाः ॥

1482. 'The affix ण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varutantu', 'khan-dika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीया 'those who learn (IV. 2. 66. S. 1278). the Veda enounced by Tittiri'.

Note :—According to Kāśika this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to classical shloka, as तित्तिरिणो भोक्तृ रमेकाः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. S. 1486 and सङ्घियता from IV. ॥ 66. S. 1278

१४८३ । काश्यपकौशिकाम्ब्यामुपिभ्यां णिनिः । ४ । ३ । १०३ ॥

काश्यपेन श्रोत्रमधीयते काश्यपेनः ॥

1483. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kāśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपेनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kāśyapa'

Note:—Why do we say "Vedic Seers"? Observe ह्यस्मीन्तनेन सोऽयकाश्यपेन श्रोत्रं = काश्यपीयम् 'a work enounced by a modern Kāśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kāśyapa; not a Rishi'.

१४८४ । कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यः, हरिद्रुण श्रोत्रमधीयते हरिद्रविणः । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यः, आत्मन्विनः ॥

1484. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalāpi' and 'Vaiśampāyana', the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

Note:—This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpi: as हरिद्रु, कलपी, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaiśampāyana: as, आत्मन्वि, पल्लव, कमल, कल्याण, आश्विनि; सण्ड्य, दयानाशन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the works enounced by Haridru.' So also आत्मन्विनः ॥

Note:—The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः hence चरकः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

१४८५ । पुराणमोक्षेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । ४ । ३ । १०५ ॥

हृदीयान्तालोकायै णिनिः स्यात् । चरकोर्गो पुराणमोक्षादिवृत्तब्राह्मणकल्पस्ये भवन्ति । पुराणेन पिरक्तनेन दुर्गिना श्रोत्रः । बाल्यं, आत्मन्विनः । शम्पायनः, आश्वानिनः । कल्पे, विज्ञेन श्रोत्रः । वैद्वी कल्पः । पुराणसि क्तिः । ब्राह्मणकल्पानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्वरूपः कल्पः । अणि । उपपत्त्यस्येति यतोपा ॥

1485. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages', equivalent to पुरातन of the Brāhmaṇa literature, the example is शाखा-  
निनः, so also from भन्तु—भक्तविनः ॥ Kalpa work : ॥ वैद्वीकल्पः ॥

Why do we say पुराणोक्तैः 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe  
याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्वमेधः कल्पः ॥ The य of these words is elided by VI. 4.  
151.S. 1082. Yājñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय  
affix IV. 2. 66.S. 1278. will not also apply to these, because the word  
ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66. S. 1278. is restricted to पुराणोक्त of the present sūtra.

१४८६ । शौनकेन श्रौतमधीयते शौनकिनः ॥

उपशमयिष्येद्यथो षिनिः । शौनकेन श्रौतमधीयते शौनकिनः ॥

1486. The affix षिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting chhandas.

This debars छ and क्त् ॥ Thus शौनकेन श्रौतमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the chhandas enounced by Sauraka'. वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas' ? Observe शौनकीया (संज्ञा 'the orthography of Śaunaka'.

The word कठशास्त्र occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487) Thus कठशास्त्रमधीयते = कठशास्त्रिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 चाङ्गिरस, 4 शापेय (चापेय), 5 वासिष्ठ (वासिष्ठ), 6 श्वश्रवाय, 7 हस्त्य (हस्त्य), 8 कृष्ण, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 बृहस्पति, 11 रघुनाथ, 12 कठशास्त्र, 13 कथाय (कथाय), 14 नट, 15 शत्रु, 16 सुस्वान्तक (सुस्वान्तक), 17 शत्रुघ्न (शत्रुघ्न), 18 चाङ्गिरस, 19 हस्त्य, 20 देवदर्शन, 21 नटयकार ॥

१४८७ । कठश्रौतमधीयते कठः । श्रौतः ॥

अध्यास्येद्यथो षिनिः । कठश्रौतमधीयते कठः । श्रौतः ॥

1487. 'The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Kāṭha ane Charaka

The word कठ would have taken षिनि as it is a श्रौतमधीयतेवासी word : and श्रौत would have taken the affix क्त् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kāṭha'. श्रौतः &c.

Note :—The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this affix. Observe कठश्रौतमधीयतेवासी.

१४८८ । कलापिनोऽङ् । ४ । ३ । १०८ ॥

कलापयना श्रौतमधीयते कलापः ॥ कलापयना श्रौतमधीयते कलापः । कलापः ॥

1488. The affix अङ् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalāpi.

This debars छिनि of IV. 3. 104. S. 1484. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'.

*Note*:—The word कलापः is thus formed:—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679, which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarrd by sūtra VI. 4. 164 S. 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting = progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vārtika,

*Vārt*:—The *re* portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows:—सङ्गद्यारिन्, पीड्यारिन्, कलापिन्, कुपुमिन्, तैत्तिमिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, नाङ्गलिन्, शिलादिन्, सिखण्डिन्, सङ्कस्यन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

The final इ with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. सङ्गद्यारिन्—सङ्गद्यारिणः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 2. पीड्यारिन्—पीड्यारिणः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 3. कलापिन्—कलापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59 S. 1488 and 1269), 4. कुपुमिन्—कौपुमाः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), 5. तैत्तिमिन्—तैत्तिमाः (IV. 3. 116 S. 1496), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजनाः (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269), 7. नाङ्गलिन्—नाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलादिन्—शैलाद्याः, 9. सिखण्डिन्—सिखण्डाः, 10. सङ्कस्यन्—सौकर्यपाः, 11. सुपर्वण्—सौपर्वणः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अण् contradict VI. 4. 167.

१४८२ । छगालिनोऽद्विजुक् । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छगालिनो येनैकमधीयते छगालेयिनः ॥

4489. 'The affix द्विजुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken छिनि (IV. 3. 104 S. 1484). This debars that. Thus छगलेयिन् 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

१४९० । पाराशर्यशिक्षालिभ्यां भिक्षुमनसूत्रयोः । ४ । ३ । ११० ॥

पाराशर्येन शैलेन भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशर्यो विप्रः । शैलालिनो भटः ॥

1490. The affix छिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pārasarya and Śilalin, the works enounced being Bhikṣu-Sūtra and Nāṭa-Sūtra respectively.

*Note*:—The affix छिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not द्विजुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152 S. 2119) = पाराशरिन्, the treatise of Pārāśarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly ऐनीलिन् ॥

Note:—These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pārāśarya and Sailalin'. See IV. 2. 66 S. 1278. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, ऐनीलिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयतः IV. 2. 66) and never a श्रोक्ता alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nāṭa Sūtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, ऐनीलम् ॥

१४६१ । कर्मन्दकुशाभ्यादिनिः । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिक्षुमरुत्तयोरित्येव । कर्मन्देन श्रोक्तमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः । कुशाभिनो नटाः ॥

1491. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sūtra and Nāṭa-Sūtra; after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśāśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sūtra of Karmandin'. कुशाभिनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Nāṭa sūtra of Kriśāśvin'. Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and कार्पादकम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

१४६२ । तेनैकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

ह्यध्मा एकदिक् सौवामनी ॥

1492. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'.

The word एक दिक् means ह्यध्म दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus ह्यध्मा एकदिक् = सौवामनी दिक्षु "a lightening, literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudāman".

Note:—The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛtti from IV. 3. 101. S. 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtti of the ह्यध्मे which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 S. 1278 which was applied to those sūtras does not apply here.

१४६३ । तसिध् । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिवातादभ्ययत्वम् । पीलुमुलेन एकदिक् पीलुमूलतः ॥

1493. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण &c ए &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarādi class. (I. 1. 37 S. 447). Thus तसिध् ततः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलतः, द्युतातः ॥



१४९४ । उरसो यच्च । ४ । ३ । ११४ ॥

यात्तसिः । अणोऽपवादः । उरसा एक दिक् उरस्यः । उरस्तः ॥

1494. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरसा एकदिक् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word य ॥

१४९५ । उपज्ञाते । ४ । ३ । ११५ ॥

हेतुत्वेव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञातं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं I. = an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिर्नोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'.

१४९६ । कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वररुचिना कृतो वाररुचो ग्रन्थः ॥

1496. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः । श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'.

Note :—Why do we say 'a book' ? Observe तत्कृतः भावादः 'by Takshas'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is [therefore an] knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for t. by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

१४९७ । स्नायाम् । ४ । ३ । ११७ ॥

हेतुत्वेव । ममन्यार्थनिवृत्त्यः । मक्षिकाभिः कृतं माक्षिकं मधु ॥

1497. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्. 'honey', literally 'made by a bee' माक्षिक meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + कृत = माक्षिक ( VI. 4. 148 S. 311 ). The anuvṛtti of 'मन्य' does not, of course, apply here.

१४६८ । कुलालादिभ्यो जुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

नेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । कुलालेन कृतं कौलालकम् । वाहकम् ॥

1498. The affix जुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulāla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit 'made by a potter'. So also वाहकम् ॥

१ कुलाल, २ बह्द, ३ अण्डाल, ४ निषाद, ५ कर्षार, ६ सेना, ७ सिन्धिर (सिन्धिर), ८ सीन्धिर (सेन्धिर), ९ देवराज, १० परिषद् (परिषद्), ११ वृष, १२ मधु, १३ रुद्र, १४ रुद्र, १५ अनन्त, १६ ब्रह्म, १७ कुम्भकार, १८ श्वपाक, १९ जुञ् ॥

१४६९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपावपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

नेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभिः कृतं क्षौद्रम् । आमरम् । वाटरम् । पावपम् ॥

1499. The affix जुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrā', 'bhramarā', 'vaṭarā', and 'pādapā' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also आमरम्, वाटरम् and पावपम् ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगोविन्दोपगम् ॥ पदेस्तुलीयत् ॥ संवेदः स्वं सांवेदिषम् ॥ ब्राह्मिणः वारणे रम् भं च ॥ अग्निनिधे अग्नीत् तस्य स्थानमाग्नीधम् । वास्तव्यास्तीक्ष्णमाग्नीधः ॥ सविधमाधाने वेद्यत् ॥ सामिधेन्दो नन्द ॥ सामिधेनी नृत् ॥

1500. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV. 1. 83) and the affixes प &c. (IV 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोविन्दम् = उपगम्, 'of Upagū'.

Notes:—The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अवन्तर् &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यावन्तर् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or man.

Vart:—The verb वद takes वृ (वृण् and वृश्) and अण् preceded by an इत् As, संवेदः स्वं सांवेदिषम् ॥

Vart—The affix रम् comes after अग्निम्, (= अग्निनिधे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Kvip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of पण् Agni is the name of a Ritiṣik priest. As आग्नीधम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agni. The word अग्नीध् being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the प् is not changed to द् (VIII 2. 39)

*Vart* :—The affix 'shenyan' comes after सनिधा, in the sense of placing thus सानिधेनो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सानिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

१५०१ । रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथं चक्रम् ॥

1501. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अत् ॥ Thus रथस्वेव रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle',

*Note* :—The word रथ is confined to describe the parts of chariot.' This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परम्परथम्, दन्तमरथम् because of the Vārtika रथसिताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सित and वल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

१५०२ । पत्रपूर्वाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पत्रं वाहनम् । आश्वरथस्येवमाश्वरथम् ॥

1502. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अत् in the sense of 'this is his'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथे चक्रे 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

*Note* :—The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix डृक् (III. 2. 182).

१५०३ । पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदञ्च । ४ । ३ । १२३ ॥

अञ्च ॥ पत्रावाहये ० ॥ आश्वस्तेन वदनीयमाश्वम् । आश्वरथम् । परिषदञ्च ॥

1503. After a word denoting a draught animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ्च is added.

This debars अञ्च ॥ The पत्रे means वाहनम् ॥

*Vart* :—When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ्च added, to a word denoting 'a draught animal.' Thus आश्वस्तेन वदनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse.' So also आश्वरथम् and परिषदञ्च ॥

१५०४ । हलासीराडृक् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

हलिकम् । सैरिक्च ॥

1504 The affix डृक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus एतदेवम् = दालिकम्, वैरिकम् ॥

१५०५ । द्वन्द्वेद्वुन्वैरमैथुनिकयोः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोत्तुलिका । कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥ वैरे देवासुरादित्यः प्रतिषेधः \* ॥ वैशाखम् ॥

1505. The affix, वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual eumity', or 'matrimonial relationship'.

This debars भण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' काकोत्तुलिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

Note :—The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. S. 913. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of the word वैशाखर &c. As वैशाखरम् ॥ राशोऽखरम् वैरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ्ज् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

धीपण्यकम् । परणाक्षर्माद्ययोरेति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506. The affix वुञ्ज् comes, in the sense of 'this is his' after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars ञ् as well as छ ॥ Thus gotra :—धीपण्यकम् ॥

Vart :—The word परण which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnāya). Thus कथाना पर्न द्वाद्यायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'.

१५०७ । सङ्घाङ्कलक्षणैवज्यमिजामण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

धोपमहणमपि कर्तव्यम् \* ॥ अण्, देवः सङ्घाङ्की पोषा था । देवे लक्षणम् । अण्, गार्गः । गार्गम् । इण्, शशः । शशम् । परंपरासंबन्धोऽङ्कः साक्षाच्च लक्षणम् ॥

1507 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अण्, यण् or इण्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

Note :—The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word सङ्घ and सङ्घ should be distinguished. सङ्घ means a mark which in the property of that person and forms a distinguishing feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bīḍa, the Bīḍas being famous for learning. The word अङ्क is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a coin showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs. The *सङ्ग* though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the *लक्षण* is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars *बुद्ध* of the last aphorism.

*Vart*:—The word *घोष* 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with the *संघ* &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply.

Thus *सङ्गनात्* (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106)—*वैद*: (Masculine), 'a congregation but *वैद* (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the *Bidas*'. *सङ्गनात्* (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107)—*सार्थ*+*अण्*=*सार्थ*: (VI. 4. 148, 151 S. 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the *Gārgyas*". *सङ्गनात्* (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095),—*दाक्षि*+*अण्*=*दाक्षि*: (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'a congregation &c of the *Dākshis*', *दाक्षि*, 'a mark of the *Dākshis*'.

*Notes*:—The *ङ्* of *अण्* could not serve the purpose of *Vṛddhi* here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have *Vṛddhi* by virtue of the affixes *दाक्षि* or *इण्* in which they end. The *अ* would have served the purpose as well, so far as *Vṛddhi* is concerned, but *अण्* is used to show that the feminine is formed by *ङीष्* (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). Thus *वैदी* ॥ It further prevents *बुद्ध* in compounds (VI. 3. 10 S. 849), = *वैदी विद्यास्य*=*वैदीविद्य*: i. e. *विद्यास्यकाराख्यी वा विद्या वा यस्यास्ति सः* ॥

१५०८ । शाकलाह्वा । ४ । ३ । १२८ ॥

*अण्* बोक्तव्ये । षष्ठे परणवाद्बुद्ध् । शाकलेन शिक्तमधीयते शाकलाक्षेपां ऽष्टोऽष्टौ घोषो वा शाकलः । शाकलकः । लक्षणे शिक्तता ॥

1508. The affix *अण्* optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word *शाकल* ॥

This debars *बुद्ध* ॥ Thus *शाकलेन शिक्तमधीयते*=*शाकलः* (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 and IV. 2. 64 S. 1271), *शाकलानां संघः*=*शाकलः* or *शाकलकः* (IV. 3. 126 S. 1500) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by *Śākala*.' When denoting *लक्षण* it will be of the neuter gender.

१५०९ । छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृत्तनटाञ्ज् ज्यः । ४ । ३ । १२९ ॥

*छन्दोगानां धर्म आम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिकम् । याज्ञिकम् । बह्वृत्तम् । नटाञ्जम् ॥ परयाज्ञर्मायायोरित्युक्तं तस्याह्वर्याजद्वयस्यापि तदेति ॥*

1509. The affix *ज्य* comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words '*chhandoga*,' '*aukthika*,' '*yājñika*,' '*bahvṛicha*' and '*naṭa*.'

*Note* :—The anuvṛtti of संघ are ceased. The sūtra debars अण् and डुम् ॥ The phrase परमात्मनोऽप्ययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 S. 1506, is understood here and applies even to the word नदः ॥

Thus छान्दोग्यो धर्मो वा SS प्राये छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also जीविविविधम्, शास्त्रिकम्, शस्त्रिकम्, and नाकम् ॥

Not having this sense we have: छान्दोग्यं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

१५१० । न दण्डमात्रेणान्तोवालिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

दण्डमात्रेणान्तोवालिषु निमित्तं न दण्डं न त्वत् । वाक्यः दण्डमात्रेण शिष्यावा ॥

1510. The affix डुम् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes ■ 'beginner pupil', and ■ 'boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमात्रेण means a little naughty boy (नानव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'danda' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ख in नानव by IV. 1. 161 S. 1185, अन्तोवालिषु are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's houses. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus अक्षरः the junior pupils of Dākṣhī.

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

सत्येतिवर्त्यैः । हुनोऽप्ययोः । रैवतिकीयः । वेजवापीयः ॥

1511. The affix च comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require डुम् (IV. १. 126 S. 1506), this ordains ■ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, वेजवापीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 रैवतिवि, 3 वेजवापीय, 4 गौतमीय (गौतमीय), 5 गौतमीय (गौतमीय) 6 गौतमीय (गौतमीय), 7 वेजवापी ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादयः । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादयः इति निपातनात् सन्तानुत्तरम् । कौपिञ्जलः । गोत्रहोऽप्ययोः । इति-पादस्यापत्यं हास्तिपदादयः हास्तिपदः ॥

1512. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjāla' and 'hāstipada'.

This debars डुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जल, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कौपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by अण् by the nipātana of this sūtra. To this is again added अण् in order to exclude the डुम् affix. Similarly the son of हास्तिपद is called हास्तिपदः ॥ It is formed by अण् and अण् changed to अण् by nipātana. To हास्तिपद is added the affix of this sūtra.

१५१३। आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । १३३ ॥

अण् स्याद् । आथर्वणिकस्यायमाथर्वणः धर्म आश्रयो वा । अरण्यदुग्धमोऽपवादः ॥

1513. The affix *अण्* comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'Atharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars दुग्ध (IV. 3 126 S. 1506). आथर्वणिकस्यायम्=आथर्वणो धर्म आश्रयो वा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase अरण्यद् धर्मआश्रयोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

## अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXIX.

#### PRĀGDIVYATĪYA.

१५१४ । तस्य विकारः । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अथमर्थो विकारो दितोचो वक्तव्यः \* ॥ अस्मन्तो विकार आसन् । आसन्तः । आसन्तः ॥

1514. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof.'

*Note* :—The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its anuvṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtra, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of रोपे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend farther. The affixes taught, therefore, under रोपे (IV. 2, III S. 1312 &c). such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter.

*Var* :—अणम् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आणम्; otherwise आणम्: ॥ So also आणम्: and आणम्: ॥

१५१५ । अथयवे च प्राण्योपधिबुद्धेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

आधिकारः । मयुरस्यावयवो विकारि वा मयूरः । योर्वे कल्पं भस्म च । वैष्णवम् ॥

1515. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus मयुरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा=मयूरः (IV. 3. 154) 'a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan' &c. So also of 'herbs'; as योर्वेम् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also of 'trees', as, वैष्णवम् meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Pipala tree."

*Note* :—In the subsequent sūtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.



१५१६ । बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् । ४ । ३ । १३६ ॥

बैल्वश्च ॥

1516. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars **अण्** and **मण्ड** ॥ Thus बैल्वश्च 'the modification or part of Bilwa'.

*Note* :—The word मण्डेयुक्तः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'अण्' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bīlvādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मण्ड to this word.

1 द्विव, 2 त्रीणि, 3 काण्ड, 4 द्रुम, 5 मण्ड, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वैशु, 9 मण्डेयुक्त, 10 कर्णाली, 11 पावली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर ॥

१५१७ । कोपधाञ् । ४ । ३ । १३७ ॥

अञ्च अमोऽपचाः । तर्कु, तार्कवश्च । तैत्तिरीकश्च ॥

1517. After a word having **ञ्** as penultimate, the affix **अञ्** comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, ■ appropriate.

This debars **अञ्** ॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवश्च, from तैत्तिरीक, we get तैत्तिरीकञ् ॥ The words तैत्तिरीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

१५१८ । अपुञ्जतुनोः षुक् । ४ । ३ । १३८ ॥

आभ्यामण् स्यादिकरि एतयोः पुन्यममम । आपुण्य । आतुण्य ॥

1518. The affix **अण्** with the augment **षुक्** comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 139 S. 1519). As, अपुण्यो विकारः = आपुण्य; so also आतुण्य "modification of tin and lac."

*Note* :—In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of मण्डण्य is not denoted by the affix.

१५१९ । ओरश्च । ४ । ३ । १३९ ॥

देवदारवश्च । माद्वदारवश्च ॥

1519. The affix **अश्च** comes after a word ending in short **उ**, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवदारवश्च, माद्वदारवश्च ॥

*Note* :—The words देवदारु and मद्रदारु are śdy-ndatta owing to Phit. Su. II. 14 (पीतहृत्पर्यानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेशः । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

सधित्यम् । कधित्यम् ॥

1520. The affix अम् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudatta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus सधित्यम्, कधित्यम् ॥

*Note* :—The word सधित्यम् is an upapada-samās of सधि + स्य + क, the स being changed to ह as it belongs to Prishodaradi class; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतित्वम् ॥

१५२१ । पलाशादिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पलाशम् । कारीरम् ॥

1521. The affix अम् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाशः &c.

Thus पलाशम् or पलाशैश्च so also कारीरम् or कारीरैश्च; कारीरम् or कारीरैश्च ॥

*Note* :—This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाशः, कारीरः, शिचवा and स्वन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अम् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाशः, 2 कारीरः, 3 शिचवा 4 स्वन्दन (स्वन्दन), 5 पलाशः, 6 कारीरः, 7 शिचवा, 8 शिचवा, 9 विकृतम् ॥

१५२२ । शम्भोः (इ) लम् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शम्भोः शम्भोः । शम्भोः शम्भोः ॥

1522. The affix ल् (इ) लम् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शम्भो ॥

This debars लम् ॥ Thus शम्भोः शम्भोः । शम्भोः शम्भोः (IV. 1. 60 S. 515) The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicative ल् ॥ According to Mādhava the anubandha is इ and so the feminine is formed in ङीष् ॥

१५२३ । मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभ्यासच्छदनयोः । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिसामान्यस्य स्यादिकारावययोः मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभ्यासच्छदनयोः । मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभ्यासच्छदनयोः । मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभ्यासच्छदनयोः ॥

1523. The affix मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभ्यासच्छदनयोः comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when 'neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अन्नमयम् or वस्त्रमयम् (IV. 3. 134).

Note:—Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in the classical language,'? Witness वेदोऽक्षादिरो वा ध्रुवः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of,'? Observe शौः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आप्लावणम् 'cotton dress'.

Note:—Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 185, 186 &c are replaced also by मयम् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कपोतम् (IV. 3. 185 S. 1815) लोहमयम् or लोहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं घृत्तरादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १४४ ॥

आमनयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकाग्रो नित्यम् ॥ ॥ लक्ष्मयम् । शास्त्रमयम् । कथं तर्हि आनन्दमम-  
थमिति । तत्त्वैर्गुणैश्चान्तात्त्वार्थे चमम् ॥

1524. The affix मयम् comes in the sense of its "product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vriddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vriddha—आमनयम् ॥ After शरादि words:—शरमयम् ॥

Part:—The affix मयम्, comes invariably after words of one syllable. Thus स्वम् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आप्तम् "modification of water", as given by Amarakosha (I. 10. 5)? It is formed by प्तम् added to जप् after the latter had taken ण् of तर्त्यम् ॥ अण्+अण्=आण्; आण्+य=आप्तम् ॥ प्तम् does not change the meaning.

1 शर, 2 वन, 3 दृढ, 4 कुटी, 5 दृढ, 6 शीघ्र, ॥ बलवज्ज (बलवज्ज) ॥

१५२५ । गोमयं पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १४५ ॥

गोः पुरीषं गोमयम् ॥

1525. The affix मयम् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung'.

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'.

Note:—'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यम् milk. The affix यन् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 169 S. 1538), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vibhā' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टाय । ४ । ३ । १४६ ॥

मयद् स्वार्थिकारे । विद्यमयं भस्म । कय पैटी भुरेति । सामान्यविषयायां सत्येदमित्यर्थः ॥

1526. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word विद्य ॥

This debars जण् ॥ Thus विद्यमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise जण्, as पैटी भुरेति in the sense of सत्येदम् ॥ (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) in a general signification.

१५२७ । संज्ञायां कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

विद्यार्थित्वेन । विद्यस्य विकारविशेषः विद्यकः । पृथोऽप्युक्तः विद्यकः स्यात् ॥

1527. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product after the word विद्य, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As विद्यकः ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II. 9. 48).

१५२८ । ब्रीहौ पुरोडाशे । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयद् स्यात् । विस्वाद्यणोऽप्यस्य । ब्रीहिस्यः पुरोडाशः । निवर्त्यन्त्यत् ।

1528. The affix मयद् comes after the word ब्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puroḍāśa.'

This debars जण् (IV. 3. 136 S. 1516). Thus ब्रीहिस्यः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley' ; Otherwise ब्रैहम् ॥

१५२९ । असंज्ञायां तिलयवाम्ब्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । यवमयम् । संज्ञायां तु तैलम् । यावकः ॥

1529. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम् । यवमयम् ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name" ? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन् (यावार्थिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29).

१५३० । तालाविध्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५० ॥

अण्मयरोजयथावः । तालावृत्तुपि • ॥ तालं धनुः । अण्मयत्तामयम् । ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1530. The affix जण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, चार्दिणम्, ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1 तालावृत्तुपि 2 चार्दिणम्, 3 इन्द्रविद्य, 4 इन्द्रायुधम्, 5 इन्द्रायुधम्, 6 यव (याव, यवम्), 7 यवामकः, 8 वीरुषा ॥

Part :—The affix जण् comes after ताल, when a "bow" is meant. Thus ताल "a bow made of tāla tree". Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note :—The words ताल and इन्द्रायुध being Viddha words would have taken

मयद् (IV. 3. 144 S. 1524) बहिर्णिव विक्षरः=बार्हन् (by वञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532) then we ought to have added to बार्हन् the affix वञ् by IV. 3. 155 S. 1533. In the sense of 'product or part'. The present sūtra prevents that. The words इन्द्रादिश्च and इन्द्रादश्च are formed by adding क् to the roots विश and दृश् preceded by the Upapada इन्द्र under Mula vibhujādi class. The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्दिषामपि (VI. 3. 157:). The word धन and पीयूषा are acute on the middle. इन्द्रादुष् is final acute by samāsa accent.

१५३१ । जातकृष्यः परिमाणे । ४ । ३ । १५३ ॥

अण् । बहुवचनात्पर्यवसहणम् । हाटकः सापनीयः सौवर्ण्यो वा निष्कः । परिमाणे किम् । हाटकमपी यदिः ॥

1531. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure".

The word जातकृष्य means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकः सापनीयः सौवर्ण्यो वा निष्कः ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe हाटकमपी यदिः ॥

१५३२ । प्राणिरजसादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

शौकम् । वाक् । राजतम् ॥

1532. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after राजत &c.

Note:—This debars अण् &c. The affix अण् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus:—शौकम्, वाक्, राजतम्, &c.

Note:—In the class राजसादि those words like राजत, कण्टकार &c. which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अण् by IV. 3. 140, S. 1520, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 राजत. 2 शीघ्र. 3 श्व. 4 बहुस्वर. 5 नीच (नीच, नीज). 6 हाट. 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक). 8 विभीतक. 9 पीतसार (कनीच, सार). 10 तमिसार. 11 चिकण्टक. 12 कण्टकार ॥

१५३३ । जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

जितो विकारव्यवस्थान्तस्तद्वन्तावम् स्वात्तयोरेवार्थयोः । मयटोऽपवादः । श्रुतीनस्य श्रुतीनम् । शपित्यस्य शपित्यम् । कृतिर्यम् । जितः किय । जित्यमयम् ॥

1533. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicative ण् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory अ denoting product or part, are अम् (IV. 3. 139), टम् (IV. 3. 142), अम् (IV. 3. 154), इम् (IV. 3. 157), हम् (IV. 3. 159), अम्, यम् (IV. 3. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अम् is used. This debars नवद् ॥ Thus चावीलम्, दाधित्यम्, कावित्यम् &c.

Why do we say चितः? Observe चैत्यनवद् ॥ Here नवद् is used after चैत्य and the derivative is formed by अम् of IV. 3. 136. S. 1516. So also चैत्यनम् ॥

१५३४ । क्रीतवस्परिमाणात् । ४ । ३ । १५३५ ॥

प्राग्बन्धेऽभित्याभ्य क्रीताये ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहितान्ते तथैव विकारोऽतिदिश्यन्ते । अणादीनामपवादः । निष्कण्ड कर्त्तुं भैतिककम् । एवं दितिकेत्य विकारोऽपि भैतिकः । अतस्व विकारः प्रत्ययः । शक्तिकः ॥

1534. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c S. 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अम् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतम् = भैतिककम् (V. 1. 20). It will denote vikāra also, निष्कस्य विकारः = भैतिककः formed by ङ् (V. 1. 20). As शब्देनक्रीतम् = शब्दः, or शक्तिकम् (V. 1. 21), so अतस्य विकारः = अतः or शक्तिकः by ङ् and य् (V. 1. 21).

Note:—The word य् in क्रीतयम् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विवैधिकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include saṅkhyā. See IV. 1. 23 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

१५३५ । उष्ट्रादुष्टम् । ४ । ३ । १५३६ ॥

प्राग्यमोऽपराधः । औष्टकः

535. The affix उष्ट् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'uṣṭra'.

This debars अम् (IV. 2. 154). उष्टस्य विकारोऽप्यप्ये वा = औष्टकः ॥

१५३६ । उमोर्णयोर्वा । ४ । ३ । १५३७ ॥

गोमय । औमकम् । घोर्णयम् । घोर्णकम् । उमोर्णये यथाकनमस्यमो ।

1536. The affix उष्ट् comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words उमा and ऊर्णौ ॥

Thus औमस् or औमकम्, और्णस्, or और्णकम्.

Note :—Umā has acute on the first syllable by तुल्यधात्वाच्च (Phit II, 4). Uṛṇā is finally acute, as a Prātipadika.

१५३७ । एयसा हस् १ ४ । ३ । १५६ ५

एयसम् । एयस्य तु ऐयम् ॥

1537. The affix हस् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एयसी ॥

This debars अस् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532.

Thus ऐयसे मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एयस्य मांसम्=ऐयम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अस् ॥

१५३८ । गोपयसोर्यस् १ ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

गोपयन् । पयस्यम् ॥

1538. The affix यस् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गोपयन्, पयस्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५३९ । द्रोक्ष् १ ४ । ३ । १६१ ॥

द्रुक्षस्तस्य विकारीऽद्रव्यो वा द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यस् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru.' (meaning "a tree".)

This debars अस् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यस् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५४० । माने वयः १ ४ । ३ । १६२ ॥

द्रोरित्येव । द्रव्यम् । यौतवं द्रव्यं पाप्यमिति मानायेकं अयम् ॥

1540. The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars अस् ॥ As द्रव्यम्, 'a measure.' The words द्रव्यम्, यौतवं and पाप्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II. 9. 85)

१५४१ । फले लुक् १ ४ । ३ । १६३ ॥

विकारपदप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्थान् फले । आमलक्याः कलमामकम् ।

1541. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फले-आमलकी + मरुद् लुक्=आमलकी 'the fruit of Myrobalans'





1545. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambu'

The word *वृ* is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. S. 1294. Thus *अम्बु + अम्बुलुप् = अम्बु* ; as, *अम्बु फलं* ॥ Optionally *अम्बवाः फले = अम्बु फले*, or *आम्बव* ॥

*Vart*:—There is *lup*-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus *श्रीहेः—श्रीहयः, पुष्पाः* ॥

*Vart*—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, *मल्लिकार्थं पुष्प = मल्लिका, श्वमल्लिकं जातिः*; so also *विंशर्व मूलं = विंशरी* ॥ *अष्टमसी, वृद्धसी* ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As *पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, मल्लानि मूलानि* ॥ So *गर्गाक्षम्, कार्षीरम्, &c.*

१५४६ । हरितक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

एभ्यः फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्स्यात् । हरितक्यादीनां निहनेन प्रकृतित्वम् । हरितक्याः फलानि हरितक्यः ॥

1546. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by *लुप्*, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2, 51 S. 1294), As *हरितक्याः फलं = हरितकी* instead of *हरितकं* ॥ So also *कौशातकी, नखरजनी* ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as *हरितकी फलं, हरितक्यः फलानि* ॥

1 हरितकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखरजनी), 4 शम्भुपत्री (शम्भुपत्री), 5 शङ्खपत्री, 6 शङ्खपत्री, 7 श्वेतपत्री, 8 अर्जुनपत्री, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 कान्ता, 11 भाक्षा (भाक्षा), 12 गभीका (गभीका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली, 15 पिप्पली (पिप्पली), 16 शोभासिका, 17 इडी ॥

१५४७ । कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्गञौ लुक् च । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यञ्मौ स्तकड्यतोश्च लुक् । कंसाय चित्ते कंसीयम्, तस्य विकारः कांस्यम् । परशवे हितं परशव्यम् । तस्य विकारः पारशवः ॥

1547. The affixes *यञ्* and *अञ्* come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansiya' and *paraśavya*, and there is *luk*-elision (of the *छ* and *यत्* affixes of those words).

The word *कंसीयः* is formed by *छ* (V. 1. 1), and *पारशव्य* is formed by adding *यत्* (V. 1. 2). These affixes *छ* and *यत्* are elided when the affixes

यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीव् + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कंस्य so also पारणव from पराणव ; thus पराणव् + अञ् = पराण + अञ् = पारणवः ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdivyatiya affixes.



I स्वागत, ॥ स्वप्नेर, ३ स्वप्ने, ४ स्वप्ने, ॥ व्याडे, ६ व्यवहार, ७ स्वपति ॥

*Vart*:—So also after प्रसूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रसूतं पारु = प्रो-  
मुक्तिकः, पार्यतिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb.

*Vart*:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति  
= सोस्नार्तिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well", सोस्नार्तिकः, सोस्नार्थान्वितः ॥

*Vart*:—So also after परधरा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits  
adultery with': as परधराय गच्छति = पारधरिकः, गौस्तल्लिकः ॥ The word तल्य here  
refers to "wife".

१५५० । तेन दोषयति खनति जयति जितम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दोषयति आधिकः । अन्वया खनति आधिकः । अक्षैर्जयति आधिकः । अक्षैर्जितमाधिकम् ॥

1550. The affix टक् comes after a word in the third  
case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs',  
'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दोषयति = आधिकः - 'who plays with dice—a dicer', अन्वया-  
यति आधिकः, खनति आधिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आधिकः, अक्षैर्जितम् = आधिकम् ॥

१५५१ । संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना संस्कृतं आधिकम् । वारीयिकम् ॥

1551. The affix टक् comes after a word in the third  
case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'.  
Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = वारीयिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. वारीयिकम् ॥

*Note*:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the next  
sūtra, in which the aṅgavṛtti of संस्कृते only runs.

१५५२ । कुलत्थकापघादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

दकोद्वयवापः । कुलत्थः संस्कृतं कौलत्थम् । वैचिदीयम् ॥

1552. After the word 'kulattha', and after words  
having a penultimate क्, the affix ञ् is added in the sense  
of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars टक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, वैचिदीयम्, the two latter being  
examples of words ending in क् ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उदुम्बेन तरति चोदुम्बिकः ॥

1553. The affix टक् comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'.

Thus काण्डन्नेधनतरति = काण्डन्तरति, औदुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४। गोपुच्छाड्। ४। ४। ६॥

गोपुच्छिकः ॥

1554. The affix डक् comes after the word 'gopuchcha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between डक् and डक् is in the accent. Thus गोपुच्छिकः ॥

१५५५। नौद्यचयुक्। ४। ४। ७॥

नौद्यकः। यदिकः। बाहुभ्यां तरति बाहुका स्त्री ॥

1555. The affix डक् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars डक् ॥ Thus नौद्य तरति = नौद्यकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words: as, यदिकः, so also बाहुका (बाहुभ्यां तरति) in the feminine.

Note:—The व in डक् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory व occurs in the Fourth book, in sūtras IV. 4. 9. 10, 18, 53 and 74.

१५५६। चरति। ४। ४। ८॥

वृत्तिवाग्नाहचरति भक्षयतीत्यर्थयोगेण त्वान्। इतिना चरति वास्तिकः। वाक्वाटिकः। इध्वा भक्षयति वाधिकः ॥

1556. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix डक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus वाक्वाटिकः। वास्तिकः 'who travels by a car or an elephant'. इध्वा भक्षयति = वाधिकः 'who goes on, with being fed on curd.'

१५५७। आकर्षाष्ट्। ४। ४। ९॥

आकर्षो विकर्षावतः। आकर्षाविति प्रागन्तये। तेन चरति आकर्षिकः। चित्तादृशेय। आकर्षिकी ॥

1557. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'ākarsa.'

Note:—This debars डक् ॥ The ष् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The व of डक् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV. 4. 7. 9. 1555.

Thus जाकर्वेण चरति = जाकर्विक f. जाकर्विकी उक्त्वा जाकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested. Another reading is अकिपाद् ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्वेण चरति पर्विकः । पर्विकी । तेन पीडेन पङ्कजधरन्ति य पर्वः । अधिकः । राधिकः ॥

1558. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars डक् ; the न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ए for दीर्घ (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्विकः f. पर्विकी, औभिकः f. औभिकीः ॥ So also राधिकः ॥

1 पर्व, ॥ अम्भ, ३ अभ्यल, ४ रथ, ५ ज्ञाल, ६ ग्याल, ७ ग्याल, ८ पारः पथ ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणाहुञ्च । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

चात् छन् ॥

1559. The affix छन् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'.

This debars डक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिञि । ७ । ६ । ८ ॥

ऐचन । श्वमल्लहायले श्वमलिः । श्वादेरिः । तदाश्विधौ चेत्येव 'श्वमल्ल' ॥ इकारावादीनि वीण्यम् ॥ ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी । श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ् is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वमल्ल is श्वमलिः, so also श्वादेरिः ॥ The word दान् is included in the list of Dvārādi words VII. 3. 4, S. 1386. The present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vārt :—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows.

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. f. श्वगणिकी ॥ इञ् श्वगणिक f. श्वगणिकी ॥

Note :—The form श्वगणिक is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 5. Thus श्वगण + इञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, श् requires the Vṛiddhi of the अ of श् ॥ But rule VII. 3. 1 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter जो comes before व in the case of अद् ॥ The proper form, therefore, would have been श्वगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by दन् ॥ In

fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word स्व् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इम् (an affix beginning with इ): as from इवाभाञ्चि we have इवाभाञ्चम् (इवाभाञ्चिर्) ॥

१५६१। पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

आपहस्तेर्भापद्वयः । आपहस्तेर्भापद्वयः । सौवापद्वयः ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3. 4 is optionally applied to स्व् followed by पद् ॥

As आपहस्तेर्=भापद्वय or सौवापद्वयः ॥

१५६२ वेतनाविभ्यो जीवति । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

वेतवेन जीवति वेतनिकः । धातुष्कः ॥

1562. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतवेन जीवति = वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्द्वयः the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्द्वयिकः, धातुष्कः, दान्ष्ट्रिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन ( वाह ), 3 सार्धवाहन ( मर्धवाह ), 4 धनुर्द्वयः, 5 जाल, 6 वेरा ( वेत ), 7 पेशा ( उपेक्ष, उपेक्ष ), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवृत्ति ( उपस्ति ), 10 मुख, 11 सन्ध्या, 12 रात्रि, 13 उपनि-  
द, 14 उपवेश, 15 स्निग्ध\* ( स्निग्ध ), 16 वाह, 17 उपस्य, 18 उपस्थान,\* 19 उपहस्त, 20 लब्ध ॥

१५६३ वस्त्रक्रयविक्रयादुन् । ४ । ४ । १३ ॥

वस्त्रेन वस्त्रेन जीवति वस्त्रिकः । क्रयविक्रयमहणे संपातविहृतीवार्थम् । क्रयविक्रयिकः । क्रयि-  
का । विक्रयिकः ॥

1563. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्त्रेन जीवति = वस्त्रिकः 'who lives by hire, hire-  
ling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately;  
as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

१५६४ आयुधाच्छ च । ४ । ४ । १४ ॥

आयुन् । आयुधेन जीवति आयुधीयः । आयुधिकः ॥

1564. The affix छ as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'āyudha'.





१५६८। अङ्कुटिलिकायाः । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधानां गति विशेषः कर्मोपकरणयुतं जीवं च । कुटिलिकया हरति घृगानङ्गात्सम्भ्र  
कौटिलिको व्याधः कर्मोपकरणम् ॥

1568. The affix अङ्कु comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति घृगोऽङ्कु व्याधः or (घृगो व्याधः) = कौटिलिको व्याधः (or घृगः) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey.' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गात्सम्भ्र = कौटिलिकः ज्ञानारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge.'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths.'

१५६९। निर्वृत्तेऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षयूतिकं वैरम् ॥

1569. The affix उक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c.', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = माक्षयूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling.'

1 अक्षयूतः, 2 जातुप्रवृत्तः ('प्रवृत्तः'), 3 ज्ञानप्रवृत्तः ('प्रवृत्तः'), 4 ज्ञानप्रवृत्तः, 5 पादप्रवृत्तः, 6 कण्ठकर्मवृत्तः, 7 गन्तव्यवृत्तः, 8 गन्तव्यवृत्तः, 9 वातापिचयः, 10 अक्षयूतः ॥

१५७०। अङ्गमित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

विप्रत्ययान्तप्रकृतिकात्पूर्वोऽन्तादिभ्योऽङ्गमित्यम् । कृत्वा निर्वृत्तं कृषिमम् । पक्षिमम् ॥

\* भाष्यप्रत्ययान्तादिभ्यो वक्तव्यः । पाकेन निर्वृत्तं पाकितम् । त्यागितम् ॥

1570. The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix ङि, in the sense of 'completed thereby.'

The ङि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 38). Thus the root कृष्न् takes ङि and forms पक्षिम्, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus कृष्न् + ङि + मप् = पक्षिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. From कृष्न् we have कृषिमम् ॥

Note:—The word निर्वृत्त in the sūtra indicates that the affix ङि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Part:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं = पक्षिमम् (कृष्न् + ङि III. 3. 38 + इमप्), so also त्यागितम्, तैक्ष्णिकम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति स्वबन्तम् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्तं आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्तं याचितकम् ॥

1571. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yāchita,' when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'.

Note :—The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा ( III. 4. 19 ). The क्त्वा is changed to क्त्, and ह substituted for क्त् ( VI. 4. 70 ). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्मा संसृष्टे वाचिकम् ॥

1572. The affix डक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्मा संसृष्टे = वाचिकम् 'smeared with card.'

Note :—The word 'sanskṛitam' ( IV. 4. 3 ) and 'samsṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णेः सत्सृष्टाच्चूर्णिनोऽपुनः ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrpa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'.

This 'debars डक् ॥ Thus 'चूर्णेः सत्सृष्टाच्चूर्णिनोऽपुनः' 'cakes sprinkled with powder'.

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

सर्वज्ञेन संसृष्टे लवणः क्षयः । लवणं चाकम् ॥

1574. The affix डक् meaning 'mixed therewith' is elided by लुक्, after the word 'lavapa'.

Thus सर्वज्ञेन संसृष्टे = लवणः 'mixed with salt', as लवण क्षयः 'soup mixed with salt.' See लवणं चाकं. लवणं क्षयः ( I. 1. 51 ).

Note :—The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

१५७५ । मुद्रादात् । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मिश्र ओदनः ॥

1575. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars डक् ॥ Thus मिश्र ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga pulse'.

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्तं । ४ । ४ २६ ॥

डक् । इत्था उपसिक्तं शक्तिम् ॥

1576. The affix डक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus इत्था उपसिक्तं = शक्तिम् 'sprinkled with curd.'

Note:—Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनैरुपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

१५७७ । ओजः सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिकः शूरः । साहसिकबोरः । साम्प्रसिकी मत्स्यः ॥

1577. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. 'possessed with energy. So also:—साहसिकः 'a thief.' साम्प्रसिकः 'a fish'.

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोककूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

हितीशान्तादमादृतं इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे डक् स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वादिमीया । प्रसवि वर्तते प्रादीपिकः । आन्वीपिकः । प्रतिशेपिकः । आनुशेपिकः । प्रतिकूलिकः । आनुकूलिकः ॥

1578. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists', after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीति वर्तते = प्रादीपिकः (प्रतिगत आघे ऽ रिपन्, the आ changed to ई V. ८. 74 and VI. 3. 97). retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः ॥ 'favorable,' प्रतिशेपिकः 'inverse' आनुशेपिकः 'direct.' प्रतिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः ॥ The —o words प्रादीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

१५७६ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २६ ॥

परिमुखं परंते परिमुखिकः । आगपरिमुखिकः ॥

1579. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं परंते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present.'

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिवारिमुखिकः ॥

Note:—The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (11. 1. 12). If परि has the force of 'exclusion' (L. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं तत्सत्सतो वर्त्तते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गृह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्विगुणार्थं द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति द्वैगुणिकः । वैगुणिकः ॥

द्वैगुण्यभिभाषो वक्तव्यः \* ॥ वार्धुषिकः ।

1580. The affix टक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्वैगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थं 'for the sake of double'. Similarly वैगुणिकः ॥

Note:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृद्धि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase'. Or the word वृद्धि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note:—Why do we say वार्धुष 'with a mean motive' ॥ Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अर्धमर्गः 'the debtor gives double'.

१५८१ । कुसीद्वशैकादशात् प्रत्यक्षो । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गृह्योर्ध्यागाम्यमैतो सतः प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थः । कुसीद्वं वृद्धिस्तदर्थं इत्येव कुसीद्वं मध्ययच्छतीति कुसी-  
द्विजः । कुसीद्विकः । एकादशार्थं वार्धुषिकदण्डे च यत्तु वस्तुतो दण्डं योति विषयदेयकारः सनासान्त इदं सति  
विपादयति । वार्धुषिकः । दण्डिकः । शैकादशान्मध्ययच्छतीत्युत्तरार्धं प्रयच्छति तद्विनायः ॥

1581. The affixes टक् and टक् come respectively after the words 'kusida' and 'daśaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten ( दश ) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven ( एकादश ) after a month is called दशैकादश ॥ This sūtra debars डक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes इन् and डक् is in the accent ( VI. I. 197 and 163 ). Thus कुसीद + इन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदी ( IV. 1. 41 ). So दशैकादशिकः fem. दशैकी ॥

१५८२ । उज्जुति । ४ । ४ । ३२ ॥

बह्राण्युज्जति चावरिकः ॥

1582. The affix डक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleanes that', -

Thus बह्राण्युज्जति = बह्रवरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'.

Notes:—To pick up every grain ( जण ) fallen on the ground is called उज्ज ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ४ । ४ । ३३ ॥

समाजं रक्षति सामाजिकः ॥

1583. The affix डक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'.

१५८४ । शब्ददुर्गं करोति । ४ । ४ । ३४ ॥

शब्दं करोति शाब्दिकः । शर्दुरिकः ॥

1584. The affix डक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes words' i. e. a grammarian. So शर्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यसृगान्धन्ति । ४ । ४ । ३५ ॥

स्वरूपस्य पर्यायाणां विशेषाणां च ग्रहणम् । मत्स्यसर्पयोषु मीनस्त्वैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पक्षिकः । शर्दुणिकः । मयुरिकः । मात्स्यिकः । मैनिकः । शार्दुणिकः । शार्पिकः । शार्पणिकः । सारपिकः ॥

1585. The affix डक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिको हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. ( See I. I. 68 ).

Therefore, we have forms 'शाकुनिकः, मार्गिकः, ॥ So also with मत्स्यः as, मात्स्यिकः, मत्स्यिकः, शाकुनिकः ॥ So also with मृगः as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अभ्यन्तरीयान्तान्तिष्ठति इति चत्वर्ये ठक् स्यात् । पन्थाने वर्जितत्वा ध्याप्य च तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकश्चोरः । परिपन्थं इति पारिपन्थिकः ॥

1586. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जितत्वा तिष्ठति. यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man".

Note:— The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of इति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं इति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the classical form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

१५८७ । माधोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकारो माधः पन्थाः दण्डमाधः । दण्डमाधं धावति दण्डमाधिकः । पादविकः । आनुपदिकः ॥

1587. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माध as its second term, and after the words 'padavi' and 'anupada'.

Thus a road (mātha) straight like a stick (daṇḍa) is called दण्डमाधः । From it दण्डमाधं धावति = दण्डमाधिकः 'who runs on a high way'. Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माध means 'a way'.

१५८८ । आक्रन्दद्वाहञ्च । ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

आक्रन्दद्वाहञ्च धावति । आक्रन्दं दुःखितो रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रन्दिकः ॥

1588. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'ākṛanda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'.

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e. g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between ठक् and ठक् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रन्दिकः, i. आक्रन्दिको 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

१५८९ पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति पौर्वपदिकः । औत्तरपदिकः ॥

1589. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥

Note:—The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिक्ण्डार्थलक्ष्मं च । उ । उ । उ० ॥

एभ्यो गृह्णात्यर्थे उक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्डं गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्डिकः । आर्थिकः । लालामिकः ॥

1590. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikanṭha', 'arthu', and 'lalāma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्डं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्डिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालामिकः ॥

Note:—The word प्रतिकण्ड here is an Avyayi-bhāva meaning कण्डं कण्डं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्डं = प्रातिकण्ड, for to the latter no affix is added.

१५९१ धर्मं श्रवति । उ । उ । उ१ ॥

धार्मिकः ॥ अधर्माद्येति दक्षव्यम् \* ॥ आधार्मिकः ॥

1591. The affix उक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practises that'.

Thus धर्मं श्रवति = धार्मिकः "religious".

Vārtika:—It must be stated that the affix उक् comes after adharma also. As आधार्मिकः "irreligious, undutiful",

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति उक्च । उ । उ । उ२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रतिपथिकः ॥

1592. The affix उक् as well as उक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रतिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the उक् causes Vṛddhi ( VII. 2. 118 ) whilst उक् does not.

१५९३ । समवायान्समवेति । उ । उ । उ३ ॥

सामवायिकः । सामुहिकः ॥

1593. The affix **ठक्** comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus **समवायान् समवेति** = **सामवायिकः** 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also **सामयिकः**, **सामूहिकः**, **सामिवेष्टिकः** ॥

*Note* :—The word **समवाय** means combination, collection &c. The word **समवायान्** is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form **समवाय** but to its synonyms also. **समवेति** means coming together.

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषदं समवेति परिषद्यः ॥

1594. The affix **ण्य** comes after the word 'parishad, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ Thus **परिषदं समवेति** = **परिषद्यः** 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्यः स्यात्पक्षे ठक् । सेन्याः । सेनिकाः ॥

1195. The affix **ण्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senā**.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समवेति** = **सेन्याः** or **सेनिकाः** 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

१५९६ । संघार्यां सललटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

सललटं पश्यति ललाटिकः सेवकः । कुक्कुटीयादेन सत्पाताईः स्वल्पदेशे लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिकी भिक्षुः ॥

1596. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalāṭa' and 'kukkuṭi', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **सललटं पश्यति** = **ललाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikṣu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the



ground, and hence he is called कौकुर्यः ॥ The word also means 'hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

१५९७ । तस्य धर्म्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४७ ॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम् ॥

1597. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्ये means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word नमस् shows the case of the word. Thus हुत्कृत्तासाध्या धर्म्ये = हुत्कृत्तासाध्याः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मीकम् ॥

१५९८ । अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । ४८ ॥

महिष्या धर्म्ये महिष्यम् । याजमानम् ॥

1598. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishi' &c.

This debars थक्. Thus महिष्या धर्म्ये = महिष्यम् 'the usages of queens.' So याजमानम् ॥

1 महिषी, 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजापति, 4 पत्नीपति, 5 विनीतिका, 6 अतुलिका, 7 प्रोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अतुलारक (अतुलारक), 10 होतु 11 अजमानम् ॥

१५९९ । अण् लोभ्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४९ ॥

आतुल्ये याचम् ॥ नराद्येति धर्म्यम् \* ॥ नरस्य धर्म्या नारी ॥ विशसितुर्दिशोपचाङ्ग दन्तम् \* ॥ विशसितुर्धर्म्ये वैशाखम् ॥ विभाजयितुश्चितीवभाङ्ग वाच्यः \* ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्ये विभाजितम् ॥

1599. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus आतु धर्म्यम् = याचम् 'the office of a Yātri, i. e. a pilgrim'.

*Vart.* :—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

*Vart.* :—So also after the word विशसितु, the ह् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अण् = वैशाखम् ॥

*Vart.* :—So also after the word विभाजयितु its शि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अण् = विभाजितम् ॥

१६०० । अचक्रयः । ४ । ४ । ५० ॥

यदपन्तारदक् स्थानचक्रिये । आपणस्याचक्रय आपणिकः । मन्त्राणां इत्यनचक्रयः ।

1600. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent' &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus आपण्डव अवक्रयः = सापणिकः ॥

Note :—Are not धर्म ( IV. 4. 47 ) and अवक्रय the same ? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

१६०१ । तदस्य पण्यम् । ४ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपुनः पण्यनस्य सापणिकः ॥

1601. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus लवणः पण्यं अस्य = सापणिकः 'a cake-vendor.'

१६०२ । लवणादठक् । ४ । ४ । ५२ ॥

सापणिकः ॥

1602. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavapa.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यनस्य = सापणिकः 'salt-vendor.'

१६०३ । किसरादिभ्यः छक् । ४ । ४ । ५३ ॥

किसरं पण्यनस्य किसरिकः । पिष्कण्डीप् । किसरिकी । किसर, वशीर, नलार दलादि । किसरादयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषास्त्विति ॥

1603. The affix छक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किसराः पण्यनस्य = किसरिकः । किसरिकी ( IV. 1. 41 ) नैष्ठिकः । नपुंसकी ॥ The feminine is formed by डीप् as the affix has an indicative व् ॥

1 किसर (किसर), २ नरद, 3 मलक्, 4 स्यागल, 5 लगर, 6 पुम्युलु, 7 वशीर 8 इतिद्रा, 9 इतिद्रु, 10 पर्वी, 11 सुगन्ध, 12 इतिद्रावली ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents.

१६०४ । शलालुनोऽभ्यन्तरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५४ ॥

अभ्यन्तरे पण्ये ठक् । शलालुकः । शलालुकी । शलालुका । शलालुकी । शलालुः सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषः ॥

1604. The affix छक् comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'shalalun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent. Thus शान्तु वन्धनस्य = शिलातुक् : f. शान्तुकी ॥ In the alternative with डक्, शान्तुकी : f. शान्तुकी ॥

१६०५ । शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

पृष्ठपादने शिल्पनस्य शिल्पिकः ॥

1605. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction.

Thus पृष्ठपादने शिल्पनस्य = शिल्पिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mpidanga drum".

१६०६ । मङ्गुकर्म्मकरावणस्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मङ्गुकर्मावने शिल्पनस्य मङ्गुकः । मङ्गुकिक् । हार्हारः । हार्हारिकः ॥

1606. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'maṅḍuka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मङ्गुक न शिल्पनस्य = मङ्गुकः or मङ्गुकिक्, so also हार्हारः and हार्हारिकः ॥

१६०७ । प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

सर्वस्यैव । असिः प्रहरणस्य आसिकः । धातुक् : ॥

1607. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So धातुक् : ॥

१६०८ । परश्वघाटण्य । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

परश्वधिकः ॥

1608. The affix डम् as well as डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word परश्वघ ॥

This affix डक् is added by अ, the difference being in accent. Thus परश्वधिकः or परश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वघ means 'an axe'.

१६०९ । शक्तियष्टयोरीक् । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शान्तीकः । पाटीकः ॥

1609. The affix- ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yaṣṭi'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चास्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = चास्तिकः. So also चाटीकः ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

नश्येत्येव । अस्ति परलोक इत्येवं मतिर्यस्य स चास्तिकः । नास्तीति मतिर्यस्य स नास्तिकः ।

दिष्टमिति मतिर्यस्य ॥ दैष्टिकः ॥

1610. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nāsti' and 'dishta',

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = चास्तिकः 'who believes that it is' i. e. the here-after exists, नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an atheist, 'दैष्टिकः' 'whose belief is that it is fate', = fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

Note :—The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स चास्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपमक्षणं शीलमस्य आहूयिकः ॥

1611. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपमक्षणे शीलमस्य = आहूयिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'.

Note :—The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

१६१२ । छात्रादिभ्यो णः । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

छत्रोपायानादयश्च छात्रे षष्ठीजनस्य छात्रः ॥

1612. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus छात्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover ( chhadan ) the weaknesses of the teacher'.

Note :—The word ण्य occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga ; thus आण्य, संण्य, व्यण्य &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, सुखदण्डवत् सुदृष्टा शिष्यदण्डवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or चिच्छेत् च सुखदण्डवत् परिणम्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his preceptor. as an Umbrella'.

१ छात्र, २ शिष्या ३ प्रवेष्ट ( पुत्रेष्ट ), ४ ण्य ( आण्य, संण्य, व्यण्य ), ५ पुत्रुणा, ६ पुत्र, ७ शिष्या, ८ उपरधान, ९ कृषि ( कृषि ), १० कर्मन्, ११ विभवा, १२ मन्त्र, १३ सत्य, १४ धर्म,

15 विविक्षा\*, 16 विविक्षा ( विविक्षा ), 17 वृक्षा\*, 18 वृक्ष्या\*, 19 वृष्टा (!)\*, 20 विक्षा\*, 21 वृक्षा\*, 22 वृक्ष् ।

१६१३ । कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कर्म इति ताच्छील्ये षे दिव्येति निपात्यते । कर्मशीलः कर्मः । यस्तद्विने ह्येष शिष्टे भवकार्ये ताच्छील्ये येऽपि । तेन चौरि तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम् । ताच्छील्ये षिच् । कर्मणः ॥

1613. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'.

This is formed by ष affix ( IV. 4. 62 S. 1612 ). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144 S. 679 the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ष् and ष affixes, in the sense of tāchchhīlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim :—ताच्छील्ये षेऽपि कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix ष्, take place, whenever the affix ष is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though षिच् is added to षाप्-formed words, it is also added ष ज—formed words, in the feminine : as चौरि ; तापसी &c. The य taught in V. 2. 101 S. 1908 and III. 1. 140, S. 2902 is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मण इवम्=कर्मणम् ॥

१६१४ । कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

अथनान्तात्पर्येण डङ् स्वाध्ययने वृत्ता वा क्रिया सा चैक्यमात्रासाधनः । ऐक्याधिकः । यस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोपाख्यानस्य स्थानितयेन जाते सः ॥

1614. The affix डङ् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act ( karma ) which has occurred ( vṛittam ) in study ( adhyayana ).

Thus एकमन्त्राध्ययने कर्मवृत्तस्य=ऐक्याधिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्त्र) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called ऐक्याधिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐक्याधिकः &c, the whole phrase सच्चयने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

१६१५ । वृत्तपूर्वपदाटङ् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्रतिपदे । शास्त्रान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तान्यस्य शास्त्राधिकः । शास्त्रापवादो जस्य जस्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1615. The affix डच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in 'study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars डच् ॥ Thus :—द्वारक्षान्यानि कर्माप्यव्ययेन वृत्तानि भस्य = द्वारक्षान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So प्रयोदशान्यिकः प्रतुर्दशान्यिकः ॥ The word भस्य in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i.e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or *vice versa*.

१६१६ । हितं भक्षः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूर्णमक्षयं हितमस्मै आरूपिकः ॥

1616. The affix डच् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom"

Thus अपूर्णमक्षयं हितमस्मै = आरूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, शौचिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आरूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

Note :—The words हित् and अस्मै (IV. 4, 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (11. 3. 13, S. 570 Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्मै should be changed to dative विद्, तदस्मै हितं भक्षः 'this for whom ॥ wholesome diet'. The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise:

65 हितं भक्षः तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्तं ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अपभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आपभोजनिकः ॥

1617. The affix डच् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first ( tad ) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative ( asmai ).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगे i. e. सत्यविशेषेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अस्मै भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आपभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmana always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'.

Note :—Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नियतं 'always'. According to the old grammar, अस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते 'to whom always food is given'.

१६१८ । आगामान्दनादित् । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आया नियुक्तं दीयतेऽस्मै आणिकः । आणिकीः । मांसोदनमद्वयं संपातविगृहीतार्यम् । मांसोद-  
निकः । मांसिकः । ओदनिकः ॥

1618. The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आया and मांसोदन ॥

This टिठन् debars डक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the इ indicates that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आया नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥ The affix टिठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. (But डक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिठन् does not). Thus ओदन + टिठन् = ओदनिकः f. ओदनिकी ॥ With डक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

Note:—The difference between डक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udatta on the final (VI. 1. 165) the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of डक् and टिठन् will both be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix डक् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not डक् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same form? True, as regards the words आया and मांसोदन the affix डक् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥

The words आया is Past Participle (क्) of आ 'to cook'. The आ is not changed to ऋ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nightṛ is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आया is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is वृत् = वीर्य (VI. 1. 27).

१६१६ । भक्ताद्वयमद्वयम् । ड । ड । ६८ ॥

पक्षे डक् । भक्तमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते भक्तः । भक्तिकः ॥

1619. The affix अक् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' 'i. e. a retainer.'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्तः । ड । ड । ६९ ॥

आकरे नियुक्तः आकरिकः ॥

1620. The affix डक् comes, in the sense 'of appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus आकरे नियुक्तः = आकरिकः 'a superintendent of the mines.'

Note:—The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpuruṣa compound formed by 11. 1. 46.

S. 723. The word *nyukta* here has a different meaning from that in IV. 4. 66, S. 1617 hence its repetition here.

१६२१ । अगारान्तावत् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

देवागारे नियुक्तो देवागारिकः ॥

1621. The affix *उक्* comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agāra.'

This debars *उक्*. The difference is in accent and want of *Viddhi*. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः ॥

१६२२ । अप्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

नियिद्धदेशकालमाचकारुः स्वार्थ्येतरे । एतस्मान्नेऽधीते श्लाघाधिकः । चतुर्थदयानधीते चा-  
तुर्थधिकः ॥

1622. The affix *उक्* comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word *अदेशकाल* means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. *अप्यायिन्* means one who studies. Thus एतस्मान्ने-  
ऽधीते = श्लाघाधिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' So also चतुर्थदयानधीते = चातु-  
र्थधिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.'

Note :—Why do we say 'improper time and place? Observe धुत्तधीते  
पूर्वाह्निधीते ॥

१६२३ । कटिनामन्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तथेष्टे ॥ वृक्षकटिने व्यवहरति वांसकटिनिकः । एषा देवागः कटिना वस्त्रिन्देष्टे स वृक्षकटिना-  
शान्देष्टे वा क्रिया वयातुष्टेया तां तयवातुष्टिहरीत्यर्थः । शास्त्रारिकः । वांसधनिकः ॥

1623. The affix *उक्* comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina, and after 'prastāra' and 'sansthāna,' being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus वृक्षकटिने व्यवहरति = वांसकटिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket,' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्देष्टे  
वा गेया वयातुष्टेया तां तयवातुष्टिहरीति ॥ So also शास्त्रारिकः, वांसधनिकः ॥

१६२४ । निपटं पसति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

भेदार्थको नियुक्तः ॥

1624. The affix *उक्* comes in the sense of 'who dwells,' after the locative word 'nikāṣa.'



Thus - निकटे वसति = नैकाटिकः 'an ascetic, because a sannyāsi lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein."

*Note* :—This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकाटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations.

१६२५ । आवसथात् छल् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिकः । दित्वाग्नीप् आवसथिकी ।

आकर्षात्पर्वदेर्भस्मादिभ्यः कुसीदसुवाच ।

आवसथात्किञ्चरति वित्तः पडेते ढगधिकारे ॥

पडिति छत्रवर्केन विहिता इत्यर्थः । प्रत्ययास्तु सप्त ॥

1625. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'Āvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ह् of छल् is for accent ( VI. 1. 193 S. 3676 ), the ण् is for ङीप् ( IV. 1. 41 S. 498 ). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a house-holder as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of उक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1 S. 1548. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

The व् of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra IV. 4. 7 S. 1555. To remove the doubt where व् is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : " आकर्षात् पर्वदेर्भस्मादिभ्यः कुसीदसुवाच, आवसथात् किञ्चरति वित्तः पडेते ढगधिकारे ॥ In the six sūtras IV. 4. 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S. 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicative 'sh' i. e. they are part of the affix. Though the sūtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven. Here ■ being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीप् ( IV. 1. 41 ).

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikāra.

# अथ तद्धित प्राग्वितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### PRĀG-GHITĪYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्विताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

संनिहितभिन्नम् प्राक् अवधिक्रियते ॥

1626. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitani' (V. 1. 5. S. 1665), the affix यत् bears rule.

*Note* :—Thus in the next sūtra बहुवृत्ति रथयुगप्रासङ्ग्यम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथ्यः, युग्यः, प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

१६२७ । तद्धृति रथयुगप्रासङ्ग्यम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथं वहति रथ्यः । युग्यः । यस्मान्नं वपनकाले स्कन्धे यत् क्वाद्यनास्रयति स प्रासङ्ग्यः । स पठति प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

1627. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsaṅga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथ्यः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break', प्रासङ्ग्यः is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking.

*Note* :—This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as वरधरथ्यः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 S. 1501, 1503, also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or योहू therefore रथस्य योहू will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. S. 1500 read with IV. 3. 121, S. 1501 in special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Drigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 88 1. S. 1080.

Thus ह्ये रथो वहति = द्विरथ्यः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121, S. 1501. The word युग्य has been already formed by the hit affix (III. 1. 121, S. 2873), that युग्य differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ह्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156 S. 3499, ययुर्ध्वम् will be finally scate when formed by यत् ॥ The word युग्य must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युग्य वहति राधा काले द्वावर्त वा ॥

१६२८ । युगे यद्दको । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

रथि चति चयं प्रागे ॥

1628. The affixes यक् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction.

Thus धुरं धेहि = धुर्यः (formed by यक्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 S. 354. is prevented by the next sūtra, because धुर is a Bha-stem, or धैर्य (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'a beast of burden'.

*Note* :—This sūtra might have stood as धुरे ढक् च, for यक् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75. S. 1626.

१६२८ । न भ कुर्तुराय । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

नस्य कुर्तुरीकोपधाया दीर्घो न स्यात् । धुरेः । धैर्यः ॥

1629. The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77. S. 354, when the Nominal stem ending in र or ण् is called Bha (i. e. when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and कुर ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुरे वदति IV. 4. 77. S. 1628 or धुरि साधुः) ॥ Or धैर्यः with dhak.

*Note* :—Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र or ण्? Observe प्रतिदीक्षा, प्रतिदीक्षे ॥ For here the stem which ends in ण् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in ण् but in र् ॥

१६३० । नः सर्वधुराय । ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुरे वदति सर्वधुरीणः ॥

1630. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurā', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वदति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475).

*Note* :—The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्व + धुर (II. 1. 49 S. 726), the samāhanta ख being added by V. 4. 74 S. 910. The word धुरः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26 S. 812. The word सर्वधुराय in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal stem or pratipadika equal to सर्वधुस् ॥

१६३१ । एकधुराल्लुक्च । ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुरे वदति एकधुरीणः । एकधुरः ॥

1631. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhura' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरं वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥

Note:—The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकं धुरं वहति) to which is added the samāsanta व and then the affix ख ॥

१६३२ । शकटादख् । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकटं वहति शाकटो योः ॥

1632. The affix खण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car.

Note:—This could be evolved by सत्वेदम् खण् as शकटस्य वोह् = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as हे शकटे वहति = हे शाकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88 .B. 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीराहठक् । ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हलं वहति हलिकः । हेरिकः ॥

1633. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sira', in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हलिकः 'a ploughman,' हेरिकः 'a plough ox'.

Note:—The ठक् would have come by IV. 8. 124 .B. 1504 the specification, shows tadantaridhi and non-elision, as हेहालिकः, हेसीरिकः ॥

१६३४ । सहायां जन्या । ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अनी वपुः तां वहति प्रापयति अन्या ॥

1634. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus अनीं वहति = अन्याः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. अन्या 'a bride's-maid.' The word अनी means 'bride,' अन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

Kālidāsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes. As दधति चत्वारण्वरम् कन्यां ॥

१६३५ । विस्मयधनुः । ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

विस्मयधनुःपरीतये दधत्यस्य येषाम धनुः कल्पय । पारी विस्मयि पयः शार्दूलः ॥

1635. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पद्माः ( VI. 3. 53, S. 991 ) यर्कतः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles.

Note:—Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, यत्तुवा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति यत्तुवा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of यत्तुवा indicates, that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these यौरे विध्यति, यत्तुविध्यति ॥

१६३६ । धनमर्णं लब्ध्वा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

सुप्रन्तमेवम् । धनं लब्ध्वा धन्यः । मर्णं लब्ध्वा मर्ण्यः ॥

1636. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'grā,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्ध्वा = धन्यः, so also मर्ण्यः ॥ लब्ध्वा is formed from लभ् by वृत्, hence it takes the accusative.

१६३७ । अन्नाणः । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्नं लब्ध्वा आन्नः ।

1637. The affix ल् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्ध्वा = आन्नः 'fed,' 'who has obtained food.'

१६३८ । वस्तुं गतः । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वस्तुः परेष्ठातुवासी ॥

1638. The affix वत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word वासा, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वसुगमः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वसुः = कामं इच्छा सां प्राप्तः i. e. परेष्ठातुवासी ॥

१६३९ । पद्मस्मिन्तश्चयम् । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पद्मः कर्दमः । नविसुष्क इत्यर्थः ॥

1639. The affix यत् comes after the word pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन् = पदः कर्म: 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot.

Note:—So पदाः पांशवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means 'दृश्यते दृष्टुम्' this having the force of the kṛtya affix 'य' in दृश ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्यावर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आवर्हणनावर्हं उत्पादकं तदस्यावर्ह्यावर्हि । मूलमावर्हि येषां ते मूल्या पुनः ॥

1640. The affix यस् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आवर्हि from  $\sqrt{\text{वृह्}}$  'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादकं ॥ मूलमेषामावर्हि = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा पुनः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant.

Note:—According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि- and not आवर्हि with a य and not व ॥

१६४१ । संसारां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुष्यस्य पुनःपुनो यम् अथवा स्वार्थे निपात्यते संसाराय । धेनुष्या ध-२के स्थिता ॥

1641. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding युक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udātta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called वीरधुष्या ॥ As धेनुष्यं भवति वसति ॥ See Amarakosha II. 9. 72. " धेनुष्या वसति स्थिता " ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना संयुक्तं व्यः । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्गृहपतिरित्येन संयुक्ते गार्हपत्याग्निः ॥

1642. The affix घ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with,' after the word 'grihapati' in the third case in construction.

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer'. Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्य 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder.

Note:—The word गृहपत्यां of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्य- means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire is

which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakṣiṇāgnī. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

१६४३ । नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्थतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यस-  
मसमितसम्मितेषु । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

नौवा तार्थे नाप्यम् । वयसा तुल्यो वयस्यः । धर्मेण प्राप्यं धर्मम् । विधेयं वध्यो विध्यः । मूलेन  
वानाम्यं मूल्यम् । मूलेन सती मूल्यः । सीतया समितं सीत्य विचम् । तुलया सम्मितं तुल्यम् ॥

1643. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल : a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so. Thus:—

1. नौवा तार्थम् = नाप्यम् 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit, one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma'.

Note:—Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मविषये (IV. 4. 82 S. 1644) ? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.

4. विधेयं वध्यः = विध्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or "to be overpowered or bent by the root".

Note:—The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root वच् 'to bow' by the affix वच्, contrary to rule III 1. 93 S. 2844 which required वत्), means अनिमज्जनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.

6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.
7. सीतया समितं = सीत्य 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne.

*Note*:—The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāśikā. सीत्यं therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीत्, e. g. परमसीत्यं चत्तमसीत्यं, द्विसीत्यं ॥

8. तुलया समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted out by the balance'. समित means समानं, सवृत्तं ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

धर्मादनपेते धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । मध्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेते = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियाम् पथी यदनपेते तत्तु पथ्यं. न तु वत्सादयैतदर्थेः. 'wholesome diet,' ईर्ष्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.'

*Note*:—The word संज्ञार्था (IV. 4. 89 ॥ 1641) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

छन्दसा निर्मितं छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया छन्दमित्यर्थः ॥

1645. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दम् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण्यत् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

आद्यम् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र सोरसः । उरस्यः ॥

1646. The affix अण्यत् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = सोरसेः 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit. "produced through the loins." With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loins, because the word संज्ञार्था (IV. 4. 89.) governs this sūtra also.



१६४७ । हृदयस्यप्रियः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हृद्यो प्रियः । हृदयस्य हृत्वेत्येति हृदयप्रियः ॥

1647. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved', after the word 'hṛdaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः ( VI. 3. 50 S. 983 ) 'pleasant to the heart,' e. g. ॥ ये देवः हृद्यं वनम् ॥

Note :—But we cannot say हृद्यः दुःखः, the word संज्ञायां ( IV. 4. 99 S. 1641 ) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

१६४८ । बन्धने बन्धो । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

हृदयबन्धान् वषष्ठ्यन्ताह्वयने यत् स्वाह्वयेऽभिषेधे । हृदयस्य बन्धनं हृद्यो बन्धीकरणमन्वः ॥

1648. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛdaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word बन्धि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनं ॥ The word बन्धि means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनबन्धिः = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a बन्धीकरण बन्धः ॥

१६४९ । मतजनहृत्तात्करणजल्पकर्मणु । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मते ज्ञानं तस्य कर्मणं भावः साधनं वा समम् । जनस्य जल्पो जल्पः । हृत्स्य कर्मो हृत्यः ॥

1649. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata' 'jana', and 'bala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य कारणं = मतेः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. Mata means knowledge. जनस्य जल्पः = जल्पः 'a rumour'. हृत्स्य कर्मः = हृत्यः 'ploughed'.

Note :—So also विद्वन्वः, विद्वन्वः the tadanta vidhi applies रयसीतादन्तेभ्यो यद्विधीः ।

१६५० । तत्र साधुः । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अत्र साधुः समम् । साधुस्तु साधुः सामन्तः । ये आभावकर्मकारणतः प्रकृतिभावः । कर्मण्यः । सामान्यः ॥

1650. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto'.

Thus सामन्तु साधुः = सामन्तः (The अन् remains unchanged by VI. 4. 158 S. 1154) 'conversant with the Śāma-Veda'. So also कर्मण्यः, शल्यः &c. The साधुः here means प्रवीणः, or श्रेष्ठः, 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारकः 'a benefactor or a good person'.

Note :—When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्यै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

१६५१ । प्रतिजनादिभ्यः सञ्ज् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

प्रतिजनं साधुः प्रतिजनीनः । सांयुगीनः । सार्वजनीनः । वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1651. The affix सञ्ज् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars वञ् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः = प्रतिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'suitable against an adversary' or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also सांयुगीनः, सार्वजनीनः, वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजनः, 2 इष्टपुत्रः, 3 सेतुगः, 4 सनपुत्रः 5 परपुत्रः, 6 परकुलः, 7 परस्वकुलः, 8 अश्वकुलः, 9 सार्वजनः, 10 विश्वजनः, 11 महाजनः, 12 वैश्वजनः ॥

१६५२ । भक्ताण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भक्ताः शालयः ॥

1652. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta',

This debars वञ् ॥ Thus, भक्ते साधवः = भक्ताः शालयः 'rice', lit. suitable or excellent for food'.

१६५३ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०१ ॥

पारिषदः । परिषद इति योगविभागाण्यप्रति । पारिषदः ॥

1653. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishad' (as well as ण).

This debars वञ् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sūtra into two. Thus (1) परिषदः and (2) ण्यः ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council', 'a minister'.

१६५४ । कथादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १०२ ॥

कथार्या साधुः काथिकः ॥

1654. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathā' &c.

Thus कथार्या साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + टक् = कथ् + टक् VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = काय् + टक् (VII. 2. 116 S. 7282) 'a narrator of stories'.

1 कथा, ॥ विकथा, ॥ विश्वकथा ०, 4 संकथा\*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुप्रविद् (कुप्रविद्, कुप्रचिद्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनवाद, 9 ज्ञानवाद\* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संमह (सद्मह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 व्याघ्रवेदः ॥

१६५५ । गुडाविश्वस्य ॥ ४ । ४ । १०३ ॥

गुदे साधुगौडिक इष्टः । साकुको यवः ॥

1655. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guḍa &c'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुदे साधुः = गौडिक 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar', साकुः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, ॥ जलनाय, 3 सक्त, 4 सप्त, 5 मांसान्न, ॥ इष्ट, 7 वेष्ट, 8 संमान, 9 संपात, 10 संक्राम\*, 11 संवाद, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६ । पथपतिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ ४ । ४ । १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पापेयम् । आतिथेयम् । वसनं वसतिस्तथ साधुर्वसतेथी पथिः । स्वापतेथे धनम् ॥

1656. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पापेयम् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'provision for journey', आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वसनेथे 'habitable' as वसतेथी पथिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

१६५७ । सभाया यः ॥ ४ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सम्भः ॥

1657. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3 S. 3708 and VI. 1. 185). Thus सभायां साधुः = संभो 'refined' lit. fit for society.

१६५८ । समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ ४ । ४ । १०७ ॥

साधुसिद्धिं निवृत्तम् ॥ यत्नवीति वासी । समाने तीर्थे गृहे वसतांति ० तीर्थः ॥

1658. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛtti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गृह 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = यत्नवीतिः (VI. 3. 87 S. 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

१६५९ । समानोदरे शयित आ चोदात्तः ॥ ४ । ४ । १०८ ॥

समाने उदरे शयितः शिष्यतः समानोदर्यो यावा ॥

1659. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sāmānodara' in the locative construction, and the udātta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word सवितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे सवितः = समानोदरेः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88 S. 1016.

१६६० । सोदराद्यः । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सौवर्ग्यः । अर्थः प्राग्बन्धः ॥

1660. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word सवित् when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे सवित् = सोदरेः ॥ Here ओ is not udātta, as it was in the last ; the udātta here falls on स ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghāṭīyā.

# अथ तद्धितछयद्विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छः । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यतः प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661. From this sūtra forward up to 'tena-kṛitam V. 1. 37 S. 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule.

*Note* :—The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty-seven Sūtras V. 1. 1 to 37 S. 1702. Thus in the Sūtra तत्सहितं 'suitable for that', V. 1. 5 S. 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus वत्सन्धोद्विहो = वत्सीयो गोघृन्; करणीय उद्गः, अकरणीयः, अवत्सीयः ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sūtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix. As an affix, छ has no force beyond V. 1. 17, S. 1679 the affix उद्ग being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगघादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतादिविधः । उगघान्ताम्रवादिभ्यश्च यत्स्याच्छस्यपवादः । नाभि नर्मे च ० ॥ नभ्योऽस्तः । नभ्यमञ्जनम् । एषामभिवेदम् ॥ ह्यनः संवसारो वा यत् शीर्षस्य ० ॥ शय्यया शय्यः । ज्वल्योऽग्नेश्च ० ॥ कथनः ॥

1662. The affix 'yat' comes after a' prātipadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses of the affix being those taught upto Sūtra V. 1. 37 S. 1702.

The senses of Prāk-kṛitīya affixes are three, viz those taught in sūtras V. 1. 5, S. 1665 V. 1. 12 S. 1674 and V. 1. 16 S. 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

*Note* :—The words सनङ्गुः meaning 'a kind of leather', and चक्षुः 'a kind of हविः offering', and सक्तुः 'a kind of food', all end in य and are governed by this sūtra, in spite of V. 1. 15 S. 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V. 1. 4 S. 1664 and its vārtika which applies especially to 'offerings' and 'food modifications'. This is an example where a subsequent sūtra does not debar a prior sūtra (I. 4. 2). Thus सनङ्गु + यत् = सनङ्गुयं चर्म, 'leather fit for making Sanangu', चक्षुः + यत् = चक्षुष्या स्तण्डुनाः 'rice fit for making chakra', सक्तु + यत् = सक्तुष्या घनाः 'barley fit for making Saktu'.

**Gaṇa Sātra** :—नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added. Thus नाभये हितः = नभयः meaning अक्षः 'axis, axle' lit. 'fitted for the navel of the wheel'; or a wood fit to be made the nave of a wheel or घृत्तनम् the grease.

**Note** :— When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V. 1. 6 S. 1666. In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि; e. g. नाभि + यत् = नभयम् 'suitable for navel' i. e. oil.

**Gaṇa Sātra** :—The word इवम् takes samprasāraṇa, व being changed to ष, and optionally this ष is lengthened; and the udātta accent falls on the final. As इवम् + यत् = इव्यम् or इव्यम् + यत् = इव्यम् fit for a dog. Contrary to Vl. 4. 144, the व् of इवम् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

**Gaṇa Sātra** :—The final of the word कथम् is replaced by अनङ्; e. g. कथम् + यत् = कथ + अन + य = कथन्या कूपः 'a well'.

1 नी, 2 इविम्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विष, 5 अहिम्, 6 अटका, 7 रघवा (स्वरा), 8 पुग, 9 वेधा 10 कुच (सूत), 11 नाभि नभं च, 12 छनः संप्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वं तत्संमित्येव च आलोचनम् 13 कथसोऽनङ्, 14 कथ, 15 खर, 16 खर (खर), 17 खर 18 अक्षर, 19 अक्षर (अक्षर; अक्षर) 20 खर, 21 वेह, 22 बीज, 23 बीज (बीज) 24 स्कन् ॥

१६६३ । कम्बलायाः संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

यत्स्यात् । कम्बल्यपूर्णपञ्चशतम् । संज्ञार्थं क्षिप् । कम्बलीया कर्णा ॥

1663. The affix यत् comes in the Prak-kṛtīya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debars 'chha'. Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्येः 'A kambalya-measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool. This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यपूर्णपञ्चशतम् ॥

Why do we say संज्ञायाम्? Observe कम्बलीया कर्णा "wool" lit. 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४ । विमाषा हविरपूषादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आमिक्ष्यं दधि । आमिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाशस्तद्वजः । पुरोडाशीयाः । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664. The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'firing,' and after "apūpa &c," in the sense of Prak-kṛtīya.

Thus आमिक्ष्यं दधि, "fit for making आमिक्षा" i. e. curd :—or आमिक्षीयं with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाशः or पुरोडाशीया स्तद्वजः, 'suitable for making Purodāśa' i. e. a kind of rice.

**Note** :— The word हवि occurs in the गवाहि class (V. 1. 2. S. 1662) and it necessarily takes यत् there being no option. The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrificio-offerings, and not the word-form 'havi'.

So also after अपूप्यादि. as अपूप्यम् or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 मायूः, 2 मण्डलः, 3 (अभूष), 4 अभोष, 5 अतोष, 6 अभोष, 7 पृथुकः, 8 भोपन, 9 सप, 10 पूष, 11 किण्व, 12 प्रशीष, 13 पुषल, 14 कटक, 15 कर्णवेष्टक, 16 इर्गल, 17 अर्गल, 18 मन्त्राधिकारिभ्यश्च, 19 यूपः, 20 ल्यूणा, III शीष (पीष), 22 अभ्य, 23 एष, 24 कट, 25 अयः स्थूलः.

*Gana Sūtra* :—The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food : such as सक्तु ॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed. See V. 1. 2 S. 1662.

१६६५ । तस्मै हितम् । ५ । १ । ५ ॥

वस्तीभ्यो हितो वस्तीभ्यो गोघृक् । घृक्ने हितं घृक्ण्यं शर । गन्धम् । दृविष्यम् ॥

1665. An affix comes after a word in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that.'

Thus वस्तीभ्यो हितो गोघृक् = वस्तीभ्यः 'fit for calves' i.e. a cow-milker. So also घृक्ने हितं = घृक् + यत् = घृक्ण्य (VI. 4. 146, S. 347. VI. 1. 79 S. 63). As घृक्ण्यं शर, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गन्धम्; दृविष्यम् ॥

१६६६ । शरीरावयवायत् । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

ईन्द्रयम् । कण्ठ्यम् । \* मन्त्रात्मिकायाः ॥ वस्त्वम् । दाश्वम् ॥

1666. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body.

The word शरीर means animal organism. This debars छ, thus, ईन्द्रयम् 'good for the teeth.' कण्ठ्यम्, औष्ठ्यम्, नाभ्यम्, नैस्यम् such as dentifrice, snuff, oil &c. See VI. 1. 213.

*Vart* :—The यत् is substituted for सञ्ज्ञिका only when the affixes यत् and तत्, and the word छुद्र follow : as, वस्त्वम्, वस्त्वः, मन्त्रात्मिकाः ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 S. 1430 and V. 1. 6 S. 1666; तत् is taught in V. 4. 45 S. 2126.

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरस् is replaced by शीर्षम् before यत् by the next sūtra.

१६६७ । ये स तद्धिते । ६ । १ । ६१ ॥

यावो तद्धिते १रे शिरश्चक्षुष्य शीर्षादेशः स्वात् । शीर्षण्यः । तद्धिते किम् । शिर इष्टानि शिरस्यन्ति ॥ वा केचोपु ० ॥ शीर्षण्यः शिरस्याः वा केचाः । यत्ति शीर्षे इति याज्वाल्क्यः ॥ अजा तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षादेशः । स्थूलशिरस्य इत् स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

1667. There is the substitution of शीर्षम् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षम् is understood here, from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरम् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यं हि द्रुमो भवति, शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यत् is here add

by V. 1. 11 S. 1666. The word क्षीर्षन् retains its original form before this affix वन्, the final न् not being replaced by anything else ( VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe किं इच्छति किरस्याति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

*Vart* :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As क्षीर्षयाः केशाः or किरस्याः केशाः ॥

*Vart* :—There is the substitution of क्षीर्ष for किरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिकिरसोऽपत्ये = हस्तिक्षीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इज् ( IV. 1. 96 S. 1096 ). So also व्यूलकिरस इदम् = व्यूलक्षीर्षम् ॥

*Note* :—Had the word been क्षीर्षन् ( instead of क्षीर्ष as taught herein ) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms ( VI. 4. 168 S. 1154 )— Again in forming the feminine of हस्तिक्षीर्षिः by adding व्यङ् ( IV. 1. 78 S. 1198 ), arises this difficulty :—व्यङ् ( य ) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हस्तिक्षीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the क्षीर्षि into क्षीर्षन् ( for क्षीर्षन् being the substitute of किरस is *prima facie* a substitute of क्षीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61 S. 1687 ). The form which we get will be this, हस्तिक्षीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हस्तिक्षीर्षिन् + य ( VI. 1. 61 S. 1687 ) = हस्तिक्षीर्षिण्या ( VI. 4. 168 S. 1154 ) But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हस्तिक्षीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हस्तिक्षीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हस्तिक्षीर्षिः + य ( the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपविद्य ) ॥ Now this ādeśa becomes āthānitā to य, thus the affix य not being directly applied to क्षीर्षि, because this zero intervenes, क्षीर्षि is not replaced by क्षीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, S. 1687, for it is not followed by an affix beginning with य but by a zero āthānitā to इज् affix.

१६६८ । खलयवमाफतिलवृषब्रह्मणम् । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय किलं खल्यम् । यव्यम् । माष्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ब्रह्मण्यम् । पात्र्यम् ॥

1668. The affix य् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'māsha,' 'tila,' 'vrisha' and 'brahmana.'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor". So also वृष्यम्, माष्यम्, तिल्यम्, यव्यम्, or ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥

*Note* :—No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृष्यो दितम् । माष्योऽदो दितम् ; the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor य् though वृष्य is = वृष्यन् and ब्रह्मण्य is = ब्रह्मण्यन् ॥

The word य् in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated. Thus रथाय दितम् = रथ्यम् ॥

१६६९ । अजाविष्ट्यां ध्यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥



मज्जया वृधिः । अविध्या ॥

1669. The affix **व्यन्** comes in the senses of 'good for that,' after the words 'aja' and 'avi.'

This debars 'cbha.' Thus मज्जया वृधिः 'the yellow jasmine called yāthi.' अविध्या वृधिः ॥

१६७० । आत्मन्विभ्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्तः । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

1670. The affix '**kha**' comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the words 'ātman,' and 'viśvajana' and after compounds having the word 'bhoga' as their second term.

This debars क ॥ In the sūtra, the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise. It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sūtra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakṛiti. Thus आत्मन् + ख = आत्मनीयम् 'suitable for one's self' the न् of ātman, which required to be elided by VI. 4. 149 ॥ 679, is saved by the next sūtra.

१६७१ । आत्माध्यानी खे । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

एतौ खे मकला स्तः । आत्मने हितमात्मनीयम् । विश्वजनीयम् । कर्मधारयोद्देश्यम् ॥ वृद्धी-  
स्तु कृषाद्गुप्तिद्वयं क् एव । विश्वजनीयम् ॥ वञ्चजनादुपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ वञ्चजनीयम् ॥ सर्वजनादुद्-  
खम् \* ॥ सार्वजनिकः । सर्वजनीनः । महाजनादुद् \* । माहाजनिकः । साधुभोगीनः । विभु भोगीयः ।  
राजनीयिनः ॥ आपादार्थिगत्वं च \* ॥ आपादार्थीनीनः ॥

1671. The final of the stems आत्मन् and अज्घन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः ( V. 1. 9. S. 1670 ).

Note :—आधानेनलङ्कानी ( V. 2. 16 S. 1817 )-अज्घनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यासत्तम् and प्राप्तात् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix इच् added to the avyayibhāva ( V. 4. 108 S. 678 ), and the latter by जच् ( V. 4. 85 S. 958 ).

So also विश्वजनीयम् 'suitable for all men.' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhāraya compound, meaning 'all men,' for the application of this rule; when it is a Tatpuruṣa or a Bahuvrīhi compound, it will take क ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हितं = विश्वजनीयम् 'beneficial for man-kind.'

Vārt :—So also after Karmadhāraya Compound वञ्चजन, च, छ, वञ्चजनीयम्, otherwise वञ्चजनियम् ॥

Vārt :—After the Karmadhāraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes क्ख and ख, as सर्वजनीनं and सर्वजनिकम् ; otherwise सर्वजनीयम् ॥

Vārt :—The affix क्ख comes always after the word मलजन whether it be a Karmadhāraya or a Tatpuruṣa, but not so when it is a Bahuvrīhi Com-

pound. As महाजनय दितं महाजनिकं ॥ In a Bahuvrīhi it will be महाजनयः with छ ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix स्य, as, मातृभोगीशः and पितृभोगीशः ॥ The word भोग means 'body. But माषीशः and पिचीशः with छ, when the word भोग does not follow.

*Vādī* :—The words राज्ञा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix स्य, as राजभोगीनः and आचार्यभोगीनः ॥

*Gaṇa sūtra* :—In the case of आचार्यभोगीनः the च is not changed into ज (VIII. 4. 2.) The words do not take the affix स्य when used singly. As, राज्ञोदितम्, आचार्यस्य दितम्, no affix being employed.

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णट्त्वौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वोपज्ञो वेति वक्तव्यम् ० सर्वस्यै हिंसे सार्वध । सर्वधिव् ॥ पुरुषादधविकारत्तन्मूहतेनकृतेषु ० ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगासंगेस्तस्य इन्द्रमध्ये दिवेद्यः । पुरुषस्य वधः पौरुषेद्यः । सत्यदमिदमि प्राप्ति । पुरुषस्य विकारः पौरुषेद्यः । प्राणिरजसादिशोऽम् इत्यादि प्राप्ति । समूहेऽप्यसि प्राप्ति । एकाकिनीऽपि परितः पौरुषेद्यवृत्ता इवेति नाथ । तेनकृतेष्वन्येऽर्थे प्राप्ति अथन्ये तु प्रासादावावप्राप्त एवेति विवेकाः ॥

1672. The affixes ण् and ट्त्व come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'puruṣa'.

*Vādī* :—The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्यैदित = सर्वस्यध or सार्वध ॥

*Vādī* :—The affix ट्त्व comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means, 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'.

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahābhāṣya.

Thus पुरुषस्यवध = पौरुषेद्यः 'man-slaughter.' Here ण् (IV. 3. 120. S. 1500) is debarred. So also पुरुषस्य विकारः = पौरुषेद्यः "human." Here ण् (IV. 3. 154. S. 1532) is debarred.

Similarly in the sense of समूहः "crowd," as in the following line of Māgha;—

एकाकिनीऽपि परितः पौरुषेद्यवृत्ता इव ॥ Here also the ण् of सत्य समूहः is debarred.

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix ण् would have come, but this debar it. When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sūtra applies, and this ordains ट्त्व as a vidhi. Thus पौरुषेद्यो ग्रन्थ "a human book", as opposed to अपौरुषेद्यो वेदाः "the non-human Vedas". So also पौरुषेद्यः प्रासादः "a man-built palace."

१६७३ । मानवचरकाभ्यां णट्त्वौ । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

मानवाय दितं मानवीनम् । चारकीनम् ॥

1673. The affix ण् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'mānava', and 'charaka'.

This debars छ. As माखवाय द्वितं=माखवीनम्. So also चारकीनम्.

१६७५। तदर्थविकृतेः प्रकृतौ। ५। १। १२॥

विकृतिषाचकाद्यतुल्यन्तात्तदर्थ्यां प्रकृतौ वाच्यायां छप्रत्ययः स्यात्। अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयणि काहानि। प्राकारीय इत्याः। अङ्गुल्यं वारम्॥

1674. After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that.

Note.—The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product. The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive'. तदर्थे 'serviceable for that' i. e. the primitive being serviceable for the product. The word तदर्थे shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else. That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a particular product and nothing else. The word तदर्थे shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added. Some read the words तदर्थे द्वितं also into this sūtra.

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो द्वितानि इत्यादि काहानि—अङ्गारीयणि काहानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal'; so also प्राकारीय इत्याः 'bricks serviceable for making a wall'. Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V. 1, 1. 8. 1661. Similarly अङ्गुल्यं वारम् 'wood serviceable for a spear'.

Note.—Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto'? Observe वधानां धानाः, धानानां वसवः॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but वसवः is the product also of other things than धानाः such as लवणं &c.

Why do we say विकृतेः 'after a product'? Observe उदकार्थः कुवः, there is no affix. For कुवः 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति i. e. material cause and effect. As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed.

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive.' Observe अस्वधौ कोधी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword'. The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword.

By using the words प्रकृतौ and विकृति it is further shown that the primitive is liable to modification or vikṛti.

१६७५। छदिरुपधिवलेर्दञ्। ५। १। १३॥

छादिष्वेयाणि नृणाणि। बालेयस्त्वष्ट्राः॥ उपविशन्तास्त्वर्थे इत्यन्ते॥ उपधीयते इत्युपधीः रपाङ्गं तदेव औपधीयम्॥

1675. The affix ञ comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'cbhadis,' 'upadhi', and 'bali' denoting the product.

This debars छ. Thus छादिष्वेयाणि नृणाणि, बालेयस्त्वष्ट्राः॥

*Ishli*:—The affix comes after the word उपाधि without changing the sense. उपधियन् दशुपधिः=दशपद्म part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself. The word औपधेयम् also means the same.

१६७६ । ऋषभोपापानहोऽर्थः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

हस्तपत्रादयः । आधेभ्यो वक्षः । औपानहो ह्रजः । अर्धव्ययमेव पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । औपानह्ये चर्मे ॥

1676. The affix ड्य comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'rīṣabha' and 'upānah' denoting the products.

This debars छ ॥

○ Thus आधेभ्यो वक्षः औपानहो ह्रजः ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather' चर्म, the affix 'nya' will come after उपानह debarring by anticipation the धम् of V. 1. 15. S. 1677. Thus औपानह्ये चर्मे ॥

१६७७ । चर्मोऽर्थः । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मो वा विकृतिकृतापकारम् स्यात् । वधौ हर्दे वाच्ये चर्मे । वारधे चर्मे ॥

1677. The affix ञ् comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather.

The word चर्मन् in the aphorism is in the genitive case. This ञ् debars छ ॥ Thus वाच्ये चर्मे and वारधे चर्मे a leather serviceable for making ■ 'vārdhā' and 'vāratra' i. e. a leather thong.

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

प्राकार प्रासादितकानां स्यात्प्राकारिषा इत्यतः । प्रासादीये वाह । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्यात् प्राकारिषो देशः । इतिवाच्यो लौकिको विषयामनुसारयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादे देवदत्तस्य स्यादिति ॥

1678. The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syāt';—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein

*Net*:—The word सद् shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words अस्य 'of it' and अस्मिन् 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word स्यात् 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word इति, is for the sake of distinctness.

Thus प्राकार प्रासादितकानां स्यात्=प्राकारिषा इत्यतः 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall'. So also प्रासादीये वाह ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन्नेति स्यात्=प्राकारिषो देशः 'place sufficient to make a wall therein'. प्रासादीया भूमिः ॥

*Note* :—The word स्यात् being in the Potential Mood (विधिलिङ्) of भव् 'to be', has the force of संभावच् 'potentiality, sufficiency' as given in Sūtras III. 3. 154. S. 2811 &c. Such as when the large number of bricks makes it possible to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it possible to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादोऽस्मिन्नेषे स्यात् ॥

In the examples under this sūtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sūtra V. 1. 12. S. 1674. The examples under this sūtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose. Herein lies the difference between this sūtra and the previous ones.

The repetition of the word च्त् twice in this sūtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim: अनेकस्मिन् प्रत्ययार्थे प्रत्येकं स्वार्थं विभक्तः संबन्धनविधः 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case.'

Why there is no affixing in this case: प्रासादे देवदत्तस्य स्वात्? The use of स्वात् in the Sūtra would prevent this, the force of स्वात् being that the classical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives.

१६७६ । परिक्षाया छ्त् । ५ । १ । १७ ॥

परिक्षेयी भूमिः ॥

1679. The affix छ्त् comes, after the word 'parikhā' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'.

This debars छ ॥ Thus परिक्षेयी भूमिः 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'.

Up to this Sūtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and च्त्. Hereafter another affix will be taught.

Here ends the chapter on छ and च्त् affixes.

# अथ तद्धितार्हीय प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE ARHIYA AFFIXES.

१६८० । प्राग्वन्नेष्टञ् । ५ । १ । १८ ॥

तेन तुल्यमिति वति वक्ष्यति तसः प्राक् ङम् अधिक्रियते ॥

1680. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 115 S. 1778. (excluding that) the affix ङम् bears rule.

*Note* :—The affix ङम् governs all the succeeding sūtras upto तेन तुल्यमिति वति, and has the senses given to it in Sūtras V. 1. 37 S. 1702 &c. Strictly speaking the affix ङम् governs only upto V. 1. 110 S. 1773 and not upto 116. Thus in V. 1. 72, the affix ङम् must be read ; as पारायणिकः, वीरायणिकः, पान्थयणिकः ॥

१६८१ । आर्हीवगोपुच्छसंख्यापारिमाणदृक् । ५ । १ । १९ ॥

सर्वार्हीवैतदभिध्याप्य ङम् अधिकारमध्ये ङम् ओऽपवादमधिक्रियते गोपुच्छार्हीवर्जविषया ॥

1681. Upto Sûtra V. 1. 63 S. 1728 inclusive, the affix दृक् bears rule, 'with the exception of the word 'gopuchchha', or a Numeral, or a word denoting a measure of capacity.

*Note* :—Strictly speaking दृक् governs upto sūtra V. 1. 65. S. 1730. The word आर्हीव is made up of आ + र्हीव । The force of आ here is अनिश्चये or inclusive, so that in the Sûtra सर्वार्हीव (V. 1. 63.) also, the दृक् will be employed. The affix दृक् debars ङम् ॥ The sense will be the same as given in V. 1. 37 S. 1702. &c. the difference between दृक् and ङम् being in accent only. Thus निष्कया कृति-वैष्णविकम् । So also पारिकम् ॥

१६८२ । असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । २० ॥

आर्हीवैतत्तेन अत्रैतमिति यावत्सप्तम्यष्टम्यामनुष्यते । निष्कादिभ्योऽसमासे दृक् स्यादर्हीवै-  
वर्धयेत् । वैष्णविकम् । वनसि । तु ङम् ॥

1682. The affix दृक् comes after the words निष्क &c, when they are not parts of a compound, the sense of the affix being that taught in the subsequent sūtras upto V. 1. 63, S. 1702.

The word आर्हीव is understood in the sūtra also. This दृक् debars ङम्  
Thus वैष्णविकम् ॥

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix डञ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + डञ् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

Note 1:—The following series are nishkādi words :—1 निष्क, 2 पाय, 3 पाद, 4 भाग, 5. राह; 6. द्रोण; 7. पति ॥ Drona denotes measure, śhaśhṭi denotes numeral and would have taken डञ् ॥

१६८३। परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाखयोः ३। ३। १७ ॥

इत्तरपञ्चभिः स्यात् मिवासे ॥ परमनिष्कः । नक्षमासमर्थं ज्ञापकं भवति । इतः प्राक् सङ्ख्यविधिरिति । तेन सुगन्धम् । खपापूज्यमित्यादि ॥ इतः कर्त्तुं तु संख्यापूर्वपदानां सङ्ख्यमहर्षं मान्यतेरिष्यते नद्याज्ञाते ॥ पारायणिकः । द्वैपारायणिकः । अलुपति किम् । हायां शर्वाभ्यां क्रीते द्वियुग्मः । द्वियुगेन क्रीते शर्वाभ्यां वा भूम् । किं तु डञ् । द्वियुगैकम् ॥ 'संज्ञा' इति लिङ् । पञ्चक-काया । परिमाणस्य पञ्चकस्यापिकम् । तदस्य परिमाणमिति डञ् ॥

1683. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or ङ्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

Thus परमनिष्कः ॥

The words 'asamāse etc when they are not parts of a compound' of the last sūtra are jñāpaka, indicating that in the preceding sūtras the tadanta-vidhi applied. Thus we have not only ण्ये, but सुगन्धम् also (V. 1. 2. S. 1662), not only खद्वयम् but खपापूज्यम् also (V. 1. 4. S. 1664). But in the sūtras that follow, the tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix. As पारायणिकः and द्वैपारायणिकः ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta-vidhi does not apply: as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति ।). Why do we say 'when there is no luk'. Observe हायां शर्वाभ्यां क्रीते = द्वियुग्मम् । द्वियुगेन क्रीते = द्वियुगैकम् with डञ् not अञ् ॥ V. 1. 26 S. 1691).

Why do we say 'when it is not a name?' Observe पञ्चकस्यापिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix डञ् by V. 1. 57 S. 1723

Note :—The word परिमाण in this sūtra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense. Technically परिमाण does not include संपद, etymologically it does. Pāṇini has used this word परिमाण in some sūtras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense. Thus in sūtras IV. 1. 22. S. 480, and V. 1. 19. S. 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sūtras IV. 3. 156. S. 1534 and V. 1. 57. S. 1723 the etymological sense is meant. Technically परिमाण means सर्वतो मातृ or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as प्रस्यः &c. i. e. a cubic-measure and a square measure. In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure. Technically

called प्रमाण such as a वितस्व 'a cubit' &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called उन्मूल such as पत्र, &c on the other side. In short उन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a linear measure, and a संस्व is beyond all these.

*Note* :—Q. Is not the employment of the word असमासे in the Sūtra redundant? For by the maxim महत्त्वता प्रतिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नस्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a pratipadika, does not, contrary to I. 1. 72, S. 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself;" the pratipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sūtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A. The employment of the word असमासे in this Sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधिः I. 1. 72, S. 26 applies to the previous sūtra, while in the subsequent sūtras it does not. As दण्डादिभ्यो ण् (V. 1. 2, S. 1662) the ण् applies not only to दौ &c but to words ending in दौ &c. As मय्यम् and युगय्यम्, अविभुगय्यम् ॥ Not only अपृथ्व्य, अपृथिव्य (V. 1. 4, S. 1664) but also दधापृथ्व्य, दधापृथिव्य ॥ Not only दय्य (V. 1. 6, S. 1666) but also दधय्यम् ॥

While in the sūtras subsequent to this V. 1. 20, S. 1662 the tadanta-vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhyā and that also in Sūtras upto V. 1. 115, S. 1778 and not there after aa, द्वेपारायणिकः and त्रैपारायणिकः (V. 1. 72, S. 1728). Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुङ् the tadanta-vidhi does not apply. Thus द्वाण्यं द्वाण्यं ऋति = द्वि त्स्य + ट् (V. 1. 18, S. 1680) = द्वित्स्यं, (the affix being elided by V. 1. 28, S. 1693). Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्वित्स्यं, the tadanta-vidhi will not apply. Thus द्वित्स्यं ऋति, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta-vidhi applied, we get the affix प्रम् (V. 1. 29, S. 1691) in the alternative. But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix ट्म् V. 1. 8, S. 1668, and have द्वित्स्यं ट्म् ॥ Here the affix ट्म् is not elided by V. 1. 28, S. 1693 as there is no Drigu compounding. The above rule is summarised in the following śloka प्राचक्षेः सय्यपूर्ववर्णां तदन्तमहणमलुङि ॥

१६८४। अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा। ७। ३। २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणस्यापस्तोत्रपरदस्यदेरथो वृद्धिः पूर्ववदस्य ॥ वा मिति मिति किति च।  
अर्धद्वौनेन द्वीत्य अर्धद्वौनीकम्। अर्धद्वौनीकम् ॥

1684. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative स्, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धद्वौनीकम् or अर्धद्वौनीकम्, with ट्म् (V. 1. 18.).

*Note* :—Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe अर्धकोटिकम् only (— अर्धकोटिः प्रयोगवदस्य ) ॥



१६८५ । नातः परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

मार्धपरस्य परिभाषाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपरस्य तु वा विज्ञाते । मार्धप्राथम्यम् । सार्धप्राथम्यम् ॥ अतः किम् सार्धकौडाधिकम् । तपरः किम् । मार्धस्यार्थो भवः सार्धस्यारी । सार्धस्यारीभार्य इत्यत्र वृद्धिनिमित्तमिति पुंवङ्गावनिविधौ न स्यात् ॥

1685. When the first vowel of the second member preceded by **अर्थ** and denoting mass is short **अ**, the **Vṛiddhi** is not substituted for this **अ**, before a **Taddhita** affix having an indicative **अ**, **इ**, or **ऊ**; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. **अर्थ**) ॥

Thus **मार्धप्राथम्यकः** or **सार्धप्राथम्यकः** (V. 1. 18 S. 1680) ॥ **मार्धकौलिकः** or **सार्धकौलिकः** ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short **अ**'? Observe **मार्धकौडाधिकः** ॥ Why 'short **अ**'? Observe **मार्ध सार्धार्थं भवः = सार्धस्यारी** ॥ Here **Vṛiddhi** is substituted for the **आ** of **स्यारी**, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For **मार्धस्यारी** being formed by a **Taddhita** affix causing **Vṛiddhi** in forming a **Bahuvrīhi** compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. S. 840 ॥ **मार्धस्यारीभार्यः** (= **मार्धस्यारीभार्यामस्य**) (**वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च वृद्धित्वस्य** &c.)

**Notes**—Wherever **Vṛiddhi** is prohibited with regard to a **Taddhita** affix, that affix cannot be called **वृद्धिनिमित्त**, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a **Bahuvrīhi** compound referring to a male person **वैद्याकरणी भार्यो अस्य = वैद्याकरणीभार्यः** ॥ The word **वैद्याकरण** ॥ formed by prohibition of **Vṛiddhi**. See VII, 8, 3.

१६८६ । शताच्च उभयतामशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

शतेन कीलं दत्तिकम् । शतम् । अशते किम् । शतं परिमाणस्य शतकः सक्तः । इदं प्रत्ययार्थो वस्तुतः । प्रत्ययार्थान्निमित्तम् । तेन उभयतः न किंतु कनेव । असमाप्त इत्येव । द्विशतेन कीलं द्विशतकम् ॥

1686. The affix **हन्** and **यद्** come in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word **शत** when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred'

The word **सार्धहन्** V. 1. 19 S. 1681 is understood here also. These affixes **हन्** and **यद्** debar the affix **कच्** V. 1. 22 S. 1687. Thus **शतेन कीलम् = शतम्** or **दत्तिकम्** 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'.

Why do we say **अशते** 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe **शतपरिमाणस्य = शतकं परिमाणम्** 'a bard whose measure is hundred'. The word **अशते** qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible; for the word **शत** as a base must always mean 'a hundred'. The following examples will illustrate the meaning; **शतमशतम्** **शतमशतम्** **शतमशतम्**

शतकः 'a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas'. In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛiti) and the sense of the affix (pratyayārtha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix. For शतकः is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शतं 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part. Similarly शतको गौसंघः 'a herd of cows hundred in number'. Here the संघः essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not इन् or शन् (V, 1. 58). But not so in the case of शतं चाटकशतं, शतिकां चाटकशतं, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence, and not discovered merely from the word. Hence the following Vārtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽप्यशतस्येऽप्रतिषेधः ।

The word च in the sūtra draws in the word शतनासे from the previous sūtra. Thus द्वौ च शतं च = द्विशतं, द्विशतेन कीले = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins'. Here the affix is कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. So विशतकम् ॥ According to the lūṭi given in the Sūtra VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 the tadanta-vidhi applies here.

१६८७ । संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

संख्यायाः कन् स्वावाहीविऽर्थे ननु सन्तस्यन्तायाः । पञ्चभिः क्रीतः पञ्चकः । बहुकः । सन्तायास्तु सावधिकः । शतन्तायाः आत्यारिशतकः ॥

1687. The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with ति or शन्, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728.

The word आहीन् is to be read into this sūtra also. The word संख्या is defined in I 1. 23 S. 258. This कन् debars इन् ॥ Thus पञ्चभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चकः, बहुकः, शतकः ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in ति or शन्'? Observe आतिशतकः, आत्यारिशतकः formed by इन् ॥

१६८८ । चतोरिद्धा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

चतुरन्तात्कन इद्धा स्यात् । सावधिकः । सावकः ॥

1688. 'The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with चत् takes optionally the augment इद्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V. 1. 62.

The words ending in चत् are संख्या; see I. 1. 23 : and would consequent take कन् by V. 1. 22. The present sūtra ordains the optional affixing of इद् to this कन् ॥ Thus सावल्हः Or सावलिकः ॥

१६८९ । विंशतिर्विशद्व्यां इयुत्तसङ्ख्यायाम् । ५ । १ । २४

विंशतिनामः कर्तव्यः । आश्रयां कन् स्यात् । शतेश्चायां इयुत्त स्यात्कनोऽपवादः । विशतः विशतः । सङ्ख्यायां न विशद्व्याम् । विशद्व्याम् ॥

1689. The affix **इवुन्** comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728. after the words 'Vinśati' and 'triṅśat' when it does not denote a Name: ann the **ति** and **अत्** of the base are dropped before this affix.

The affix **कन्** will be added by dividing the sūtra into two : viz: ( 1 ) **विंशतिर्विंशद्भा** ( 2 ) **इवुन्संज्ञायाम्** ; the meanings being ( 1 ) the affix 'Kan' is added to **vinśati** and **triṅśat** ; ( 2 ) The affix **इवुन्** is added to the same words, when not denoting a name.

Thus **विंशति + इवुन्** = **विंश + अक** ( VI. 4. 142 S. 844 ) = **विंशकः**, **विंशत + इवुन्** = **विंश + अक** ( VI. 4. 143 S. 316 ) = **विंशकः** ॥

When not denoting a Name **विंशतिकः** **विंशकः** formed by affix **कन्** V. 1. 22.

१६९० । कंसादित् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

टी क्रीडार्थः । इकार उच्चारणार्थः । कंसिकः । कंसिकी ॥ अर्थादिति वक्तव्यम् ० ॥ अर्थिकः । अर्थिकी ॥ कार्यापणद्विगन्तव्यं प्रतिपद्यमानं वा ० ॥ कार्यापणिकः । कार्यापणिकी । मत्तिकः । मत्तिकी ॥

1690. The affix **दित्** comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word **कंस** ॥

This debars **इम्**, the anubandha **दि** of **दित्** shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by **क्रीद्** ( IV. 1. 15 S. 470 ). The **इ** of **दि** is for the sake of pronunciation, the **व्** of **दित्** is for accent ( VI. 1. 197 S. 3686 ). Thus **मत्तिकः** fem **मत्तिकी** ॥

*Vart* :—So also it must be stated after the word **अर्थः** ; e. g. **अर्थिकः** **अर्थिकी** ॥

*Vart* :—So also after the word **कार्यापण**, e. g. **कार्यापणिकः** fem. **कार्यापणिकी** ॥ Sometimes the word **मत्ति** is substituted for **कार्यापण** before this affix, as **मत्तिकः**, fem. **मत्तिकी** ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शूर्पम्, शूर्पिकम् ॥

1691. The affix **अञ्** comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the word 'śūrpa'.

This debars **इम्** which comes in the alternative. As, शूर्पण क्रीतं = शूर्पेण or शूर्पिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एभ्योऽन् रसादन्मूढकानामपवाहः । शतमानेभ्यः क्रीतं शतमानम् । वैश्वगिर्यम् । सहस्रम् । वासनम् ॥

1692. The affix अण् comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the words 'śatamāna', 'viṃśatikā', 'śahasra', and 'vasana'.

This debars टम्, ठक् and कम् ॥ Thus घतमानेन क्रीतं = घतमानम्, so also वैशानिकम्, साहसम् and वासनम् ॥

१६९३ । अघ्यर्धपूर्वादिगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २८ ॥

अघ्यर्धपूर्वादिगोश्च परस्मार्हायस्व लुक् स्यात् । अघ्यर्धकंसम् । द्विकंसम् । संज्ञायां तु पाठ्यकलाधिकम् ॥

1693. The affix having the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728, is elided by लुक्, after a stem beginning with the word adhyardha, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name.

The word आर्हात् is understood here also. Thus अघ्यर्धकंसम्, द्विकंसम्, अघ्यर्धपूर्वम्, द्विपूर्वम्, त्रिकंसम्, त्रिपूर्वम् ॥ Here the affixes टिङ् and अण् are elided.

Note :—Though in the word द्विपूर्वम् &c. the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II. 1. 51, S. 728) such as in हाभ्यां शूर्पायां क्रीतं = द्विपूर्वम् ॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound. But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as द्विपूर्वेण क्रीतं = द्विपूर्विकम् ॥ Hence the following rule : द्विगोर्लुकि सन्निमित्तमदणम् ॥ See IV. 1. 88, V. 1. 20.

Why do we say अन्तज्ञायाम् 'when not a Name'? Observe पांचलोदितिकम् or पंचलोदितिकम् and पांचकलाधिकम् being names of certain measures. The feminine word लोहिनी is changed into the masculine by the Vārtika मस्यदि सन्निमित्ते given under VI. 3. 35. The lohini is the red seed with which gold &c. is weighed.

Note :—The word अघ्यर्धं is a Saṅkhyā (See I. 1. 23, S. 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound. Its separate mention in this sūtra may appear superfluous. It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jālpaka) that this word is not always a Saṅkhyā. Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix कृत्वम् (V. 4. 17, S. 2085) this word is not a saṅkhyā.

१६९४ । विभाषा कार्पापणसहस्राभ्याम् । ५ । १ । २९ ॥

लुक् स्यात् । अघ्यर्धकार्पापणम् । अघ्यर्धकार्पापणिकम् । द्विकार्पापणम् । द्विकार्पापणिकम् । श्रापसंख्यानिकम् टिङ्गं लुक् । पठे अघ्यर्धवसिकम् । द्विपतिकम् । अघ्यर्धसहस्रम् । अघ्यर्धसाहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् । द्विसाहस्रम् ॥

1694. The affix having the senses taught up to V. 1. 63, S. 1728 is optionally luk-elided, after the words kārshāpāṇa, and sahasra, when they are preceded by adhyardha or are members of a Dvigu compound.

This sūtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sūtra. Thus अघ्यर्द्धकार्षापणम् or अघ्यर्द्धकार्षापणिकं द्विकार्षापणम् or द्विकार्षापणिकम्, here the affix द्विङ् (V. 1. 25 S. 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other. When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षापण (V. 1. 25. S. 1690) अघ्यर्द्धपणिकम्. द्विपणिकम् ॥

So also after the word सहस्र. e. g. अघ्यर्द्धसहस्रम् or अघ्यर्द्धसाहस्रम्, द्विसहस्रम् or द्विसाहस्रम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vpiddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sūtra VII. 3. 15, S. 1752.

१६६५ । द्विपूर्वाभिष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

सुखा स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विपणिकम् । विनिष्कम् । विपणिकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाभेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहुपणिकम् ॥

1695. The Ārīya-affix (V. 1. 63. S. 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvi and tri.

The word द्विषोः 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V. 1. 28. S. 1693 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विपणिकम्, विनिष्कम् or विपणिकम् (VII. 3. 17. S. 1683).

Vart.—So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e. g. बहुनिष्कम् or बहुपणिकम् ॥ The irregular Vpiddhi of the second term is caused by VII. 3. 17.

१६६६ । विस्तान्नम् । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्विषबहुपूर्वादिस्तार्द्धीयस्य सुखा स्यात् । विवित्तम् । विवैस्तिकवित्तसि ॥

1696. The ārīya-affix (V. 1. 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvi or tri.

The word च in the sūtra draws in the words द्विपूर्वाम् ॥ Thus द्विद्विस्तम् or द्विवैस्तिकम् ॥

Note :—The separation of this sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१६६७ । विंशतिकात्स्यः । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अघ्यर्द्धपूर्वाद्विगोत्रित्येव । अघ्यर्द्धविंशतिकीनम् । द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

1667. The affix 'kha' (ईन्) comes in the ārīya senses. (V. 1. 37-63) after the word viṁśatika when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अघ्यर्द्धविंशतिकीनम्. द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

Note :—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V. 1. 28.

१६६८ । खारी ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अप्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारीकम् ॥ खोवलायाधेति वक्तव्यम् • ॥ खारीकम् ॥

1698. The affix *ikan* comes in the *Ārhiya* senses ( V. 1. 37-63 ), after the word *khāri*, when preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a *Dvigu*.

Thus अप्यर्धखारीकम्, द्विखारीकम् ॥

*Var.* :—So also after the word *khāri* alone, as खारीकम् ॥

१६६९ । पक्षपादमापशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अप्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अप्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पादः पादोति न । बस्थेति लोपस्य लोपविज्ञायात् । पक्षपादार्थे इत्यपि न । माप्यङ्गार्थत्वेन तत्र महजम् ॥

1699. The affix *yat* comes in the *ārhiya* senses ( V. 1. 37-63 ) after the words *paṇa*, *pāda*, *māsha* and *śata* when preceded by the word *adhyardha*, or a Numeral occasioning a *Dvigu*.

Thus अप्यर्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्, so also अप्यर्धपाद्यम्, द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414; because the elided ख of पाद is *sthānivat*.

Thus द्विपाद + यत् = द्विपाद् + ० (अ लoped by बस्थेति VI. 4. 148. S. 311) + यत् ॥ This *lopa* elided अ becomes *sthānivat* and द्विपाद् is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद् and so VI. 4. 130 S. 414 does not apply.

Nor is पाद् not changed into पद्, by VI. 3. 53. S. 991. The substitution enjoined by VI. 3. 53 takes place when पाद् means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity.

१७०० । शानाङ्गा । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्तदात्यक्षे ढम् । तस्य ङुक् । अप्यर्धशान्यम् । अप्यर्धशानम् ॥

1700. The affix *yad* comes optionally after the word *śāṇa* in the *ārhiya*-senses ( V. 1. 63 ), when it is preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a *Dvigu*.

This debars ढम् which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 Thus अप्यर्धशान्यम् or अप्यर्धशानम् ।

१७०१ । त्रिभिर्पूर्वाद्यत् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शानादित्येव । याद्यत् । तेन प्रेरणम् । पाणिग्रान्तस्या संज्ञाशानयोति त्र्युदासादादिशुद्धेरेव । द्वेराशम् । द्विपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह ढमादयस्योदरापत्यम् । बहुमास्तेषां सभर्षविमक्तयोऽप्यधाकाङ्क्षितास्तु इदानीमुच्यन्ते ॥

1701. The affix **अय्** as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word **śāpa**, in the ârīya-senses ( V. 1. 37-63 ) when preceded by the words **द्वि** and **त्रि**

The **यत्** comes optionally by the last sūtra and is also drawn into this by the word **च**. Thus we have three forms, **द्विषायम्**, **त्रिषायम्** and **द्विषायम्** ॥

Note :—The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII. 3. 15-17 S. 1752, 1754, 1663, does not however take place in the case of **शप** this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII. 3. 17. The Vṛiddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII. 2. 117.

Thus in the preceding sūtras V. I. 18. to V. I. 56. thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added. In the following sūtras are given the meanings and the construction.

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् ॥ १२ । ३७ ॥

उम् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीतं गोपुच्छिकम् । सप्तसिकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । उक् । वैष्टिकम् ॥

1702. The thirteen affixes taught in V. 1. 18-86, have the sense of " purchased with this price ", and are added to a word in the third case in construction.

The thirteen affixes **उम्**, **उक्**, **उन्**, **यत्**, **कम्**, **पुच्छ**, **विष्टम्**, **सम्**, **सप्त**, **स्थ**, **ईकम्**, **यत्**, and **ष्टम्** have already been taught. Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added. The **तेन** shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction : and **क्रीतम्** shows that the sense is that of ' purchased '. The illustrations have already been given in the previous sūtras. Some more may be mentioned here. Thus **गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम्** = **गोपुच्छिकम्** ( the accent falling on **गो** ); so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as **सप्तस्य क्रीतम्** = **सप्तसिकम्**, **प्रास्थिकम्**, **वैष्टिकम्** ॥

१७०३ । इन्द्रोण्याः । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इत्थियाचभितलुकि । लुकीऽपवादः । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभिः क्रीतः पटः पञ्चगोणिः ।

1703. The short **इ** is substituted in the place of **गोण**, when the Taddhita affix is elided by **luk**.

By the sūtra I. 2. 49. S. 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long **ई** of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word **गोणी** in which under similar circumstances the short **इ** replaces the long **ई**, as in the compound **पञ्चगोणिः** purchased for five goṇis. Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of " purchased," has been

rejected after शोणो by V. 1. 28. S. 1693 therefore by the previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

*Note* :—This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called *yoga-vibhāga*. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पंचशुभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचशुभिः दशशुभिः ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पादौ । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

संयोगः संबन्धः । उत्पादः शुभाशुभसूचकः । शक्तिकः शक्तौ वा धनवृत्तिसंयोगः । शक्तिकं शक्त्यै वा दक्षिणाक्षिस्त्वन्तम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥ धानपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शान्तकोपनघोरपक्षयानम् ॥ वातस्य शान्तं कोपनं वा वातकम् । पित्तकम् । श्लेष्मिकम् ॥ सतिपाताद्येवि दस्यम् ॥ सानिपातिकम् ॥

1704. The above affixes have further the sense of “for its sake”, when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance.

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्तं ‘cause or occasion’ gives the sense of the affix ; संयोग means ‘a connection, or relation’ ; दशशतः means ‘a portent indicative of good or bad luck.’ Thus शतस्य निमित्तं धनवृत्तिना संयोगः = ज्ञतः ‘a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred.’ So also शक्तिक, साहसम् ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तमुत्पादौ दक्षिणाक्षिस्त्वन्तम् = शतम्, शक्तिकम्, साहसम् “the twitching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred” i. e. indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c.

*Vart* :—The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating. As वातकम् ‘allaying or vitiation of windy humour.’ So also पित्तकम्, श्लेष्मिकम् ॥

*Vart* :—Also after the word सनिपात, as, सानिपातकम् ॥

१७०५ । मोक्षचोऽस्तस्यापरिमाणाश्वदेर्वत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

मोर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पादौ वा शक्त्यः । द्वापः, धन्यः । शतस्यः । स्वर्धः । मोक्षजः किम् । विजयन वैश्विकः । असंभवेत्यादि किम् । पञ्चानां पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । राशियकम् । सारीकम् । मन्त्रादि, आधिकम् । आदिमकम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षसाहस्रसंख्यानम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षस्यम् ॥

1705. After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or अश्व &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of ‘a relation or a portent for the purpose of that



This debars डम् ॥ As यो निमित्तं संयोगं स्यातो वा = वैय्यः 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow.' So also after a word of two syllables, as, वैय्यः, स्वय्यः, वसय्यः ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्व &c" ? Observe पंचानां निमित्तं = पंचकम्, सप्तकम्, अष्टकम् ; प्रास्थिकम्, खादिकम्, आम्बिकः formed by V. 1. 22, 18, 19.

*Vart*:—The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated: e. g. ब्रह्मवर्चसत्वं निमित्तं गुरुणा संयोगः = ब्रह्मवर्चसत्वं "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahmavarchasa."

1 सप्त, 2 अष्टकम्, 3 गय, 4 कर्णा, ॥ उभा, 6 मृदा (भृद् मृद्वा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वसु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ य । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

याच्छ । प्रजीयः । पुत्र्यः ॥

1706. After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that.'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken च्च by the last aphorism. This ordains छ also. Thus पुत्रस्य निमित्तं संयोगं स्यातो वा = पुत्रीयः or पुत्र्यः ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणजी । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्तं संयोगं स्यातो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः । सर्वभूमिसंज्ञोऽनुकारिकादिषु च्यते ॥

1707. The affixes अण् and अञ् are respectively added to the words sarvabhūmi and prithivī, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose".

This debars डम् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोगं स्यातो वा = सार्वभौमः, so also पार्थिवः ॥ In सार्वभौमः there is Viddhi of both members of the compound by VII. 3. 20. S. 1438.

१७०८ । तस्येश्वरः । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, are added the same affixes ण् and ञ् respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof".

*Note*:—Thus सर्वभूमेरीश्वरः = सार्वभौमः 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिवः 'the lord of the earth'.

*Note*:—The word तस्य, showing the genitive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was running into it from V. 1. 39 S. 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V. 1. 38 do not extend further.

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word ईश्वरः would have been an attribute, like the words संयोग and उत्पन्न, of the word निमित्तः ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमीश्वरः सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सार्वभौमः । आर्यवः ॥

1709. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, when the sense is that of "known therein".

The word विदितः means known, published &c. सर्वभूमौ विदितः = सार्वभौमः "known in the whole world." So also आर्यवः ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकादृम् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिकः । अनुकषिकारिणादुपपन्नशब्दः । सार्वलौकिकः ॥

1710. The affix *than* comes in the sense of 'known therein', after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction.

Thus लोके विदितः = लौकिकः, सार्वभौमिकः ॥ The irregular *Vṛiddhi* of both members takes place by VII. 3. 20 S. 1438.

१७११ । तस्य वापः । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

अथाने चस्तिनिति वापः क्षेत्रम् । प्रत्यस्य वापः प्रास्थिकम् । शैथिलिकम् । क्षारीकम् ॥

1711. The above mentioned affixes ( V. 1. 18 &c ) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'sown with so much'.

The word वापः means 'sown therein' i. e. = field. Thus प्रत्यस्य वापः क्षेत्रम् = प्रास्थिकम् 'sown with a Prastha', शैथिलिकम्, क्षारीकम्, i. e. = field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Droṇa or a Khāri.

१७१२ । पात्रात् पुन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वापः क्षेत्रं पात्रिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रमक्षिः ॥

1712. The affix *shṭhan* comes in the sense of 'sown with so much', after the word pātra.

This debars टम् ॥ The व् of पुन् is for accent ( VI. 1. 197, S. 3686 ) the प् is for लोपः ( IV. 1. 41 ). The word वापः denotes a measure of capacity. Thus पात्रस्य वापः = पात्रिकं क्षेत्रम्, sem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रमक्षिः ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्ब्रह्मायत्नाभयुत्कोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयत इत्यादि कर्मण प्रत्येकं संबन्धादेकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धिः आद्यः लाभः शुल्कम् उपदा वा दीयते पञ्चकः । शक्तिकः । श्रवः । साहसः । उत्तमर्गेण भूजातिरिक्तं प्राह्यं वृद्धिः । ग्रामादिषु स्वामि-  
ग्राह्यो भाग आद्यः । दिनेषां मूल्यासधिकं प्राह्यं लाभः । स्वानिर्वेद्यो राजमयः शुल्कः । उक्तोच उपदा ॥  
चतुर्थ्यर्थे उपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्धाविर्दीयते पञ्चको देवदत्तः । समग्रब्राह्मणे दानमितिवशिकाण-  
स्त्वधिवत्ता वा ॥

1713. The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of "an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that".

The affix is added to a word in the first case (सद्) in construction. The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्). The word दीयते 'is given' in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धिः आद्य &c. The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest. The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c. is called आद्य or rent. The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c. is called लाभ or profit. The share of the king for protection &c. is called शुल्क or tax. The present or bribe is called उपदा ॥ Thus पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धि र्वा आद्यो वा लाभो वा शुल्को वा दीयते = पञ्चकः 'that transaction &c. in which five percent is given = interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe'. Similarly श्रवः, शक्तिकः, साहसः &c.

Vart :—So also in the sense of a Dative. As पञ्चास्मै वृद्धिर्वा प्रादो वा लाभो वा उपदा दीयते = पञ्चको देवदत्तः "Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as interest &c". This Vartika may be redundant, if we take the locative = some-  
time having the force of dative also. As in the sentence समग्रब्राह्मणे दानं ॥

१७१४ । पुरस्कारादृष्टम् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

पदाकर्म उक्तविशेषोपनाहः । द्वितीयो वृद्धाविस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिकः । तृतीयिकः । चतुर्थिकः । अर्थशब्दो रूपकस्यार्थे कः ॥

1714. The affix than comes in the same sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein" after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word ardhā.

This debars उक् and ष्टम् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्धाविस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिकः, तृतीयिकः, चतुर्थिकः, अर्थशब्दः ॥ The word अर्थ is technically the name of रूपकार्थः ॥

१७१५ । आमाद्यम् । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

आहम् । मापशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्थे कः । आमा वृद्धाविस्मिन् दीयते आमा मायिकं शतम् । आमा आमाका विसृतिः ॥

1715. The affix yat (य) comes after the word bhāga in the sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein."

By the word च in the sūtra क् also comes. This denotes क् ॥ Thus भागो वृद्धादिरस्मिन् दीयते = भाग्यं or भागिकं धनम्; भाग्य or भागिका विंशतिः ॥ The word भाग also denotes रूपकार्थं ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति वहस्यावहति भाराहंसादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

यशादिभ्यः परा यो भारशब्दस्तदन्तं व्याप्तिवार्तिकं तत्पट्टविकारद्वितीयान्तादित्यर्थः । वंशभारं हृति वहस्यावहति वा वांशभारिकः । ऐशुभारिकः । भाराहंसादिभ्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यानान्तरं भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्यंशान् हृति वांशिकः । ऐशुकः ॥

1716. The above mentioned affixes, after the word भार preceded by the word वंश &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'.

The case in construction here is accusative (क्) ॥ Thus वंशभारं हृति, वहति भारवति वा वांशभारिकः, ऐशुभारिकः ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase भारश्च वंशादिभ्यः is explained as भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्यः ॥ Then the sūtra will mean "the above named affixes come after वंश &c. when they denote a load". Thus भारभूतान् वंशान् हृति = वांशिकः, ऐशुकः ॥

Note.—The word हृति means 'to carry to another place or to steal'; वहति means 'to carry on ones back or head,' आवहति means, 'to produce or bring.

1 वंश, 2 कुटज, 3 हस्वज, 4 मूत, 5 स्युखा, (स्युण) 6 वन, 7 अक्षय, 8 अश्व, 9 क्षाण, 10 श्व, 11 लघ्वा ॥

१७१७ । वज्रद्रव्याभ्यां ठक्त्वौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

यथासंख्यं क्तः । वज्रं हृति वहत्यावहति वा वज्रिकः । द्रव्यकः ॥

1717. The affixes than and kau come respectively after the words vasma and dravya, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c'.

Thus वज्रं हृति वहति वा = वज्रिकः, द्रव्यकः ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

प्रथमं संभवति प्रथियकः कटाहः । प्रथं स्वस्तिन्मन्त्रादेशवतीत्यर्थः । प्राथिकी ब्राह्मणी । प्रथमवहरति पचति वेद्यर्थः ॥ तत्पचतीति श्रोणात्प च ॥ आह । श्लेषं पचतीति श्रोणी । श्लोणिकी ॥

1718. The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that; or takes away that, or cooks that."

The word क् is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative. The word संभव means the capacity to hold the exact quantity; अवहार means 'taking

away, or containing'. Thus ग्रथे संभवति = ग्रथेऽर्थकः 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure.' So ग्रथयवहसति or पचति = ग्रथिः 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure.' Similarly कौडिकः and क्षारीकः ॥ The word संभव does not govern the word पचति, thus ग्रथे पचति ब्राह्मणी = ग्रथिः कौडिकः Brāhmaṇi who cooks a Prastha.'

*Vart*:—The affix अण् also comes after the word ग्रथ in the sense of 'who cooks that.' e. g. ग्रथं पचति ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणी or ब्राह्मिणी ॥

१७१९. आढकाचितपात्रात्त्रोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

पक्षे डम् । आढकं संभवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिनी । आचितीना । आचितीकी । पात्रीया । पाचित्री ॥

1719. The affix kha ( ईन ) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c,' after the word āḍhaka, āchita, and pātra.

This ख debars डम् which comes in the alternative. Thus आढकं संभवति, अवहरति, पचति वा = आढकीना or आढकिनी, आचितीना or आचितीकी, पात्रीया or पाचित्री ॥

१७२०. द्विगोः पुंस्त्व । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादित्वे । आढकाद्यभ्याद्विगोः संभवत्यादिभिर्येषु डन्धी वा स्तः । पक्षे डम् । तस्याप्यर्थेति लुक् । चित्वाङ्गीप् । आढकिनी । आढकीना । चित्तेरिति डीप् । आढकी । आचितीकी । आचितीना । अवहरति डीप् । पात्रीया । पाचित्री । द्विपात्रीया । द्विपात्री ॥

1720. The affix shṭhan as well as the affix ख ( ईन ) may optionally come, after the same words āḍhaka, āchita, and pātra, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c.

The ख is read into the sūtra by the word ख of the aphorism. These two affixes ख and डन् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V. 1728. S. 1693. But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix डम्, then it is elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. The च् of डन् is for accent ( VI. 1. 19 S. 2645 ), and the ण् for डीप् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms;—आढकिनी, आढकीना, or आढकी । आचितीकी, आचितीना, आचिती ॥ In this case of आचिती the feminine is not formed by डीप् ( IV. 1. 21. S. 479 ) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV. 1. 22. S. 480. So also द्विपात्रीकी, द्विपात्रीया and द्विपात्री ॥

१७२१. कुलिजाल्लुक्खो च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्ताद्विगोः संभवत्यादिभिर्येषु लुक्खी वा स्तः । पाल् पुंस्त्व । लुक्खावे डम् । अण्णम् । द्विकुलिजी । द्विकुलिजिनी । द्विकुलिजीना । द्विकुलिजिनी ॥

1721. After the word kulija, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (इन्), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By च the affix इद् is also added. The elision being optional, the affix इद् V. 1. 18 S. 1680 may optionally be elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693. Thus we get *four* forms : विकृतिविकी (इद्), विकृतिविकी (ख), विकृतिविकी (इद् इक्), विकृतिविकी (इद्) ॥ In the last example, there is not viddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII. 3. 17 S. 1683. The anomaly is explained by holding that the word विकृतिविकी should be included in the exception along with संज्ञा and छाद्य of VII. 3. 17.

१७२२ स्तोत्रस्यांशचक्षुभृतयः । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अंशो भागः । चक्षुं सूत्रम् । चक्षुर्वेतनम् । पञ्च अंशो वस्तो वृत्तिर्वास्तव पञ्चकः ॥

1722. The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have also the sense of 'this is his portion, price or pay.'

The अंशः shows that the case in construction is nominative. The word चक्षुः means 'share,' चक्षुः means 'price,' चक्षुः means 'wages.' Thus पञ्च अंशो वस्तो वा चक्षुर्वैतनम् = पञ्चकः 'whose portion, price or pay is five.'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

तस्य परिमाणस्य प्राप्तिर्यो राशिः ॥

1723. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have the sense of "this is its measure."

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case. Thus तस्यः परिमाणस्य = प्राप्तिर्यो राशिः 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha.' So also दारिकः, सत्यः, वातिकः, साहस्यः, द्रौणिकः, कौवदिकः, वार्षासिकः, वार्षास्यिकः ॥ So also पट्टिर्वाहित परिमाणस्य = पाठिकः, द्विषास्यिकः ॥

Note:—Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sūtra, when their ananyatiti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word स्तोत्रस्य and तदस्य being the same? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V. 1. 28 S. 1693 does not apply. Thus द्वेषदीर्घादितपरिमाणस्य = द्विषास्यिकः, द्विषास्यिकः ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V. 1. 24.

१७२४ । संख्यायाः संज्ञासंज्ञसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वधनमनुपकते । तत्र संज्ञायां स्वार्थे प्रत्यये वाच्यः । यथा लोकयोः तिस्रस्तस्यामात्रवृत्तेः परिमाणाणि प्रत्ययः । पञ्चमे पञ्चकः षष्ठ्यस्यः । पञ्च परिमाणवर्षादिति वा । सङ्ख्ये पञ्चकः । घटे अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् । सङ्ख्येयस्य मासिसङ्ख्ये रुद्रास्वर्षे पृथगुपात्तम् । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोत्रे दारिकः ॥ पञ्चदश मन्त्राः परिमाणस्य पञ्चदशः । सप्तत्यः । एकविंशः । सोमदात्रेषु उन्मत्तैः क्रियमाणा पृथ्याविरहितो वृत्तिः स्तोमः ॥

1724. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1893 &c come after ॥ word denoting a numeral, in the sense of "this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of stud,

The phrase तदस्य परिमाणम् is understood here. The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case. When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical. Thus पंचकाः = पंचः 'the Five' as पंचका सुकुमराः; त्रिकाः 'the Three' 'शालग्रामाः' &c. The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a संघ 'a multitude or flock' as पंचकाः संघः, अष्टकाः ॥ So also when it means a सूत्र 'a Book', as अष्टाव-पद्यायाः परिमाणमस्य सूत्रस्य = अष्टकं पण्डित्यम् 'The Ashtaka of Pāṇini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyāyas'. So also अष्टकं वेद्याप्रणीतम्, विक्रम काव्यकृतम् ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyāyas the same as संघः? No, the word संघः is confined to a collection of living beings only.

The word अन्वयन means 'study'. Its numerical measure (संख्या परिमाण) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read. Thus पंचकोऽधीतः 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes सप्तकोऽधीतः so also अष्टकः or न्यकाः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix ड comes after the words पंचदश-&c. when the word means a Stoma. As, पंचदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य = पंचदशः स्तोत्राः, सप्तदश स्तोत्राः &c. The indicatory ड causes the elision of final (रि) by VI. 4. 143, S. 316 in the cases of words like एकविंशः &c. In the case of पंचदशः the ड is elided by VI. 4. 144. S. 679. Stoma is the praise-hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests at the soma-sacrifice. A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in sapta-daśa stoma the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses. Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have pancha-daśa stoma. When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes eka vimśa stoma &c.

१७२५। पङ्क्तिर्विशतिर्निशब्दत्वारिक्पञ्चाशत्पष्टिसप्तस्यष्टीतिनवतिशतम् ।  
५।१।५६ ॥

एते रुडिवाच्यं निवारकत्वे ॥

1725. The following words are anomalous : pañkti 'a verse', viṅśati 'twenty', triṅśat 'thirty', chatvāriṅśat 'forty', pañchāśat 'fifty', śaṣṭhi 'sixty', sapṭati 'seventy', aṣṭi 'eighty', navati 'ninety', and śata 'a hundred'.

*Note* :—The words तदस्य परिमाणम् are understood here also : पङ्क्ति is formed by adding ति to पञ्च, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', i. e. a half quarter consisting of 5 syllables. The word विंशति is formed by adding शतिन् to the word विन् which replaces the two word दश-

दशतः as दशतौ परिमाणस्य सप्तस्य=विंशतिः ॥ So the affix दशतु comes after चित् representing पयोदशतः ; so for चतुर्थौ दशतौ we have चत्वारिन् and then add दशतु, similarly with दश्यादशतु ॥ Similarly with the rest.

Note :—All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kāśikā Kūṭa, and hence it is omitted.

Note :—The word पञ्चि also means 'a line'. As ब्राह्मणपञ्चिकः, पिपीलिका पञ्चिकः ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology.

१७२६। पञ्चदशतौ वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणस्य पञ्चदशतः । दशतु । पक्षे पञ्चकः । दशकः ॥

1726. 'The word pañchat and daśat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'.

This ordains दशि instead of कन् V. 1. 22, which also comes in the alternative. As पञ्चदशतः, दशदशतः or पञ्चकोटयः, दशकोटयः ॥

१७२७। त्रिंशत्पञ्चविंशतो ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्यायाः त्रिंशदध्यायैर्वा ब्राह्मणानां त्रिंशानि । पञ्चविंशदध्यायानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727. 'The affix दशतु comes after the words triṅśat and chatvāriṅśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brāhmaṇa-book.

The word वर्ग does not govern this sūtra. The indicatory इ causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it ( VI. 4. 143. S. 316 ). The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिधेय and not विषय, i. e. when the word means a Brāhmaṇa itself. Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brāhmaṇa literature'. As त्रिंशदध्यायः परिमाणद्वयं ब्राह्मणम् = त्रिंशदध्यायानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brāhmaṇa containing thirty Adhyāyas'. So पञ्चविंशदध्यायानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brāhmaṇas.



Thus छवे नित्यमर्हति = छवेदिक, so also वेत्तिङ्कः ॥

1 छेद, 2 भेद, 3 द्रोह, 4 दोह, 5 नर्त (वर्त), 6 कर्त, 7 तीर्थ, 8 संप्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग, 10 प्रयोग, 11 विप्रकर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 संप्रक्ष, 14 विप्रक्ष, 15 विकर्ष, 16 प्रकर्ष, 17 विराम विरुद्ध च (from विराम is formed वेत्तिङ्क). ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्यः । शीर्षच्छेदिकः । यत्कोः सन्नियोगेन छिरसः शीर्षभावे निपात्यते ॥

1730. The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śirshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'.

Thus शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्यः, or शीर्षच्छेदिकः ॥ The word शिरम् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix.

१७३१ । हण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

हण्यो यत् ह्यात् । हण्डमर्हति हण्डयः । हण्ड्यः । हण्ड्यः ॥

1731. After the words daṇḍa &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The word भिद्य does not govern this sūtra. This च debars दक् V. 1. 19. S. 1681. Thus हण्डमर्हति = हण्डयः 'deserving to be killed'. हण्ड्यः, हण्ड्यः ॥

1 हण्ड, 2 हस्त, 3 मधुपर्क, 4 कथा, 5 धर्म, 6 मेघ, 7 मेघा, 8 सुवर्ण, 9 वरक, 10 वध, 11 युग, 12 गुहा, 13 भाग, 14 दम, 15 भङ्गः ॥

Note :—The Kāśikā gives the sūtra as हण्डादिभ्यो यः ; another version gives the sūtra as हण्डादिभ्यः only drawing the affix यत् from the last sūtra.

१७३२ । पात्राद् यञ्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

पात्रात् तर्हतीत्यर्थे । पात्रियः । पात्र्यः ॥

1732. The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pātra.

This debars दक् and दम् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also. Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्रयः or पात्रियः ॥

१७३३ । कटहूरदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

पात्रात् । कटं करोतीति विभेदं यत् एव निपातनात् स्यच् । कटहूरं माधुतादिकारणमर्हतीति कटहुरीयो गोः । कटहूर्यः । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीयः । दक्षिण्यः ॥

1733. The affix ebhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kaḍaṅkara and dakṣhiṇī.

This debars दक् ॥ Thus कटहूरमर्हति = कटहुरीयः or कटहूर्यः 'one deserving straw' such as a cow. So also दक्षिणीयः or दक्षिणीयो ब्रह्मण्यः 'a Brahmana deserving alms.'

१७३४ । स्थालीविल्लासं । ५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीविल्लासंति स्थालीविल्लासास्तद्भुजाः । स्थालीविल्लासः । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थः ॥

1734. The affixes *clha* (ईय) and *yat* (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word *sthālībīla*.

This debars टक् ॥ Thus स्थालीविल्लासास्तद्भुजाः ॥ स्थालीविल्लासः 'rice deserving the pot' i. e. cookable rice.

१७३५ । यज्ञस्विगृह्यां यज्जमौ । ५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यदासंययं सः । यज्ञस्विगृह्यं वासीति यज्ञियः । आस्विजीवो यजमानः ॥ यज्ञस्विगृह्यां सत्तमर्हि-  
तास्तुपसंयदानम् \* ॥ यज्ञियो देवः । आस्विजीन कृत्स्विक् ॥

1735. The affixes *gha* and *जम्* come respectively after the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, in the sense 'of deserving that.'

This debars टक् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana worthy of honor at a sacrifice.' आस्विजीवो ब्राह्मणः ॥

*Var:*—After the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof". Thus यज्ञकर्माहंति = यज्ञियो देवः 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice.' आस्विक् कर्माहंति = आस्विजीन ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of टक् V, I. 19. S. 1681 hence forward is the government of जम् V. I. 18.

## अथ तद्धित ठञाधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

### CHAPTER XXXIV.

#### THE AFFIX ठञ् ।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायणं वर्तयति पारायणिकरुक्तात् । तुरायणं दहतिष्ठेत् । तं वर्तयति तैरायणिको यजमानः ।

1736. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words *pārāyaṇa*, *turāyaṇa* and *chān-drāyaṇa* being in the 2nd case in construction.

The force of *वर्तयति* ceases. Thus पारायणिकः = छात्रः, a pupil, who reads under a teacher : तैरायणिको यजमानः, चान्द्रायणिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, ( परस्य करोति ) ॥

१७३७ । संशयमापन्नः । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

संशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थः सांशयिकः ॥

1737. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after the word *saṁśaya* in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it".

Thus संशयमापन्नः प्राप्तः—सांशयिकः स्याद्वाः " a doubtful pillar", i. e. in a precarious state.

१७३८ । योजनं गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

यौगनिकः । क्रौञ्चस्तयोजनघतयोत्पस्यमानश्च ० ॥ क्रौञ्चघतं गच्छति क्रौञ्चगनिकः । योजन-  
पातिकः ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् ॥ ० ॥ क्रौञ्चघतासाभिगमनमर्हतीति क्रौञ्चगनिकोऽभिष्टुः ।  
योजनघतिक आचार्यः ॥

1738. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word *yojana* in the accusative construction.

Thus योजनं गच्छति = यौगनिकः ॥

*Vart* :—So also after the words *krāuñcaghata* and *yojanaghata* ॥ As क्रौञ्चघतिकः  
योजनघतिकः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix after these two words means also "who is worthy to be approached from so far". As क्रौञ्चघतास्मिन्नभिवर्तते—क्रौञ्चघतिको भिष्टुः.  
योजनघतिक आचार्यः ॥

१७३९ । पथः पृच्छ । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

पथोऽपीत्यर्थः । पन्थानं पृच्छति पथिकः । पथित्री ॥

1739. The affix *shkan* comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word *patha*, being in the 2nd case in construction.

Of the affix *ष्कन्*, *ष्* is for *क्षीप्* (IV, 1. 41 S. 498). and *न्* for accent (VI.1. 197 S. 3686). As *पन्थानं गच्छति = वैयिकः* fern *पथिवी* ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति पान्यः । पान्या ॥

1740. The affix *na* comes after the word *pantha* which becomes the substitute of *pathin*, the sense of the affix being "who always goes".

The word *नित्य* qualifies the sense, of the affix. Thus *पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति = पान्यः* as *पान्यो भिक्षां याचते* ॥ Why *नित्यं* ? See *पथिकः* ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनादत्तं च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनादत्तं औत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिकः ॥ आदत्तमकारणं वारिजङ्गलं स्थलकान्ताः पुर्यादुपसंयमानम् ॥ \* वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741. The affix *उम्* comes, after the word *uttara-patha* in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way.'

The construction of the *sūtra* shows that the base must be in the 3rd case. The word *पथ* shows that the word *गच्छति* 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism. Thus *उत्तरपथेनादत्तं = औत्तरपथिकम्* or *उत्तरपथेन गच्छति = औत्तरपथिकः* ॥

*Vart* :—So also after the word *पथ* preceded by the words *वारि*, *जङ्गल*, *स्थल*, *कान्ता* the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way. As *वारिपथेनादत्तं = वारिपथिकम्*, *वारिपथेन गच्छति = वारिपथिकः* masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing.

१७४२ । कात्वाङ् । ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

श्रुहादिभ्यः प्रथितः प्रागधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1742. In the following *sūtras*, the phrase "after" word denoting time" should be supplied to complete the sense.

The word *कालात्* bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V. 1. 97. S. 1761 exclusive. Thus the next *sūtra* *तेन निर्वृत्तम्* means 'accomplished by means thereof'. We must read the word *कालं* into it. As *कालेन निर्वृत्तम् = कालात्* ६८.

१७४३ । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

अद्वा निर्वृत्तमाहिकम् ॥

1743. The affix *thān* comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time".

Thus अद्वा निर्वृत्ते = आहिकम् "to be accomplished in a day" i.e. a certain portion of reading &c, सार्धमाहिकम्, सविश्वरिक्म् ॥

१७४४ । तमधीष्टोभूतोभूतो भावी । ५ । १ । ८० ॥

अधीष्टः सङ्कल्प व्यापारितः । भूतो वेतयेष क्रीतः । भूतः स्वसमय व्यापकात् । भावी सादृश्यात् नागतः कालः । तामसधीष्टो नासिकोऽभ्यापकः । मासं भूतो नासिकः कर्मकरः । मासं भूतो नासिको व्याधिः । मासं भावी नासिक उल्लवः ॥

1744. The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long".

The word *अधीष्टः* means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III. 3. 161, *भूतः* means "engaged on wages", *भूतः* means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and *भावी* the same as last in the future. The word denoting time will be in the second case by II. 3. 5 S. 558. Thus तामसधीष्टः = नासिकोऽभ्यापकः, so also मासंभूतः = नासिकः कर्मकरः, मासंभूतः = नासिको व्याधिः, मासंभावी = नासिक उल्लवः ॥

१७४५ । मासाद्वयसि यत्नजौ । ५ । १ । ८१ ॥

मासं भूतो नास्यः । मासीमः ॥

1745. The affixes *yat* and *khañ* come after the word *māsa*, in denoting 'age'.

This debars डम् ॥ The word *भूतः* of the previous *sūtra* should be read into this. Thus मासंभूतः = नास्यः or मासीनः 'a month old'.

Note :—Why do we say when denoting 'ago' ? . Observe नासिकः ॥

१७४६ । द्विगोर्यप् । ५ । १ । ८२ ॥

मासाद्वयसीत्यनुवर्त्तते । द्वौ मासी भूतो द्विनास्यः ॥

1746. The affix *yap* comes after the word *māsa* when forming a *Dvigu* compound; and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासी भूतः = द्विनास्यः, द्विनास्यः ॥

१७४७ । षण्मासाण्यस्य । ५ । १ । ८३ ॥

ययसिद्धिः । ययस्यनुवर्तते । चाहम् । षण्मास्यः । षण्मास्यः । षण्मासिकः ॥

1747. After the word *ṣaṇmāsa*, come the affixes *nyat* as well as *यप्* and *उञ्*, in the sense of 'age'.

The word *vayasi* is understood here. So also the affix *यप्* ॥ By force of *य* we draw in *उञ्* also.

Thus *षण्मास्यः*, *षण्मास्यः*, and *षण्मासिकः* ॥

१७४८ । अत्रयसि ऽस्य । ५ । १ । ८४ ॥

षण्मास्यम् । षण्मासिको व्याधिः । षण्मास्यः ॥

1748. The affix *than* comes also after the word *ṣaṇmāsa*, when 'age' is not meant.

The *य* draws in the affix *ज्याह्* also. Thus *षण्मासिको व्याधिः* or *षण्मास्यः* 'a disease lasting six months'.

१७४९ । समानाः खः । ५ । १ । ८५ ॥

समानधीतो भूतो भूतो भावी वा समीनः ॥

1749. The affix *kha* (ईन्) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word *samā*.

This debars *उञ्* ॥ Thus *समानधीतो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = समीनः* ॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is *तेन निर्वृत्तः* V. 1. 79, S. 174; as *समय निर्वृत्तः = समीनः* ॥

१७५० । द्विगोर्वा । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

समायाः ख इत्येव । तेन परिग्रह्येत्यतः प्राक्निर्वृत्तादिषु षष्ठ्यस्येषु प्रत्ययाः । द्विसमीनः । द्विसमिकः ॥

1750. The affix *kha* comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V. 1. 79. 80 S. 1743 and 1744 after the word *Samā*, forming a *Dvigu*.

In the alternative *उञ्* will also apply. Upto *sūtra* V. 1. 93. S. 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S. 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S. 1744). Thus *द्विसमीनः* or *द्विसमिकः* ॥ Then *Vartika* taught in V. 1. 20 (प्राग्वत्ते संख्यापूर्वपदानां तद्वत्प्रमहणमलुकि) applies here also. Thus *द्विसमीनः* or *द्विसमिकः*, *विभासीनः* or *विभासिकः* ॥

१७५१ । राज्यहः संवत्सराख । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

द्विगोर्वात्येव । द्विगधीनः । द्विसमिकः । द्विसमीनः । द्विसमिकः । समासान्धोपधेयनित्यस्याह् उञ् । द्विसमस्यस्यः ॥

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses ( V. 1. 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744 ) after the words *rātri*, *ahan*, and *samvatsara*, occasioning a *Dvigu*.

The word *dvigu* is understood in this *sūtra*.

In the alternative क्ख will also come. Thus द्विसंवत्सरिकः, द्विराहिकः, द्विद्वितीयः VI. 4. 145 S. 789 or द्वैवद्विकः ॥ The *saṃāsānta* affix not being universally applicable, we have no क्ख ॥ द्विसंवत्सरिकः, द्विसंवत्सरिकः VII. 3. 15 S. 1752. This form gets the irregular *vṛiddhi* by the following.

१७५२ । संख्यायाः संबत्सरसंख्यस्य च । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

संख्याया इतरपक्षस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् भिन्नस्यै । द्विसंवत्सरिकः । द्वे पक्षे द्वयो द्विराहिकः । संख्याया परिमाणान्तस्थेलेव सिद्धे संबत्सरसंख्ये परिमाणग्रहणे कालपरिमाणस्यग्रहणार्थम् । तेन द्वैवद्विक इत्युत्तरपक्षवृद्धिर्न ॥

1752. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संबत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the *Vṛiddhi*, before a *Taddhita* having an indicatory क्, ख्, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसंवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संबत्सरपक्षौ द्वौ द्वौ or माषौ ( V. 1. 80 S. 1744 ) द्विराहिकः = द्वे पक्षे अर्धौ द्वौ द्वौ माषौ वा ॥ The words द्वि, द्वौ &c when applied to वर्ष ( VII. 3. 16 S. 1754 ). and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under *kāladhikāra* ( V. 1. 78-97 ). The special mention of संबत्सर here, ( though ) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the *sūtra* VII. 3. 17 S. 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that *sūtra* does not mean the measure of time, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than *samvatsara*, the *Vṛiddhi* takes place in the regular way : as द्वैवद्विक ॥

Note:—Similarly in *sūtra* IV. 1. 22, S. 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as चित्रार्थ, द्विवर्ष माषविकार ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these *sūtras* ( and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c. ) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

१७५३ । वर्षाल्लुक् क् १५ । १ । ८८ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्ताद्विभोवो क् : । पक्षे उक्त्वा च लुक् । वीभि ऊपाधि । द्विवर्षाणि व्याधिः । द्विवर्षिकः । द्विवर्षः ॥

1753. The above affixes kha and thaṁ may also be elided after a *Dvigu* ending in *varshā*.

The affix क् as well as क्ख come in the five fold senses V. 1. 79, 80, after the word वर्ष forming a *Dvigu* ; and these two affixes may also be elided optionally. - Thus we have three forms ; द्विवर्षाणि, द्विवर्षिको or द्विवर्षो व्याधिः 'a disease that lasted two years'. ( Compare VII. 3. 16, S. 1754. but when the

sense is that अर्वाधी, the form will be द्वैवर्षिकः ॥ To get this irregular vṛiddhi, the following sūtra applies.

१७५४ । वर्षस्यामविष्यति । ७ । ३ । १६ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य इतिः स्वात् । द्विवर्षिकः । अविष्यति तु द्वैवर्षिकः । अर्वाधित्तोऽमविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न । गम्यते हि तत्र अविष्यता न तु उदितार्थः । द्वे वर्षे अर्वाधो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

1754. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्षे अर्वाधो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवर्षिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिकः, त्रैवर्षिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence अथ त्रैवर्षिकं धाम्नि निहितं ब्रह्मवृक्षे अथिक्ं वापि शिष्येत्त इति सोमं पादुमर्षिः ॥ (= अथिषि वर्षानि ऋषीः) ॥ The word अमविष्यत् does not qualify the words अर्वाध and वृत्त (V. 1. 80 S. 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अर्वाधो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥ Here VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 applies and it causes the vṛiddhi of the second member. This sūtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशानयोः । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

हो कुड्यो मयोजनमस्य द्वितीयिकः । द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णभ्यां अर्धं द्वितीयिकम् । द्वितीयिकम् । असंज्ञेति किम् । पञ्च कपालः परिमाणस्य पञ्चकपालिकम् । उदितार्थः संज्ञा । इराणम् । कुलिज-सम्बन्धि केचिदपठन्ति । द्वैकुलिकः ॥

1754 A. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शान) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As हो कुड्यो मयोजनमस्य = द्वितीयिकः (V. 1. 109 S. 1772) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णभ्यां अर्धं = द्वितीयिकम् (V. 1. 37 S. 1702), त्रितीयिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29 S. 1694. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्वितीयिकम्, त्रितीयिकम् (V. 1. 30 S. 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चकपालानि परिमाणस्य V. 1. 30 S. 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शान? Observe द्वैराणम् ॥ द्वैराणम् formed with ण् (V. 1. 35 S. 1700 and 36 S. 1701). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशानकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिकः (V. 1. 55 S. 1721) द्वैकुलिजे देवपाननम् ॥



१७५५। चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५। १। ८६ ॥

वर्षादान्ताद्विभो. प्रत्ययस्य नित्ये लुक् स्यात् चेतेन प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विपर्यो वारकः ॥

1755. The affixes meaning "accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80" are necessarily elided after the word varshā forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason.

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional. Thus द्विपर्यो वारकः 'a boy two years old'.

Note :—Why do we say चित्तवति "when meaning endowed with reason"? Observe द्विपर्याजो व्याधिः ॥

१७५६। वटिकाः वटिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते । ५। १। ६० ॥

बहुवचनमन्यम् । वटिको धान्यविशेषः । द्वितीयान्तात्कन् रात्रिचमसौपथ निपात्यते ॥

1756. The anomalously formed word shashtikāḥ has the meaning of "what are matured in six nights".

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sūtra.

The word वटिकाः may be said to be formed by adding कन् to वटिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being 'matured'. Thus वटिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते = वटिकाः 'a kind of barley'. It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days.

१७५७। तेन परिजप्यतस्तत्कार्यसुकरम् । ५। १। ६३ ॥

मासेन परिजप्यो जेद्वे शक्यो मासिको व्याधिः । मासेन कथं कार्यं सुकरं वा मासिकम् ॥

1757. The affix than comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of "to be subdued", "to be gained or attained", "to be completed" and "to be easily completed in that time".

Thus मासेन परिजप्यः (शक्यते जेद्वे) = मासिको व्याधिः, मासेन कथं कार्यं or सुकरम् मासिकम् ॥

१७५८। तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५। १। ६४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कान्ताधिनोऽस्त्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । मासे ब्रह्मचर्यमन्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । वार्धमासिकः । यद्वा मयमान्सादस्त्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः । मासोऽस्त्येति मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्मादिभ्यः पठ्यन्तेऽय उपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ महानाम्नां नाम विदामपयमित्याद्या शृणुः । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमन्य माहान्मासिकः । एतत्तदस्तु मत्स्याद इति पुनश्चावाम्माहान्मासिक इत्याह ॥ अतुर्मासाराभ्यो यज्ञे नञ् भव इत्यर्थे \* ॥ अतुर्मासेषु भवन्ति आतुर्मास्यानि यत्तत्कर्माणि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥ अतुर्मासेषु यमन्ति आतुर्मासी नापादी । अत्यन्तस्याऽपीड ॥

1758. The affix *than* comes after a word of time in the sense of "an abstinence that lasts so long" or "who practises abstinence so long".

The word *तद्* shows that the word must be in the accusative case : *अस्व* shows the force of the affix. *ब्रह्मचर्य्यः* joins both. Thus *मासं ब्रह्मचर्य्यस्य* = *मासिको ब्रह्मचारी* "who practises abstinence for a month". So also *सार्धमासिकः*, *सांवत्सरिकः* ॥ The second case is by II. 3. 5. S. 558.

Another explanation is, the affix *than* comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period. As *मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्य्यस्य* = *मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्य्य* "an abstinence lasting for a month". *सार्धमासिकं*, *सांवत्सरिकं* ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself. Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions.

*Vārt* :—So also after the words *महानामी* &c in the genitive construction. As *महानामिदः* : *Mahānāmī* are certain Rik verses. But Haradatta gives the form *महानामिकः* by applying the rule of masculinisation of the *Vārtika* भस्वादे (VI. 3. 35. S. 836) In this case VI. 4. 144. S. 679 causes the elision of *दि* ॥

After these words, the affix means also 'who practises that'. As *महानामीपरि* = *माहानामिकः*, *वाग्विलम्बितिकः*, *गौडविकः* ॥ *महानामी* + *उभ्* = *महानामन्* + *उभ्* (VI. 3. 35. S. 836 *Vārt*) = *महानामिकः* (VI. 4. 144 S. 679).

*Note* :—The affix *दिनि* comes after the words *अयान्तरहीक्ष* &c, in the sense of 'who practises'. As *अयान्तरहीक्षापरि* = *अयान्तरहीक्षी*, *तिस्रमतिन्* ॥

*Note* :—The affixes *इवुन्* and *दिनि* come after the word *अदृष्टस्वार्थिज्ञान्*, or *अदृष्टस्वार्थिज्ञानि* प्रसपरति = *अदृष्टस्वार्थिकः* or *अदृष्टस्वार्थिनिन्* ॥

*Note* :—The same affixes comes after the words *पशुर्मांस* &c, the final *य* being elided. As *पशुर्मांसानि* अस्मि = *पशुर्मांसकः* or *पशुर्मांसिन्* ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix *य्य* comes after *पशुर्मांस*, in the sense of 'produced there'. As *पशुर्मांसेषु* मवादि = *पशुर्मांस्यनि* ॥ It refers to a sacrifice.

*Vārt* :—The affix *जञ्* comes, when it is a Name, as *पशुर्मांसं* मवादि = *पशुर्मांसी* *विज्जमांसी* ॥ So also *आपारी*, *कारिकी*, *कारुणी* ॥ The feminine *ही* is added because it is an *जञ्* formed word.

१७५९ । तस्य च दक्षिणा यथास्वेभ्यः । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

यथास्वेभ्यः दक्षिणा दक्षिणादिकी । यथास्वमद्वयान्तरादायि । आग्निहोत्रिकी । याजुर्वेदिकी ॥

1759. The affix *than*, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of "the fee thereof".

As *यथास्वमद्वय* दक्षिणा = *दक्षिणादिकी* । So also. *आग्निहोत्रस्य* दक्षिणा = *आग्निहोत्रिकी*, *याजुर्वेदिकी* ॥

The word **आद्य** in the sūtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice-denoting words which do not express time ( V. 1. 78 S. 1742 ). Had it not been used, the sūtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as **एकाहः**, **द्वादशाहः** which are time-denoting words as well. The Vārtika in V. 1. 20. S. 1682 would apply to **द्वादशाहः**, &c. Some texts do not read **च** in the sūtra.

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्ये मघत्तम् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्राहुति दीयते कार्ये वा प्राहुष्येय्यः शारदम् ॥

1760. The affixes having the sense of **मघ** ( IV. 3. 53, S. 1428, IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 ) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of " what is given in that, and what is done in that ".

As **प्राहुति दीयते** or **कार्ये—प्राहुष्येय्यं** ( IV. 3. 17. S. 1388 ) **शारदम्** ( IV. 3. 16. S. 1387 ). All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons. The words **तम्** in **मघत्तम्** means that all the rules of **सचमघः** ( IV. 3. 53. S. 1428 ) apply here.

This sūtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sūtra, as **तत्र च दीयते**, **पञ्चास्येभ्यः**, as **अग्निहोत्रिके मघः**, **राजपुत्रिकम्**, **राजपुत्रिकम्** ॥

Here ends the section on Time-affixes.

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽम् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्ये वा वैश्वदेवः । व्युष्ट, दीर्घः, संमानः, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761. The affix **अम्** comes after the words **व्युष्ट** &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of " being given therein or done therein ".

Thus **व्युष्टे दीयते कार्ये वा—वैश्वदेवः**, **वैश्वदेवः** ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 निरा, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेष्टन, 5 उपसंक्रमण, 6 दीर्घः, 7 वास्तरण ( वास्तरण ), 8 सन्मान, 9 संघातः, 10 वासिष्ठः, 11 वीक्ष्मूल ( वीक्ष्, मूल ) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 संघम, 15 दीर्घः, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाच्च हस्ताभ्यां ख्यतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाचैत्ययसंपाताच्चुर्वीथान्तादस्तस्यैव यथासंख्यं गच्छतीत्यः । अत्रार्थाभ्यां तु यथासंख्यं नैव्यत ॥ यथाकथा च दीयते कार्ये वा यथाकथाचम् । अत्राक्षरेण द्वे कार्ये वेद्यर्थः । हस्तेन दीयते कार्ये वा इत्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes **ण** and **यत्** come respectively after the words **yathā-kathā-cha**, and **hasta**, being in the third case in construction, having the sense of what is " given or is done in this way or with this ".



1766. The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga.

By force of the word य 'and' the affix डञ् also applies. Thus योगाय प्रभवति = योग्यः or योग्यिकः ॥

१७६७ । कर्मण उक्ताञ् । ५ । १ । १०३ ॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कारुण्यम् ॥

1767. The affix ukāñ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'.

This debars डञ्. As कर्मणेप्रभवति = कारुण्यं धनुः ॥ This word कारुण्यम् means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else.

१७६८ । समयस्तदस्य प्राप्ताम् । ५ । १ । १०४ ॥

समयः प्राप्तिः सन् सानधिकम् ॥

1768. The affix thañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it".

Thus सानधिकं कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'.

१७६९ । ऋतोराण् । ५ । १ । १०५ ॥

ऋतुः प्राप्तिः सन् सानधिकम् ॥

1769. The affix an comes after the word ritu, meaning "that has come for it".

As ऋतुःप्राप्तिः सन् = आर्त्तं पुष्पम् (Gūṇa by VI. 4. 146 S. 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived".

१७७० । कालाद्यञ् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

कालः प्राप्तिः सन् काल्यं धीतम् ॥

1770. The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'.

As काल्यं धीते ॥ See VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

१७७१ । प्रकृष्टे ठञ् । ५ । १ । १०८ ॥

कालादित्येव । वक्ष्येति य । प्रकृष्टे धीयः कालोऽस्येति कालिकं धैर्यम् ॥

1771. The affix thañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding".

As प्रकृष्टे कालोऽस्य = कालिकवृणम् "long-standing debt". कालिकम् धैर्यम् "long-standing enmity".

'In this sūtra काल् and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word 'प्राप्तम् ॥

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य इन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजनं फलं कारणं च ॥

1772. The affix *thān* comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this".

As इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य=इन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजनम् means fruit or cause.

१७७३ । विशाखापादादयमन्यदण्डयोः । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

प्राप्त्याप्तौ स्थाप्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रयान्मन्यश्चउद्योरर्थयोः । विशाखा प्रयोजनमस्य वैशाखो मन्यः । मादादौ दण्डः ॥ चूडादिभ्य सप्तसंयथानम् ॥ चूडा, पौडम् । अद्धा, आक्षम् ॥

1773. The affix *an* comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words *visākṣā*, and *ashādḥā*, when the derivative of the first is combined with *मन्य* and that of the second with *दण्ड* ॥

As वैशाखो मन्यः, मादादौ दण्डः ॥

*Vidit* :—So also after the words चूडा &c. As चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य=चौडम्, अद्धा प्रयोजनमस्य=आक्षम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यस्तुः । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774. The affix *Chha* (इय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words *अनुप्रवचन* &c.

This debars रुम् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य=अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उपप्रवचन, 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संविधान, 5 प्रवेक्षण, 6 अनुवेक्षण, 7 अनुवासन, 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 अन्वरोहण, 11 प्राग्गमन, 12 आगमन, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुवेक्षण, 15 अनुवाचन, 16 प्रवेक्षण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदात् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

प्राग्वर्गात्समापनं प्रयोजनमस्य प्रयोजनसमापनीयम् ॥

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकद् चोरे । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमसद्व्ययनगारं प्रयोजनमस्व सुमुचिषोः स ऐकागारिकचोरः ॥

1776. The word ऐकागारिकद् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'.

The feminine will be in डीप् ॥ Thus एकगारं प्रयोजनमस्व = ऐकागारिकः fem. डी ॥

*Note*.—This word can be regularly formed by उच्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief. When any other thing is designated, it will not take this affix. Thus एकगारं प्रयोजनमस्व विद्वाः, here there will be no affixing. The feminine moreover will be in डीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इक्द् with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the first syllable.

१७७७ । आकालिकदाद्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालादाद्यन्ती वस्तुत्याकाविकः । समानकालस्थाकाल अवेष्टा । आद्य विद्यापील्यः । पूर्वणि मत्स्यदाद्युपपत्तिनाम्ने सदैव नन्तर इति ॥ आकादाइव ० ॥ आकालिका विद्युन् ॥

1777. The word ākālīkaḥ is irregularly formed in the sense of "what coincides with the beginning and the end. i. e. what lasts only an instant".

The word जाकाल is substituted for समानकालः ॥ Thus आकालिकः समविद्युः 'a thunder lasting for an instant'. आकालिकी विद्युन्—"a lightening lasting a twinkling". i. e. whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born.

*Vart*.—The affixes उच् and उच् also come after आकालः; as आकालिका विद्युन् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix उच् V. 1. 18.

## अथ तद्धित तत्त्वत्राधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXXV.

#### AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION.

१७७८ । तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवदधीते । क्रिया चेद्वतिः किम् । तुल्येत्येव मा भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्यूतः ॥

1778. 'The affix vati (वत्) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "like that", when the meaning is 'similarity of action'.

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं वदन्ति = ब्राह्मणवत् ; as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say "action"? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in 'quality'. As पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्यूतः "as big as the son",

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायां नमः मथुरावत् सुप्ते माकारः । येनस्यैव येनवन्मैवस्य वाचः ॥

1779. The affix vati comes also in the sense of "like what is there in or thereof".

As मथुरायां नमः = मथुरावत् 'like that in Mathura', as मथुरावत् सुप्ते माकारः, येनस्यैव येनवन्मैवस्य वाच. &c.

१७८० । तद्धर्तुः । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिर्गतिः विधिवत्पुत्रोऽयम् । क्रियापदस्य मथद्रुक्पुत्र्यावुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति उपम ॥

1780. The affix "vati" comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of "befitting that or united to that".

Thus विधिर्गतिः = विधिवत् वच्यते "respected as god". The word kriyā should be read into this sūtra from V. 1. 115, S. 1778, by 'frog-leap' अनुवृत्ति, for it is not to be read in S. 1779.

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति उपम "the umbrella as befits a king".

१७८१ । मध्य भागस्त्वतः । ५ । १ । ११८ ॥

मध्यभागस्त्वतः मध्यभागे भावः । मध्यभागे मध्यमः । मीमांसा १२३८ अत्र मध्यमः शब्दः ।









That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛddhi, the words remain unchanged.; and when these words are vṛddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आद्यथातथ्यम् or अयाथातथ्यम्, प्रायथापुर्वम् or अप्रायथापुर्वम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds are exhibited as यथातथ्य and यथापुर्व and are Avy-ayibhāvas (II. 1. 7. S. 661), and being neuters, the अय of तथा and पुर्व are shortened.

The words माय and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three.

*Vārt* :—The affix does not change the sense in आतुर्वर्ण्य &c, as आत्वार एव वर्णा. = आतुर्वर्ण्यम्. ॥ आतुराश्वम्बम्, वैस्वर्वम्, पाङ्गुण्यम्, सैन्यम्, क्षान्तिभ्यम्, क्षान्तिभ्यम्, क्षान्तिभ्यम्, क्षान्तिभ्यम्, क्षान्तिभ्यम् ॥ &c.

So also सर्ववेदः = सर्ववेदः All-Vedas. One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk-elided by the vārtika under IV. 2. 60. S. 1270. This word सर्ववेद takes the affix व्यम् without any change of sense. As सर्ववेदः.

*Vārt* :—There is vṛddhi of both members of the compound आतुर्वर्ण्यः 'who studies four Vedas' before śhyañ. As आतुर्वर्ण्य + व्यम् = आतुर्वर्ण्यम् ॥ Instead of आतुर्वर्ण्यम्, another reading of this Vārtika is आतुर्विद्यस्व thus आतुर्विद्य + व्यम् = आतुर्विद्यम्. आतुर्विद्यः formed from विद्य by यञ् luk elision (IV. 1. 88. S. 1080), आतुर्विद्यः by इक् elision (IV. 2. 60 S. 1270. vārt).

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यप्रलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

येति संपातमहणम् । स्तेन षोडश पञ्चदशम् । स्तेनस्य मायः कर्म या स्तेयम् । स्तेनादिति योऽयं विभज्य स्तेनादिति व्यमन्तमपि केषुचिद्विच्छिन्ति ॥

1790. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "nature thereof or action thereof", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix.

The न in the sūtra is taken in its composite form, i. e. न् + य ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न N only. The word स्तेन is formed by यञ् of पञ्चादे class.

*Note* :—Had न of the sūtra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + व्यम् = स्तेन्य + य (the य is elided by VI. 4. 148. S. 311). Here the elided य becomes sthānivat by I. 1. 57 S. 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sūtra, we have स्ते + य + य + य ॥ The elided य would cause the ए to be changed to एय &c the form would be स्तेय्य ॥ Hence the whole syllable न् is elided by this sūtra and not separately by the application of S. 311 and this sūtra.

As स्तेनस्य मायः कर्म या = स्तेयम् ॥ Some divide the sūtra into two स्तेनाद्य व्यम् भवति ( ) सर्वं यत्र लोपयथ. as स्तेन्यम् and स्तेयम् ॥

१७९१ । सख्युर्यः । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सक्युर्भावः कर्म वा सक्यम् ॥ दूतवर्णिभ्यां च \* ॥ दूतस्य भावः कर्म वा दूतम् । दण्डिजनिति कारिका ॥ माधवस्तु दण्डिज्यस्यः स्वभावान् स्त्रीलिङ्गः । भाव एव चार्थं प्रत्यया न तु कर्मणीत्याह । भावे तु दूतवर्णिभ्यां भवति नास्ति ॥ ब्राह्मणादित्वाद्दण्डिजनित्वेति ॥

1791. The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सखय 'friendship'.

*Vart*:—So also after the words, दूत and दण्डिज्य, as दूतय ॥ According to Kāśikā we have दण्डिज्यम् ॥ Mādhava says "दण्डिज्य is inherently feminine. The affix श्यान् is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action." In the Bhāṣya this vārtika is not at all found. The word दण्डिज्यम् is formed by V. i. 124, §. 1788 दण्डिज्य belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class.

१७९१. कपिधक्लोडक् । ५ । १ । १२७ ॥

कपियम् । ज्ञापियम् ॥

1792. The affix dhak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jāti.

Thus कपेर्भावः कर्म वा—कपियम्, ज्ञापियम् ॥ The rule of श्यासंख्य (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply any where under this head.

१७९३. पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् । ५ । १ । १२८ ॥

सैनापत्यम् । पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजास्ते \* ॥ राजपत्नीस्त्वनास्ते यकं कर्मते इत्यर्थः । एतेषां भावः कर्म वा राजयम् । राजास्ते तु ब्राह्मणादित्वाद् व्यञ्ज् । अधिराज्यम् ॥

1793. The affix yak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c.

Thus सैनापतेर्भावः कर्म वा—सैनापत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राजयम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजास्ते (असमासे, राजन् अस्ते), 3 धार्मिक (संघातिक), 4 पिण्डिक, 5 छहिर, 6 बाल, 7 गन्ध, 8 खण्डिक, 9 दण्डिक, 10 धर्मिक (धर्मित), 11 धार्मिक, 12 धर्मिक, 13 धार्मिक (धीनिक), 14 धर्मिक, 15 धर्मिक, 16 धर्मिक (धर्मिक), 17 धर्मिक, 18 धर्मिक, (अध्यात्मिक), 19 धर्मिक, 20 धर्मिक (धर्मिक), 21 धर्मिक, 22 धर्मिक, 23 धर्मिक, 24 धर्मिक (धर्मिक), 25 धर्मिक, 26 धर्मिक, 27 धर्मिक (धर्मिक), 28 धर्मिक, 29 धर्मिक, 30 धर्मिक, 31 धर्मिक (धर्मिक), 32 धर्मिक, 33 धर्मिक, 34 धर्मिक (धर्मिक), 35 धर्मिक, 36 धर्मिक, 37 धर्मिक, 38 धर्मिक, 39 धर्मिक, 40 धर्मिक, 41 धर्मिक, 42 धर्मिक, 43 धर्मिक, 44 धर्मिक, 45 धर्मिक, 46 धर्मिक, 47 धर्मिक, 48 धर्मिक, 49 धर्मिक, 50 धर्मिक, 51 धर्मिक, 52 धर्मिक, 53 धर्मिक, 54 धर्मिक ॥

G. Fart:—The word rājan gets yak argument when not in a compound. As राजयम् "the nature or action of the king-royal" In the compound it will take shya of the Brāhmaṇādī class." As अधिराज्यम् ॥

१७६४ । प्रासभृजातिचयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽम् । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

प्रासभृजातिः आसम् । भौद्रम् । वयोवचनम् । कौमारम् । कैशोरम् । श्रीहायम् । श्रीनेत्रम् ।

श्रीद्वयम् । श्रीद्वयम् ॥

1794. The affix *añ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after *udgātṛi* &c.

Thus आसस्य भावः कर्म वा = आसम्, भौद्रम्, कौमारम्, कैशोरम्, श्रीहायम्, श्रीनेत्रम् ॥ श्रीद्वयम्, श्रीद्वयम् ॥

1 वहात्, 2 चनेत्, 3 प्रतिहर्त्, 4 मयात्, 5 होत्, 6 पोत्, 7 हर्त्, (कर्त्), 8 रयणजः ॥ पतिगणकः (पतिगणकः पतिगणकः), 10 ह्यु, 11 ह्यु, 12 अय्यु, 13 वधू, 14 जुभगः नन्वे ॥ In the Mantra literature sabhaga takes अम्, as मन्त्रे श्रीभाग्यः; sometimes there is no अम् as श्रीभाग्यः नन्वे वरवाय ॥

१७९५ । हायमान्तयुवादिभ्योऽम् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

हैहायनम् । हैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्थाविरम् । श्रीविद्यस्य यलोपसः ० ॥ श्रीवम् । कुशलचपलः निष्ठुणपिष्ठुणकुट्टिलशेषश्चा युवादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पचन्ते । कौशल्यम् । कौशलमिसः (वि) ॥

1795. The affix *añ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in *hāyana*, and after *yuvana* &c.

Thus हैहायनस्य भावः कर्म वा = हैहायनम्, हैहायनम्; यौवनम्, स्थाविरम् ॥

*Gaṇa-Vāri* — The *y* of श्रीविद्य is elided, as श्रीविद्यस्य भावः कर्म वा = श्रीविद्यम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 रयविर, 3 ह्यु, 4 यजमान, 5 युवाते (युवय यजमाने), 6 भात् (भात्), 7 कुट्टकः (कनकः), 8 यवनः (यवनः), 9 कट्टकः, 10 कनकः, 11 कुली, 12 कुली, 13 ह्युली, 14 कुलम्, 15 इर्तय, 16 कुट्ट, 17 इर्त ॥ 18 युवात्, 19 युवात्, 20 वृषल, 21 परित्राजकः, 22 सप्तपञ्चादि, 23 अन्तस, 24 इदमसे (इदम अन्तससे), 25 कुपल, 26 यवल, 27 निष्ठुण, 28 पिष्ठुण, 29 कुट्टक, 30 ह्युल, 31 श्रीविद्यस्य यलोपसः, 32 वात्, 33 कनक, 34 कुयुक्, 35 कन्दुक, 36 निष्ठुण, 37 कुट्टी, 38 मन्त्र, 39 कितम्, 40 पोतः ॥

The word *कुपल*, *यवल*, *निष्ठुण*, *पिष्ठुण*, *कुट्टक* and *युवन्* belong both to the *Yuvādi* and *Brāhmanādi* class. As कौशल्यम् or कौशलम् &c.

१७९६ । इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

ह्युपेमायः कर्म वा यौवनम् । यौवनम् । कर्म काव्यम् । कविचपलस्य यादव्यादित्यादयम् ॥

1796. The affix *añ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a stem ending in *इक्* (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or ऋ or ए), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light.

Thus ह्युपे मायः कर्म वा = यौवनम्. यौवनम् (युनि). (Why do we say लघुपूर्वात् 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe कण्ठराय, कण्ठरायम्) ॥ Why काव्यम् from कवि? The word *कावे* takes *व्यम्* as belonging to the *Brāhmanādi* class V. i. 124.

१७९७ । योषधादुसुपोसमाद्वुम् । ५ । १ । १३२ ॥

रामयीयकम् । अग्निधानीयकम् ॥ सहाय्या = साहाय्यम् । साहायकम् ॥

1797. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is *च्*, and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy.

*Note* :—The word *सुपोत्तम* means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more. That word whose penultimate syllable is *सुहृ* 'heavy' is called *सुसुपोत्तमम्*; the *योषधा* means 'having penultimate *च्*' ॥

Thus *रामयीयकम्* from *रामयीय*, *अग्निधानीयकम्* ।

*Note* :—Why do we say "the penultimate letter being *च्*" ? Observe *विनामन्* from *विनाम* ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say *सुसुपोत्तम* "the penultimate syllable being heavy" ? Witness *सुविनामन्* ॥

*Var* :—Optionally so after the word *सहाय्या*: as *साहायकम्* and *साहाय्यम्* ॥

*Note* :—The words *सुसुपोत्तम* and *उपसृ* should be distinguished: the first means penultimate syllable (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables), and the second means penultimate letter.

१७९८ । द्वन्द्वमनोहादिभ्यश्च । ५ । १ । १३३ ॥

सौम्योपाध्यायिका । मनीहकम् ॥

1798. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words *manojña* &c.

Thus *सौपालवसुपालायां भद्रः कर्म वा* = *सौपालवसुपालिकर्म* । *सौम्योपाध्यायिका*, *मनीहकम्* ।

1 मनीह, 2 मियस्व, 3 अभिकम्, 4 कल्याण, 5 मेधावि, 6 आठव, 7 कुलपुत्र, 8 छात्र, 9 छात्र, 10 श्रीविजय, 11 श्रीर, 12 धर्म, 13 विश्वविष (विश्वविष), 14 सुवन्, 15 कुपुत्र, 16 मन्त्रपुत्र, 17 धामकुलात्, 18 मानवन्ट (धामवन्ट), 19 धामकुमार, 20 सुकुमार, 21 बह्वन्, 22 अवद्वयपुत्र, (अवद्वय) 23 अमुच्यपुत्र, 24 अमुच्यकुल, 25 सावप, 26 सावपुत्र, 27 कुपुत्र, 28 अलोपुत्र ॥

१७९९ । गोत्रञ्चरणाच्छ्लाघात्साकारतद्वेतेषु । ५ । १ । १३४ ॥

अन्ताकारोऽपि विषेः । सत्येवस्तेगोत्रचरणयोर्मन्त्रकर्मणिप्रायः । सवन्तचन्त्र । गार्गिकया स्तपते ।

गार्ग्येन विकारयत इत्यर्थः । गार्गिकक्याऽस्याकुस्ते । गार्गिकामवेतः । कावकेन स्तपते ॥

1799. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a family-name (*Gotra*), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof).

*Note* :—The word ग्लाघा means boasting; अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेतः means तद्वापः 'who has gained that; or सञ्ज्ञा who inquires that'. The word न्न refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तद्देवः means "who has obtained that or who has known that".

To take first ग्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाग्लाघते or काठिकायाग्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Kaṭha". To take अत्याकारः, as गार्गिकयात्याकुर्वते, काठिकायात्याकुर्वते "he manifests contempt upon another, because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Kaṭha". To take तद्देवता as गार्गिकानदेवः or काठिकानदेवः = गार्गः or अथगतवाग् ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observes तर्क्यत्वम् ॥ The व of तर्क्य is elided in the above examples by. VI. 4. 148 & VI. 4. 151.

१८०० । होवाचयश्चः । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होवाचयः क्वादिवाची क्लीबिकः । बहुवचनहोवमहवच । अन्ध्यादकस्य भावः कर्म वा अन्ध्यावाकीयम् । मैवावस्थायिम् ॥

1800. The affix *chha* (च्य) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing *Hotrā* priests.

The word *hotrā* is feminine and denotes a kind of priest. होवाच्यः is plural, to prevent the application of I. 1. 68. 8. 25; therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrā' derived from हु + कृन् meaning a *ritvij*.

Thus आन्ध्यावाकीयम्, मैवावस्थायिम्, आह्वयान्धसीयम्, आसीधीयम्, प्रतिप्रत्यासीयम्, निधीयम्, वीधीयम् ॥

१८०१ । ब्रह्मण्यस्त्वः । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होवाचापिनो ब्रह्मण्यस्त्वः स्थात् । कृत्वापवाचः । ब्रह्मण्यम् । वेति वाच्ये त्ववचनं सती वाचनीयम् । आह्वयपर्यायाद्यदब्रह्मण्यस्यान्तु स्वसती । ब्रह्मण्यम् । ब्रह्मणा ॥

1801. The affix *tva* (त्व) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word *Brahmap*, denoting a kind of *Hotrā* priest.

This debars छ ॥ Thus ब्रह्मण्ये भावः कर्म वा—ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥ This debars सत् ॥

When ब्रह्मण means a *Brāhmaṇa*, by caste, we have ब्रह्मण्यम् or ब्रह्मणा ॥

So much for the province of the affixes च्य and त्व (IV. 1. 87).



## अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXXVI.

#### THE AFFIX गृह् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने लुञ्जे खञ् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवमग्रिमिति भवम् । धान्यानां भवनं क्षेत्रं वीथीनम् ॥

1802. The affix *khañ* comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of "a place of growing," when that place is a field.

*Note* :—The word धान्यानां 'of grains', shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case. The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word-form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhānya (I 1. 68 S. 268). भवम् means 'the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)' ॥

Thus धान्यानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = वीथीनम्, कौटवीनम्, कौलवीनम् ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say "of grains" ? There will be no affixing in a case like कृण्वानां भवनं क्षेत्रं ॥

*Note* :—Why do we say "when it is a field" ? Observe कुड्मनां भवनं कृषानं 'a granary where kidney-beans grow'.

१८०३ । व्रीहिनाहयोद्वक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

व्रीहिवम् । व्रीहिवम् ॥

1803. The affix *dhak* comes in the above sense, of 'a place of growing, when it is a field', after the words व्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus व्रीहिनां भवनं क्षेत्रं = व्रीहिवम्, कौलवम्, क्षेत्रम् 'a field fit for growing rice

१८०४ । यवयवकषाष्टिकायात् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं यवम् । यवकषाष्टिकायात् । यवकषाष्टिकायात् ॥

1804. The affix *yat* comes in the same sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', after the words yava, yavaka and śhaṣṭika.

This debars यम् ॥ Thus यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = यवम् - यवकषाष्टिकायात् See VI : 213 S. 3701 for accent.

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमामङ्गाण्यः । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

यत् वा ह्यात् । षो ह्यात् । तिल्यः । तैलीन्यः । माष्यः । माषीन्यः । उम्यः । औमीन्यः । मङ्ग्यः । माङ्गीन्यः । अण्यः । आण्यीन्यः ॥

1805. The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tīla, māṣa, umā, bhaṅgā and aṇu.

The affix khañ will come in the alternative. Thus तिल्यः or तैलीन्यः 'a field for growing sesamum', माष्यः or माषीन्यः 'a field for growing beans', उम्यः or औमीन्यः 'a field of linseed', मङ्ग्यः or माङ्गीन्यः 'a field of hemp', अण्यः or आण्यीन्यः 'a field for small grain'.

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खलजौ । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

अस्तान्धेयै विपातनास्तनास्तः । सर्वचर्मणा कृतः सर्वचर्मणः । सर्वचर्मणः ॥

1806. The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof", after the word sarva-charman.

The word सर्व is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृतः, and with चर्मणः ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मण there is no sāmānyā or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samāsa. Sāmānyā is necessary for that purpose. Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous. Thus सर्वचर्मणकृतः = सर्वचर्मणः or सर्वचर्मणः "made wholly of leather."

१८०७ । यथामुखसंमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

यस्य सद्यं यथाश्रुतं प्रतिविम्बः । विपातनास्तादृशेऽप्यवधीनः । सने सर्वे मुखं संमुखः । समुपस्थान्तकोषे विपातः । यथाश्रुतं दर्शने यथाश्रुतीनः । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः संमुखः ॥

1807. The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathāmukha, and saumukha being in the 6th case in construction.

The word दर्शनः means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things. The word यथाश्रुत "a reflection" is an Avyayībhāva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (II. 1. 0. S. 652). Thus यथाश्रुतं दर्शनः = यथाश्रुतीनः 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror. सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः = समुपस्थीनः 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking-glass. सन् means 'all'; and in forming the compound the final च् of सन् is elided.





1813. The affix *kha* comes after the word *samāmsa-mām* in the sense of 'who bears in the womb'.

The word विजायते means गर्भे ज्ञायति 'who bears in the womb'. This verb governs the accusative of time समांसना by II, 1, 29. S. 691. Thus समांसना विजायते = समांसनीना गोः, समांसनीना वज्रा ॥

According to others the aphorism means "the affix comes in the sense of to give birth to or to get a young". I. e. विजायते = गर्भमेव जनं ॥ According to them, the verb governs the locative समायां समायां विजायते = समांसनीना, the *सु* of the first समायां being elided, the rest of the vibhakti (आय) remains. The word will mean "an animal that gives birth to a young one every year". See Amarakosha II. 9. 72.

*Vart*:—Sometime there is no affixing, but the whole sentence is to be used to express this meaning, or the only of both members is to be elided and a sentence formed. As समां समां विजायते or समायां समायां विजायते ॥

१८१४ । अद्यधीनावच्छेदे । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

अद्य श्री वा विजायते अद्यधीना वज्रा । आसन्नमरणपर्यः । केषिणु विजायते इति नाहुवर्ष-  
यति । अद्यधीनं वरणम् । आसन्नमित्यर्थः ॥

1814. The word *adyasvina* is anomalous, meaning "a female near delivery".

The word विजायते is understood here. The word अवच्छेद means 'imminent, near'. It is formed by अव+च्छेद+क्, the being changed to ह्य by VIII, 3. 68. S. 2273. Thus अद्य श्री वा विजायते = अद्यधीना वज्रा "a mare likely give birth to-day or to-morrow".

Some do not read विजायते in to the sūtra, which then means "The word *adyasvina* is irregularly formed meaning *imminent*". As अद्यधीनं वरणं imminent death.

१८१५ । आगवीनः । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

आगवृत्ततिः । कर्मकरे क्षमसद्यो निपात्यते । गौः प्रत्यर्पणपर्यन्तं हि । कन करोति ॥ आगवीनः ॥

1815. The word *āgavīna* "a day-servant" is irregularly formed.

This word is formed by adding ख to the word गो preceded by the preposition आ, as आगो+ख=आगवीनः ॥ The force of the affix is that of 'a servant'. A person who is engaged in business till the return of the cows from pasture i. e. a day-labourer.

१८१६ । अनुग्यर्तगामी । ५ । २ । १५ ॥

अनुगु । गोः पश्चात्पर्वोक्तं यच्छति । अनुगवीनो गोपाहः ॥

1816. The affix *kha* comes after the word *anugu*, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'.

Thus the word अनुगृ means गौः पालाद् ॥ Thus अनुगृ पर्याप्तं गच्छति = अनुगृहीतः 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i. e. a cowherd.

१८१७ । अध्वनो यत्नौ । ५ । २ । १६ ॥

अध्वानमन् गच्छति अध्वन्यः । अध्वनीनः । ये आभावकर्मणोः । आत्माध्वानी हे इति दृष्टान्तो मकृतिमायः ॥

1817. The affixes *yat* ( य ) and *kha* ( ईन ) come after the word *adhvan*, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'.

Thus अध्वानमन्गामी = अध्वनीनः ॥ अध्वन्यः 'able to undertake a journey'. By aphorisms VI. 4. 168, 169 S. 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final न्, which it does before other affixes, by VI. 4. 144. S. 679.

१८१८ । अभ्यमित्राच्छ च । ५ । २ । १७ ॥

आदाय्योः । अभ्यमित्रोः । अभ्यमित्र्यः । अभ्यमित्रिणः । जनिमानिदुलं दुष्टुः गच्छति सीत्यर्थः ॥

1818. The affix *Ohha* ( ईय ) also as well as *yat* and *kha*. comes after the word *abhyamitra*, in the sense of 'who is able to go'.

The य draws in यद् and ख ॥ Thus आदायिन् अस्त्रेणानी = अभ्यमित्रोः, अभ्यमित्र्यः 'a warrior who valiantly encounters his enemy' = जनिमानिदुलं दुष्टुः गच्छति ॥

१८१९ । गोष्ठारक्ष भूतपूर्व । ५ । २ । १८ ॥

गोष्ठो भूतपूर्व गोष्ठिनी हेतुः ॥

1819. The affix *khañ* comes after the word *goshṭha* in the sense of 'it formerly had been'

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्थ i. e. a cow-pen, it means the place all around a cow-pen. The word भूतपूर्व qualifies it. Thus गोष्ठो भूतपूर्वः = गोष्ठिनी हेतुः 'a place which was formerly a Goshṭha'. Otherwise when not meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठो वर्तते ॥

१८२० । आश्वर्येणारमः । ५ । २ । १९ ॥

आश्वर्येण आश्वरे इति आश्वर्यः । आश्वरीश्वर्यः ॥

1820. The affix *khañ* comes after the word *aśva*, in the relative case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or traversed in one day'

The word *संशस्य* *neing* in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix. The *एकादशः* means *एकदिन गम्यते* i. e. what is or can be gone over in one day. Thus *अथस्यैकदशमौऽब्दा = साधीनः*, as *साधीनानि शतं पतित्वा = यावन्ति बोजनाभ्येकोहेनाभ्येन गम्यते शतं वा शतं गत्वा* ॥ *सहस्राधीनं वा इतः स्वर्गो लीकः* ॥

२८२१ । शालीनकौपीने श्रधृष्टाकार्ययोः । ५ । २ । २० ॥

*यानामवेगमर्हति शालीनः श्रधृष्टः । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीनं पापम् । तस्मात्पतःपातश्रोत्र्यत्वाद्वा पुरुषलिङ्गमपि । तस्मैवन्धातवाच्छावनमपि ॥*

1821. The word *śālīna* and *kaupīna* are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively.

The word *श्रधृष्ट* means 'not proud', *अकार्यम्* means 'unfit to be done' i. e. an infamous act. The words come from *शास्त्र* "a hall" and *कूप* 'a well'. It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well'. However some say *शास्त्रामवेगमर्हति* 'who deserves to enter a hall', = *शालीनः*, *कूपपतनमर्हति* 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' *कौपीनः*, hence a thing to be concealed = the male organ; and the dress that conceals it. As *शालीनो यदः*, *कौपीनं पापं* ॥

१८२२ । ब्रह्मेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

*ब्रह्मेन ब्रह्मिण्यब्रह्मेन जीवति ननु ब्रह्मिवैश्वरेन च ब्राह्मिनः ॥*

1822. The affix *khañ* comes after the word *vrāta* in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life, or who lives by this".

The word *ब्रह्म* means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor. *ब्रह्मेन जीवति* = *ब्राह्मिनः* 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'.

१८२३ । सप्तपदीनि सद्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

*सप्तभिः पदैस्वाप्यन्ते सप्तपदीनम् ॥*

1823. The word *sāptapadīna* is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word *सप्तपदीन* comes from *सप्तपद* but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said *सप्तभिः पदैस्वाप्यन्ते = सप्तपदीनि* "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words".

Note :—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable. *सप्तपदीनि* seems to have some connection

with that. The word सायनप्रीतः or सै means 'a friend' also; the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well.

१८२४ । शैयङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

ह्यो गोदोहस्य विपक्षस्य विचारः विकारार्थे यच्च च विपक्षस्य । दुग्धत्वं इति बोधः क्षीरम् । ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारो शैयङ्गवीनं मयनीत्यम् ॥

1824. The word "haiyaṅgavīna" is anomalous when it is a Name.

The word शैयङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter'. The word comes from ह्यो 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk'. ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारः 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i. e. "fresh butter". The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general. There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means दधित्वा or 'whey'.

१८२५ । तस्य पाकमूले पीत्वाविकर्णादिभ्यः कुणञ्जाह्वयौ । ५ । २ । २४ ॥

पीतुर्ना पाकः पीतुकृत्यः । कर्णस्य मूलं कर्णजाह्वयः ॥

1825. The affixes kuṇāp (कुण) and jāhach (जाह्व) come after the words pilu &c and karna &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'.

The word ह्यय shows that the construction must be genitive. The affix कुणप् comes after पीत्वादि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाह्वप् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'.

Thus पीतुर्ना पाकः = पीतुकृत्यः, कर्णस्य मूलं = कर्णजाह्वयः ॥

1 कर्णः, 2 जाह्वि, 3 मूल, 4 कुण, 5 बोध, 6 पाक, 7 दुग्ध, 8 धू, 9 मूत्र (धूम्र ! धूम्र !), 10 दन्त, 11 बोध, 12 वृत्त, 13 मूल, 14 अद्वयम् ॥

1 पीतु. 2 कर्णस्य ( 'मूल'), 3 जाह्वि, 4 कर्णः, 5 कुण, 6 मूल, 7 जाह्वयः, 8 जाह्वि ॥

१८२६ । पक्षतिः । ५ । २ । २५ ॥

पक्षमहणपाकमनुवर्तते । पक्षस्य मूलं पक्षतिः ॥

1826. The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'.



Thus पक्षस्व मूलं = पक्षविः i. e. पक्षिणः 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'.

१८२७। तेन विचक्षुः चक्षुष्यणौ । ५। २। २६ ॥

यकारः प्रत्ययेष्वेवौ लुप्तनिर्दिष्टेन चक्षुष्ये वक्ष्यते । विद्याया विचो विद्याचक्षुः । विद्याचणः ॥

1827. The affixes *chun̄chup* (चुञ्चु) and *chanap* (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'.

The word *विच* means known, illustrious. Thus *विद्याया विच* = *विद्याचक्षुः*, *विद्याचणः*, *विद्याचणः* ॥ The initial च in these affixes is not ह्रस्व (1. 3. 7. S. 189) because the affixes really are *चक्षुष्य* and *क्षण* ॥ Thus ह्रस्व is elided after words. So च is not the initial of an affix; and does not get ह्रस्व designation.

१८२८। विनञ्ज्यां नानाजौ न सह । ५। २। २७ ॥

नानाजौ पृथग्भावे नानाभावाभ्यां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययौ । विना । नाना ॥

1828. The affixes *ना* and *नाञ्* come respectively after the words *वि* and *नञ्*, in the sense of 'not being together'.

Thus *वि + ना* = *विना* 'without'; *नञ् + नाञ्* = *नाञ्* 'several'.

१८२९। वेः शालच्छाकटचौ । ५। २। २८ ॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसामानाधिकरण्यार्थे । विश्रुतम् विशालम् । विशाकटम् ॥

1829. The affixes *śālach* (शालं) and *śaṅkaṭach* (शकटं) come after the preposition *वि*, without changing the sense.

Thus *विगतं श्रुतं* = *विशालं* *विशकटम्* ॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as *विशालः*, *विशकटः* ॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c. There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix.

१८३०। संमोदश्च कटच् । ५। २। २९ ॥

सङ्कटम् । प्रकटम् । वक्कटम् । चाकिलकटम् ॥ अलावृत्तिजोमावृत्तयो रजस्तुपसंख्यानम् ॥ अलावृत्ता रजः अलावृत्तम् ॥ मोक्षश्चकटः स्थानाविधु पञ्चनामभ्यः \* ॥ मया स्थानं गोमोक्षम् ॥ संयाते कटच् \* ॥ मयीनां सहातोऽधिकतः ॥ विस्तारे पटच् \* ॥ वाविपटः ॥ हिरे गोपुगम् \* ॥ द्वाष्ट्री वट्टगोपुगम् ॥ बदले पट्टगम् \* ॥ अमपट्टगम् ॥ अहे तैत्तच् \* ॥ विनैवेजम् । सर्वपतेतम् ॥ भवने चैवे चाकटचाकिनी \* ॥ इक्षुशकटम् । इक्षुशकिलम् ॥

1830. The affix *kaṭach* (कट) comes after the words *san̄*, *pra*, *ud̄*, (and *vi*).

The *वि* is read into the *sūtra* by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus *संकटम्*, *प्रकटम्*, *वक्कटम्*, *चाकिलम्* ॥



1834. The affixes इवच् and पिटच् come after the word नि in the above sense of a hooked nose; and चिक् and चि are the substitutes of नि before those affixes respectively.

Thus नि + इवच् = चिक् + इवच् = चिकिणः; नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिवितः ॥

*Vart* :—So also comes क, and चिक् replacing नि, as नि + क = चिक् + क = चिकः ॥

*Vart* :—The affix क comes after the word क्षिन्न in the sense of 'its eyes'; and चिक् and चि are substitutes of क्षिन्नः as क्षिन्ने अस्त्रं चक्षुषी = चिकः, चिक् 'blear-eyed'

*Vart* :—बुध् is also the substitute. As बुध् ॥

*Note* :—These words apply to the 'eye' also, as चिक्ते, चिक्ते. बुध् "sore-eyes." They apply to 'person' also.

१८३५ । उपाधिभ्यां त्यक्तासन्नारुढयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

संज्ञायादित्युपसर्गे । पर्वतस्यासन्नं स्थलमुपत्यक्ता । शारुढं त्यक्तपधित्यक्ता ॥

1835. The affix tyakan (त्यक्) comes after the words upa and adhi, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively; the words so formed being Names

Thus उपत्यक्ता = पर्वतस्यासन्नम् lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain,

अधित्यक्ता = पर्वतस्यासन्नम् a table-land, high-land.

*Note* :—The rule VII. 3. 44 S. 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms उपत्यिका or अधित्यिका ॥

१८३६ । कर्मणि घटोठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटत् इति घटः । पद्याद्यच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मवः पुरुषः ॥

1836. The affix aṭhach (अठ) comes after the word karma, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it.'

The word घट means zealous work. It is formed from  $\sqrt{\text{घट}}$  with the अच् of the Paṇḍī. Thus कर्मणि घटते = कर्मवः पुरुषः 'a clever, proficient person.'

१८३७ । तदस्य संज्ञानं तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारकाः संज्ञाना अस्य तारकितं नमः । साकृतिमयोऽयम् ॥

1837. The affix itach (इठ) comes after the words tārakā &c. in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'.

Thus तारकाः संज्ञाना अस्य तारकितं नमः 'a starry sky' i. e. a night in which stars are visible. पुष्पितं वृक्षः 'a tree in which flowers have grown'.

The सारकादि class is बाह्यसिगण ॥

1 सारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कर्पक, 4 मञ्जरी\*, 5 क्षत्रीय, 6 क्षत्र, 7 क्षत्र (क्षत्रक), 8 मूष, 9 निष्कमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उषार, 12 प्रचार, 13 विचार, 14 कुहमल, 15 कण्टक, 16 सुलज, 17 सुकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुतुहल, 20 स्तम्भक, 21 किसलय, 22 पद्म, 23 शृङ्खल, 24 वेग, 25 निद्रा, 26 मुद्रा, 27 सुसुधा, 28 वेदुष्या, 29 विपासा, 30 श्रद्धा, 31 जल, 32 पुत्रक, 33 अक्षरक, 34 वर्णक, 35 ब्रौह, 36 रोह, 37 मुख, 38 दुःख, 39 उत्कण्ठ (उत्कण्ठ), 40 भद्र, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्णम्, 43 अण, 44 गौरव, 45 बाह्य, 46 शरंग, 47 सिद्धक, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र), 49 अन्धकार, 50 शय, 51 सुकुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 उत्कर्ष, 54 रण, 55 कुवलय, 56 वर्ष, 57 क्षुध (क्षुधा), 58 सीमन्त, 59 लघ, 60 गर, 61 रोष, 62 रोषाक्ष, 63 पण्डा, 64 शस्त्रल, 65 लृप्, 66 कोरक, 67 कर्णल, 68 रूपपुद्, 69 फल, 70 कञ्जुक, 71 भृङ्गार, 72 अक्षुर, 73 शेषक, 74 बकुल, 75 श्व, 76 श्व, 77 काराल, 78 कलङ्क, 79 कवच, 80 मूर्च्छा, 81 अक्षर, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिबिम्ब, 84 विप्रसन्न (वितर, तन्त्र)\*, 85 प्रलय, 86 शिखा, 87 गर्ज, 88 सर्वादिमानि (गर्भिताः कालयः but गर्भिणी गीः), 89 लम्बा, 90 लवक, 91 कर, 92 आनीत, 93 मोर, 94 रण ॥

१८३८ । प्रमाणे द्वयसज्जद्वयमात्रः । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

तद्वयसज्जद्वयमात्रः । ऊर्ध्व प्रमाणस्य ऊर्ध्वस्यम् । ऊर्ध्वम् । ऊर्ध्वमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणे लः \* ॥ शान् । विदिः । विवर्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्नित्यम् \* ॥ द्वौ चानौ प्रमाणस्य द्विधमम् ॥ प्रमाणस्योत्तराभां लयमात्रावि संशये माप्यवत्कण्ठः \* ॥ शान्मात्रम् । प्रत्ययमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । वस्त्रास्त्रादि द्वयसज्जद्वयमात्रौ बहुलम् \* ॥ सार्वद्वय माप्यवत्कण्ठः । सामान्यमात्रम् ॥

1838. The affixes dvayasach (द्वयस) daghnach (दर्घ) and mātrach (मात्रे), come in denoting "that whereof this is the lineal measure" after a word in first case in construction.

The word तद्वय is understood here. Thus ऊर्ध्व प्रमाणस्य=ऊर्ध्वद्वयसम्, वरद्वयसम्, ऊर्ध्वमात्रम् 'as high as the thigh'.

Note :—As ऊर्ध्वद्वयसज्जद्वयसम् 'water reaching upto the thigh'. According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths, and not horizontal measures. The affix मात्रम् comes in a general sense also. As प्रथमात्रम् 'a orbit long'.

Vdt :—The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure. Thus शान् प्रमाणस्य =शान् 'that which is sama (a hand) in length'. Similarly विदिः, विवर्तिः ॥

Note :—The affix मात्र only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words.

Vdt :—The elision is invariable after a Dvigu. As द्वौ चानौ प्रमाणस्य =द्विधमम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "invariable"? The elision will take place even when there is doubt. द्वे विदिः स्मृतं वा न न्य-द्विविदिः ॥

Vdt :—The affix मात्रम् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt. As

प्रमाणाच्च=शुभः प्रमाणमस्य स्वाज्ञ वा, प्रत्ययाच्च, वचनमाच्च ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vārtika, where mātra is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word नित्य being used there.

*Vart* :—The affixes दृढत्वाच्च and माचच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वहु ; as तावद्दृढत्वम्, = तद् परिमाणमस्य धान्वादिस्तावद् तावन्माचच् &c.

१८३६ । पुरुषद्वस्तिज्यामस्य च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणात्स्य वैरूपम् । पुरुषद्वयस्य । द्वस्तिनम् । द्वस्तिद्वयस्य ॥

1839. The affix *an* also, as well *dwayasach* &c, comes after the words *purusha* and *hasti*, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure.'

The phrase *सर्वस्य प्रमाणे* is understood here. By च the affixes दृढत्वच् &c are drawn in. Thus पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य = वैरूपम्, पुरुषद्वयस्य, प्रकृतवाच्य, पुरुषनाच्य, द्वस्तिद्वयस्य, द्वस्तिद्वयम्, द्वस्तिमाच्य, द्वस्तिनम् ॥

*Note* :—The affix is always elided after a Dvigu. As द्विपुरुषद्वयस्य, द्विपुरुषम्, द्विद्वस्ति, विद्वस्ति, द्विपुरुषी, विपुरुषी, द्विद्वस्तिनी, विद्वस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतज्यः परिमाणे यदुप । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य भावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840. The affix *vatup* (वत्) comes after the words *yad*, *tad*, and *etad*, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume".

The phrase *सर्वस्य* is understood here. As यद् परिमाणमस्य = तावान् । This form is thus evolved; यद् + वत्तुप् = यावत् (the *ti* यद् being replaced by वा by VI. 3. 91) = यावत्तु (the *तु* being added by VII. 1. 70) = यावत्तुत् (the *त्* being lengthened by VI. 4. 41); the *vibhakti* being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and त् being elided by VIII. 2. 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदमर्थो वो घः । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आर्थो वतुप्पदस्य च वा । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words *kim* and *idam*, घ (ह्य्) is substituted for the व् of *vatup*.

Thus किम् + वत्तुप् = की + वत्तुप् (VI. 3. 90) = क् + वत्तुप् (VI. 4. 148) = कियान् nom. कियान्. Similarly इयम् nom. इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किमः संख्यापरिमाणे इति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

पादतुप् । सत्यं वा वत्तु यः स्यात् । वा संख्या देवां ते कति । कियन्तः ॥

1842. The affix *-dati* (अति with the elision of इम्) as well as the affix *-vatap* comes after the word *किम्*, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'.

The *य* introduces the affix *-वतुप्* which is changed into *-वत्* (इयत्) ॥ The word *संख्यापरिमाणे* means *संख्यायाः परिमाणं* i. e. *संख्यापरिमाणैः* making estimate by numbers. As *का संख्या परिमाणं तेषां ब्राह्मणानां* = *कति ब्राह्मणाः* or *किमन्तो ब्राह्मणाः* how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these. This always comes in the plural.

१८४३ । संख्याया अवयवे तयप् । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

पञ्चावयवा अस्यपञ्चतये वाक् ॥

1843. The affix *-tayap* (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many".

The word *तद्वत्* is understood here. Thus *पंच अवयवा अस्य* = *पंचतयम्* having five parts. The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole.

१८४४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायत्ता । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

द्वयम् । द्वितयम् । त्रयम् । त्रितयम् ॥

1844. The affix *-ayach* (अयै) is optionally the substitute of *-tayap*, after words *dvi* and *tri*.

-As *द्वावयवाअस्य* = *द्वयम्*, or *द्वितयम्*, *त्रयम्* or *त्रितयम्* 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI. 4. 148).

१८४५ । उभाहुदात्तो नित्यम् । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

उभयादुदात्तयोऽयच् स्यात् स चायुदात्तः । उभयम् ॥

1845. After the word *udāha*, *-ayach* is always the substitute for *-tayap*, having the acute (*udātta*) accent on its first syllable.

Note 1:—The affix *-ayach* having indicatory *य* takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710). i. e. on *य*. the special mention of *udātta* in the *sūtra* shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i. e. the first syllable i. e. *अय*; for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word *udātta* in the *sūtra*.

If *उय* is a *Śukhyā* word (I. 3. 23 S. 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken *तयप्*, the present *sūtra* ordains *अयै* instead as a substitute always. If it is not a *Śukhyā*, then we should first ordain *तयप्* after it, by the process of splitting the *sūtra* V. 2. 42 into two, thus *संख्यायाः तयप्*, *अययै तयप्* and then replace *तयप्* by *अय* ॥

Thus *उभोपीगोदितो अययै तयप्* = *उभयम्* ॥ *उभयो देवमनुजयोः* ; *उभयोः मयिः* ॥

१८४६ । त्वस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताङ्गः । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्कादशम् ॥ अतस्तदस्यैवेत्येते \* ॥ नैह एकादश अधिका अस्यां विद्यते ॥ पकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानाच्चातीत्यत्र एवेत्येते \* ॥ नैह । एकादश माया चाधिके, अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846. The affix *da* (अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in *daśan*, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is surplus in it".

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शतम् = एकादश शतम् "hundred + eleven". So, also, एकादशे शतम् ॥

*Ishī* :—This applies only after शत and सङ्ख, therefore, it does not apply here :—एकादशतिकाः अस्यां विद्यते ॥

*Ishī* :—This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination. As एकादश कार्पाण्या अधिका अस्मिन् कार्पाण्या शते = एकादशे कार्पाण्याशते ॥ But not here :—एकादश माया अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

*Note* :—The word इति in the sūtra is for clearness. The rule applies to शतसङ्ख also, as एकादशे शतसङ्खम् which may mean either (1) एकादश शतान्यधिकाभ्यामस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सङ्ख्याधिकाभ्यामस्मिन् ॥

१८४७ । शतशतविंशतेः । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

उः स्यादुक्तैर्भेदः । द्विकशधिका अस्मिन् विंशे शतम् । विंशम् ॥

1847. The affix *da* comes in the sense of "this is surplus in it", after a Numeral ending in शत, and after विंशति; with the elision of अन् and अति ॥

The Indicator *ङ* causes elision of *विंशति* portion VI. 4. 142. S. 844. Thus विंशतधिका अस्मिन् शते = विंश शतम्

*Note* :—This rule applies to abstract Numerals. Hence not here, माविंशतधिका अस्मिन् शतम् ॥

So also after विंशति; as विंश शतम् ॥

१८४८ । संख्यायामुत्पत्त्य निमाने मयद् । १ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मूल्ये यत्तन्मात्राण्यधमन्मासंख्यायाधिनः पदपर्ये मयट्स्वम् । यवानां हो मारी निमानस्येति शब्दिक्रास्य द्विगुणद्विगुणद्विगुणानाम् । सुवर्णमिति किम् । हो द्विगुणस्य निमानस्योच्यते । निमाने किम् । हो एवौ शीरस्य एकस्तेजस्य द्विगुणे शीरे च पश्यते तेजसि ॥

1848. The affix *mayat* (मय with feminine in *उत्पत्त्ये*) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of "containing so many times more of something" or "the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other."

The word **सुख** from V. 2. 36 should be read in this. The sense of the aphorism is "after a Numeral in the first case in construction (**सु**), with the force of a genitive (**ख**), comes the affix **सुख**, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (**निमान**) of a portion (**सुख**)". The word **सुख** means **भाग** or "portion", and **निमान** means 'price'. In comparing the quality of one thing with another, **निमान** is the value or price. Thus **यवार्त्त द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदभिदभागस्य = द्विगुणमुदभिदयवानाम्** "two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udaśvit". Similarly **विमस्य, चतुर्गुणम्**, lit. "Udaśvit is **द्विगुण** or 'two-times' the value of yava".

**Notes:**—The word **सुख** is in the singular number. The comparison must therefore, be made with one portion of a thing, with the several portions of the other. The ratio must be  $2:1$ , but never  $2:2$ , or  $3:3$  &c. Therefore, the rule does not apply here, **द्वौ भागौ यवार्त्तं यव उदभिदः ॥** The **॥** also must be more than one. The rule therefore does not apply here: **एकौ भागौ निमानमस्य ॥**

The word **सुख** denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction. As **द्वौ भागौ यवानाम्पदं उदभिदः ॥**

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i. e. in denoting the thing received in exchange. (**निदेय**) As **उदभिदो द्वौ भागौ निदेयस्य यवानस्य = द्विगुणः**, as **द्विगुणः यवा उदभिदः = "उदभिदो द्वौ सुखा निदेयो देवानकसुखार्त्तं यवानं"** "the exchange value of Udaśvita is twice as much as that of a Yava". The word **निमान** means the thing given in exchange; and **निदेय** the thing received in exchange. Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins.

Why do we say **सुखस्य** 'of a portion'? Observe **द्वौ प्रीहियवी निमानमस्योदभिदः ॥** Here being no comparison of ratios, there is no affixing.

Why do we say **निमाने** "in denoting the thing given in exchange"? Observe, **द्वौ सुखौ क्षीरस्य एकमेवमस्य = द्विसुखे पच्यते सैले क्षीरेण** "one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk". Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing.

**Notes:**—In short **सुख** has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As **द्विगुण** "two time", the word qualifying sometime the **निमान**, sometime the **निदेय**; o. g. **द्विगुणमुदभिद यवानं** "Udaśvit is two-times or two-fold or Yava in value"; or **द्विगुणः यवा उदभिदः** "two-times Yava are equal to one Udaśvit".

१८४८ । तस्य पूर्णे इह । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एतादृशानां पूरणं यत्नमस्य ॥

1849. The affix **तत** (**त**, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is "making full this number".



That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः the "eleventh" (i. e. the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven).

*Note* :—By this affix, ordinals are formed. The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this :—पंचानां पुष्टिकानां पूरणो यद् ॥

१८५० । नास्तादसंख्यादेर्मद् । ५ । २ । १४९ ॥

उदो मदापमः स्याद् । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चमः । नाप्तात्किम् । विंशः । सप्तत्योः किम् । एकादशः ॥

1850. The augment माट् (म) comes before डद्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न् when no other Numeral precedes it.

Thus पंचमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five). Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशसे पूरणः = विंशः 'twentieth'. Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः ॥

१८५१ । पदकतिकतिपयचतुरां युक् । ५ । २ । ५१ ॥

एषां ध्रुगमनः स्याद्बुद्धिः । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चः । कतिपयः । कतिपयस्य सप्तस्य सप्तस्य सप्तस्य एव शापकाद्बुद् । कतिपययः । चतुर्यः ॥ चतुरस्रस्य सायस्य सप्तस्य ॥ तुरीयः । तुर्यः ॥

1851. When दाट् follows, युक् is the augment of the words shaट्, kati; katipaya and chatur.

The डद् is to be read into this sūtra, and it should be changed into locative, as डटि 'when दाट् follows'. The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes डद् by force of this sūtra. Thus पञ्चानां पूरणो = पञ्चः 'sixt'. कतिपयः 'the which in order'? कतिपययः 'the one in order after several', चतुर्यः 'the fourth'.

*Part* :—The affixes छ (इय) and झ come after चतुर, and there is elision of the first letter. As तुरीयः or तुर्यः ॥

*Note* :—In this and the two following sūtras, the action of the ड् of डद् vanishes when an augment is added.

१८५२ । बहुपूगमणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

इटीलेष । पूगमणयोः सङ्घायेऽप्यत एव डद् । बहुविधः । इत्यादि ॥

1852. When दाट् follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahn, pūga, gana, and saṅgha.

The word डटि is understood here also. The words पूग and घण are not Numerals; they take the affix डद् by virtue of this sūtra. Thus बहूनां पूरणो = बहुविधः, पूगतिपयः, गणतिपयः, and संघाविधः &c.

१८५३ । चतोरिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

इटीलेष । गणतिपयः ॥

1853. When *ḍaṭ* follows, *इयुक्* is the augment of a stem ending in *vatu*.

The word *इति* is understood here also. The words ending in *वतु* are Numerals (I. 1. 23 S. 258) : and they will take *इद्* by V. 2. 48 ; the present sūtra declares the augment. Thus *यान्त्रिकपूर्णे* = *यान्त्रिक* ; ॥

१८५३ । द्वेस्तीयः । ५ । २ । ५४ ॥

इदोऽपवारः । इदोः पूर्णो द्वितीयः ॥

1854. The affix *तीय* comes in the sense of 'completer thereof', after the word *dvi*.

This debars *इद्* ॥ Thus *इदोः* *पूर्णो* = *द्वितीयः* 'the second'—that which completes the two.

१८५४ । त्रैः संप्रसारणं च । ६ । २ । ५५ ॥

इतीयः ॥

1855. The affix *तिया* comes in the sense of 'completer thereof,' after the word *tri*; and there is *samprasāraṇa* (vocalisation) of the stem.

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is *samprasāraṇa* (I. 1. 45). Thus *वि* + *तीय* = *वृ* + *इ* + *तीय* = *वृतीयः* (VI. 1. 108, the *इ* of *वि* assumes the form of the prior letter *वृ* which is substituted for *वृ* )

*Note* :—In *वृतीयः* the *वृ* is not lengthened by VI. 4. 2. because that rule applies to the lengthening of the *वृ* letters only, this word being read into VI. 4. 2, by *anuvṛtti* from VI. 8. 11 : S. 174. The *pratyāhara* *वृ* is formed by the first *वृ* and means the letters *वृ*, *इ* and *उ* ॥

१८५५ । विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् ६ । २ । ५६ ॥

एको वदस्तमः। एको वा त्याङ् । विंशतितमः । विंशः । एकविंशतितमः एकविंशः ॥

1856. After the words *viṅśati* &c. *tamaṭ* (तम with fem. in-ङीप्) is optionally the augment of *ḍaṭ*.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of *पूर्ण* we must read the word *इद्* into this sūtra, as the affix to which the augment *तम* is added. Thus *विंशतेः* *पूर्णे* = *विंशतितमः* or *विंशः* 'twentieth' *एकविंशतितमः* or *एकविंशः*, *त्रिविंशतितमः* or *त्रिविंशः* *चत्वारिंशतितमः* or *चत्वारिंशः* ॥

*Note* :—In the case of *तम* and *तद्* there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augmenta. Thus *पंचम्* + *तम* = *पञ्च* + *तम* (VI. 4. 141) = *पञ्चतमः* ॥

१८५६ । तित्वं शतादिमासार्धमासमयत्तरात् १ । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

एतत्तमः पूर्णः एतत्तमः । एकचतुर्तमः । मासादिना एव इद् । अष्टमतमः ॥

1857. Always after the words *sata* &c. and after *māsa*, *ardha-māsa* and *sam-vatsar*, *tamaṭ* is the augment of *ḍaṭ*.

The words *सतादयः* are numerals. The words *मास* &c. are not numerals; they would not have taken *उट्* but by the implication of this sūtra. Thus *शतस्य पूरयः शततमः* 'hundredth'; *सप्ततमः*. Similarly *मासस्य पूरणः* = *मासतमोदिवसः* the last day of the month; *अर्द्धमासतमः*; *संवत्सरतमः* ॥

Note:—By the next sūtra the words *सह* &c. would have taken *सम्*; but the scope of that sūtra is confined to numerals not preceded by another numeral. There is no such restriction here. Hence we have *एकवचनम्*; *द्विवचनम्* ॥

१८५८ । बहुधादेश्चाऽसंख्यादेः । ५ । २ । ५८ ॥

वङितम् ॥ संख्यादेश्च निष्ठायाश्च इति विकल्प एव । एकवचनम् । एकवङितम् ॥

1158. After the words *shasbṭi* &c. when no other Numeral precedes them; *tamaṭ* is always the augment of *ḍaṭ*.

By sūtra V. 2. 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus *वङितम्*:

Why do we say "when not preceded by a Numeral"? Observe *एकवचनम्*; *एकवङितम्*; *एकतमम्* or *एकवचनितम्* ॥ Here V. 2. 56. S. 1856 applies also.

१८५९ । मत्तौ छःसूक्तसाम्नोः । १ । २ । ५९ ॥

मत्तौ छः स्यात् । अष्टावाकस्योऽस्मिन्नस्ति अष्टावाकीयं वक्तव्यं । आरवन्तीयं साम ॥

1859. When a *Sūkta* or a *Sāman* is to be expressed, the affix *Ohha* (इय) comes after = *prātipadika* (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix *matup* (V. 2. 94).

The word *मत्तौ* means 'in the sense of मत्तु affix.' The sense of *मत्तु* is "whose is it or in whom it is". Thus *अष्टावाकस्योऽस्मिन्* = *अष्टावाकीयं वक्तव्यं*; *निवावदीयं साम*, *आरवन्तीयं साम* ॥

Note:—The affix comes after a collocation of words, as *अष्टव्यामीदे* 'the *Sūkta*, containing the words *अष्टव्यामि* e. g. *Rig Veda Maṇḍala* I. *sūkt*-164. Here the words *अष्टव्यामि* are considered as a Nominal Stem. So also *अष्टावाकीयम्* ॥

१८६० । अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक् । १ । २ । ६० ॥

मत्तौ स्यात् । अयं एव क्षापकाच्च छः । निधानसामर्थ्याच्च विकल्पेन लुक् । मर्दनाच्च ॥

1860. When an *Adhyāya* or an *Anuvāka* is to be expressed, there is (optionally) *luk*-clision of the affix *Ohha* having the above sense of *matup*.

This sūtra indicates by implication (श्रुत्या), that the affix **उ** comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka. According to Pāṇjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix. According to Kaiyāta, as this sūtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional. Thus गर्दभाण्ड शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गर्दभाण्डोऽप्ययः, अत्रुवाको वा ॥ In the alternative, गर्दभाण्डोऽयः ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽण् स्यादप्यायानुवाकयोः । विमुक्तः अन्तेऽस्मिन्नस्ति वैमुक्तः । देशसुरः ॥

1861. The affix **an** comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c.

Thus विमुक्ताशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = वैमुक्तोऽप्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also- देशसुरः &c.  
1 विमुक्तः, 2 देशसुरः, 3 रक्षोऽष्टुरः, 4 उपसद्, 5 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण), 6 परितारक (परितारकः), 7 सप्तसन्, 8 वसु, 9 मरुतः, मरुतवत्, 10 पत्नीवत्, 11 वधुवत्, 12 मदीयवत्, (मदीयवत्), 13 सप्तवत्, 14 वद्वत्, 15 वृत्तार्थः, 16 वृत्तार्थः, 17 वद्वत्, (वृत्तार्थवत्), 18 हविर्वाकः, 19 पत्तादिन् (पत्तादि), 20 गतिनी, 21 अस्त्वहन्, 22 सोमाग्रवत्, 23 इडा, 24 अमाविष्णु, (विष्णु), 25 सर्वधी, 26 वृचवत् (वृचवत्), 27 निषी, 28 सोमः, 29 हेतुः ॥

१८६२ । गोपदादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽप्यायानुवाकयोः । गोपदकः । इवेत्यकः ॥

1862. After the nominal stems goṣhada &c, there is the affix **van** (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed.

Thus गोपदशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गोपदकोऽप्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इवेत्यकः, नातरिभ्यः &c  
Another reading is गोपद इवेत्यकः the final consonant being mute.

1 गोपदः, (गोपदः), 2 इवेत्या (इवा), 3 नातरिभ्यः, 4 देवस्यत्यः, 5 देवीरापः, 6 कृष्णोऽस्या, ललाः, 7 देशी (देशी) भिय भिय (भियन्), 8 रक्षोहन्, 9 सुप्रज्ञान, 10 नम्रज्ञान, 11 मद्यज्ञ, 12 मद्युतः, 13 कृत्वाद्, (कृत्वा), 14 सप्तवत्, 15 वातस्य ते, 16 कृष्णवत्, 17 स्वशामाय, 18 मत्तः (!), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशलः पथः । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

पुनर्यात् । यथि कुशलः पथकः ॥

1863. The affix **van** comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in construction, when the sense is "versed therein or skilled therein".

Thus यथि कुशलः = पथकः (यथि + पुन = पथ + पुन VI. 4. 144. = पथ + अक VII. 1. 1.).

१८६४। आकर्षादिभ्यः कन् । ५। २। ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुल आकर्षकः। आकर्षादिभ्य इति रेफादितो ह्रस्वः पाठः। आकर्षो विक्रयोलः ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems ākarṣha &c, being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus आकर्षेकुलः=आकर्षकः, खरकः। The best texts have आकवः (Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकष), 2 खरक, 3 पिशाच (पिशासा), 4 विषण्ड, 5 अशाने, 6 भद्रमन्, 7 निषय (विषय), 8 कव, 9 विज्ञय, 10 जय, 11 आषय, 12 नय 13 पाव (निपाव), 14 दीप, 15 हव, 16 ह्राव, 17 ह्लाव, 18 नमद, 19 वक्तुनि, 20 सव, ॥

१८६५। धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५। २। ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा। धने कामो धनको देववत्तस्य। हिरण्यकः ॥

1865. The affix kan comes, after the words dhana and hiranya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter.'

The word काम means 'desire, wish'. Thus धने कामः=धनको देववत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यकोः ॥

१८६६। क्षेत्रेभ्यः प्रसिते । ५। २। ६६ ॥

क्षेत्रेण प्रसितः क्षेत्रकः। तत्र च नारायणं तत्रैव इत्यर्थः ॥

1866. The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words त्वक् and कव are understood in this sūtra. The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon, craving after'. Thus क्षेत्रेण प्रसितः=क्षेत्रकः i. e. क्षेत्राद्विचक्षणार्थं प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note;—The स्वर्गभ्यः is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Śringa terms. Thus इन्द्रोद्यकः, क्षेत्रोद्यकः ॥ See. II. 3. 44.

१८६७। उदरादृणाधूमे । ५। २। ६७ ॥

अदिजिगीषौ उक्त्वा स्यात्। कनोऽप्युपायः। असुखवात्यन्तपीडित उदरे प्रसित औदारिकः। आधूमे क्षिप। उदरकः। उदरपरिगर्जनासौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

1867. The affix than (इक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara.

This debars the affix क्व ॥

Adyūna=not desiring to conquer; उदरपेच्छादितः see VIII. 2. 47. S. 3028 for the formation of this word from the root div.

*Note* :—The translation given above is according to 'Dr. Böhtlingk. According to the Kāśikā, the ānuyūṭi of प्रसित् is also read into this śūtra. The meaning then would be 'thak comes after the word udara in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'.

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called ; उदरवि-जिगीषुर्भक्ष्यह । Thus उदरे प्रसितः = जीवन्तिः ( i. e. आधूनः )

Why do we say when it means 'voracious,' Observe उदरकः 'abdominal'.

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजातः । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कन् स्वयंते ननु इक् । सस्यस्यो शुभवाची ननु चान्दवाची । सस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन शुभेन परिजातः संबद्धः सस्यकः साधुः ॥

1868. The affix kan (क) comes after the word sasya being in the third case in construction, when the sense is "to supply richly with it".

The ānuyūṭi of कन्, not of इक्, is 'to be read here. The word सस्य means 'good quality' and not 'corn'. Another reading is सस्य. The word परि means 'all, every where'. That which is full of (परिजात) good qualities (सस्य) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here. Thus सस्येन परिजातः = सस्यकः साधुः 'a rice, above all praise', सस्यकः साधुः 'a good man, not equalled by any'.

१८६९ । शरीं हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

-हारीत्यावश्यके णिनिः । अत एव सयोगे पठितम् । शंस्यको सायादः ॥

1869. The affix kan comes after the word anśa 'a share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being 'who must take that'.

The word कन्त is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing that the construction must be accusative. The word हारिन्, nom. हारी is formed by adding णिनि to the root ह, the force of the affix being that of "must, or necessity". See III. 3. 170. S. 3311. The word हारिन् will govern accusative and not genitive ( II. 3. 70. S. 628.)

Thus शंस हारी = शंसकः 'an heir', i. e. who is entitled to take a share at partition i. e. सायादः । शंसका पुत्रः ॥

१८७० । तन्त्राश्चिरापहते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्त्रकः पटः । तन्त्रश्च इत्यर्थः ॥

1870. The affix Kan comes after the word tantra 'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of "taken off therefrom not long ago or shortly before".

The word **सन्न** must be in the fifth case in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sūtra. The word **जतिर** means 'short time, not long' **अपहृतः** means "taken off". Thus **सन्नाद्विरापहतः = सन्नकः** 'a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off' i. e. an unbleached cloth. As **सन्नकः पटः, सन्नकः प्रसरः** 'a new mantle' = **प्रत्ययः** or **नवः** ॥

१८७१ । ब्राह्मणकोपिने संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ७१ ॥

आशुब्रवीद्विनो ब्राह्मण्यं दक्षिणदेशे स ब्राह्मणकः । अस्वपन्नं यत्वा सा दक्षिणकाः यवागूः ।  
असद्वद्वदं दण्योद्वेवो विपात्यते ॥

1871. The words **Brāhmanaka** and **ushpika** are anomalous, when they are Names.

Thus **ब्राह्मणको देशः, दक्षिणका.यवागूः** ॥ The affix **क** is added to **ब्राह्मण**, with the force of 'a place where Brāhmanas who live by the profession of arms dwell'. Similarly **दक्षिणक** means **अस्वपन्नः** ॥ The word **सन्न** is replaced by **सन्न** by virtue of this sūtra.

१८७२ । शीतोष्णभ्यां कारिणि । ५ । २ । ७२ ॥

शीतं करोतीति शीतकौशलसः । उष्णं करोतीति उष्णकः शीतकारी ॥

1872. The affix **kan** comes after the words **śīta** and **uṣṇa**, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'.

The words **शीतः** and **उष्णः** being used as adverbs will be in accusative construction. As **शीतं करोति** 'who goes to work coldly' i. e. a lazy man = **शीतकः = प्रलसः, जडः** ॥ Similarly **उष्णकः = शीतकारी, दृष्टः** 'who goes to work hotly'.

१८७३ । अधिकम् । ५ । २ । ७३ ॥

अध्याख्येयान्तरात्कम् दन्तरपदलोपम् ॥

1873. The word **adhika** is anomalous.

The word **अधिकः** meaning 'more', is formed by adding **क** to the word **अध्याख्ये**; there being elision of the second term before the affix. Thus **अधिको द्रोणः खारी** or **अधिको द्रोणः खार्या** "a Droṇa is superior to Khārī". **अधिको खारी द्रोणेन** "a Khārī is inferior to Droṇa". The word **अध्याख्ये** governs nominative or accusative indifferently.

*Note*:—Thus **अध्याख्ये द्रोणः खारी** ॥ Similarly **अधिक** would have governed the accusative also. But Pāṇini uses the ablative and locative after **adhika**, as in II. 3. 9. S. 645 and V. 2. 45. S. 1816 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative. This is the case when **adhyaṅgā** is an active participle. But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III. 4. 72. S. 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction. In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative.

१८७३। अनुकामिकासीक कमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अनुकामिकां कम् । अनेः पालिका दीर्घश्च । अनुकामयते अनुकः । अभिकामयते अभिकः ।  
अभीकः ॥

1874. The words anuka, abhika and abhika are anomalously formed by adding कम् to anu and abhi, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'.

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुकः 'desirous, libidinous'. अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीकः 'a lover, voluptuous person'. These are formed by adding कम् to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of abhi is lengthened.

१८७५। पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनुसृतपायः पार्श्वे तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वकः ॥

1875. The affix kan comes after the word pāśva, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that".

The word पार्श्वम् means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient'. One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वकः 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan'. पार्श्व = a rib, a cooked thing; as पार्श्वकः = मायाविद्, कौमुदिक, जातिः &c.

१८७६। अयः शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां उक्ठञी । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

शूलम् दण्डयोः अयः शूलान्विच्छति अयः शूलिकः । शूलसिकः । शूलजिनं दम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति शूलदण्डाजिनिकः ॥

1876. The affixes ṭhak and ṭhañ come respectively after nyahśūla and dandājina, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

The word अयः शूलम् is understood here also. The word अयः शूलम् means 'a violent proceeding'. Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called अयः शूलिकः = शूलसिकः ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (danda) and hide (ajina)' i. e. outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy. Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called दण्डाजिनिकः = दण्डजिनिकः ॥

१८७७। तावतिर्धं प्रदणमिति लुक् । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कम् एतादृशप्रवृत्तयस्य य लुक् । द्वितीयकं द्विधं वा प्रदणं प्रवृत्तयः । द्वितीयेन रूपेण प्रवृत्तयः । तावतिर्धं प्रदणमिति कन् प्रवृत्तयोः निधं य लुक् ॥ प्रवृत्तयः प्रवृत्तयः प्रवृत्तयः प्रवृत्तयः प्रवृत्तयः । प्रवृत्तयः ॥

1877. The affix kun is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts";



and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number.

The word तत्कालि (V. 2. 53 S. 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरा i. e. ordinals. The word ग्रहण means 'acquired or learned hereby'. This qualifies the base. Thus द्वितीयं ग्रहणं = द्विक् ग्रहणम् or द्वितीयकं ग्रहणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i. e. "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिक् or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

*Part*:—When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the person who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरा affix is compulsory and not optional. Thus षष्ठेन ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं ग्रहणं = षष्ठको देवदत्तः 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i. e. 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt'. Similarly दशकम्, चतुष्कम् ॥ The word ग्रहण here is confined to books only and to nothing else.

१८७८ । स यथा ग्रामणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो ह्यथो यथा ते देवदत्ताः । स्वकः । वक्तः ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader".

The word ग्रामणी means 'head-man, leader, spokes-man'. Thus देवदत्तो ह्यथोऽथ = देवदत्तकः, ॥ So also स्वकः and वक्तः ॥

*Note*:—Why do we say 'when meaning a leader' ? Witness देवदत्तः सपुरोधा ॥ Here there is no affixing.

१८७९ । मृगलम्बं बन्धनं करसे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

मृगलम्बः करसः ॥

1879. The affix kan comes after the word grīṅkhala a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel.

Thus मृगलं बन्धनम् करसम् = मृगलम्बः ॥

*Note*:—The young ones of a camel are called करस ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called मृगल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet grīṅkhala being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धनम् or bond or fetter.

१८८० । उत्क उन्मनाः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

उत्क उन्मनः कृतेऽप्युन्मनात्वायं कर् । उत्क उन्मनः ॥

1880. The word *utka* is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called *उत्कम्* ॥ The word *उत्कः* is formed by adding *कृ* to the preposition *उ* without changing the sense, in the sentence *उत्कृतमनस्कवृत्तिः* ॥ Thus *उत्कः* *विवृतः* *उत्कः* *प्रवासी* = *उत्कृष्टः* or *उत्कण्ठितः* ॥

१८८१। कालप्रयोजनान्नान्ने । ५। २। ८१ ॥

कालप्रयोजनाद्ययोजनवचनमात्रं कर्त्तव्यमन्ने । द्वितीयेऽहनि भवेत् द्वितीयको उत्कः । प्रयोजनं कारणं रोगस्य फलं वा । विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पकः । उष्णं कार्यमस्य उत्पन्नकः । ऐमे किञ्च । द्वितीयो विषस्रोत्य ॥

1881. The affix *kan* comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect ( of the diseased ), when an illness is denoted.

The word *काल* means 'days' &c, and *प्रयोजनम्* means 'the cause ( of disease ) or its effect'. Thus *द्वितीयेऽहनि* = *द्वितीयको उत्कः* 'the fever which comes on the second day'. Similarly after a word denoting *प्रयोजनम्*, as, *विषपुष्पैर्जनितः* = *विषपुष्पको उत्कः* 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers'. So also *पाशपुष्पकः* ॥ So also *उष्णं कार्यमस्य* = *उत्पन्नकः* 'a fever producing heat'. Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, *द्वितीयो विषस्रोत्य* ॥

Note—The word *संज्ञा* is to be read in to this sūtra from the next sūtra. Therefore words *द्वितीयकः* &c are Names.

१८८२। तदस्मिन्नन्ने प्रत्ये संज्ञायाम् । ५। २। ८२ ॥

प्रथमाहारासक्तमर्थे कर्त्तव्यं तद्वचनमन्ने चेत्याद्यविषये सन् । गृहापूषाः प्रायेणाग्नमहर्षं गृहापूषिका वैर्णमसौ ॥ परिक्रम्य द्वाविर्द्वयः ॥ परिक्रिन्ति ॥

1882. The affix *kan* is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name.

Thus *गृहापूषा प्रायेणाग्नमहर्षं वैर्णमसौ* = *गृहापूषिका वैर्णमसौ* "The *Gṛhāpūṣa* — *Paurṇamāsī*" i.e. that particular Full-Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food.

Part:—The affix *हनि* comes after *उत्क* in the same sense. As *परिक्रिन्ति वैर्णमसौ* ॥

१८८३। गृहमापादम् । ५। २। ८३ ॥

गृहमापाः प्रायेणाग्नमहर्षं वैर्णमसौ ॥

1883. The affix *nā* comes after *kulmāsha*, in the same sense "this is the principal food on this particular occasion"—and the whole word is a Name.

The *न्* of *अन्* is for the sake of causing *Vṛddhi* and accent. Thus  
 कृत्वाऽथः प्रायेणान्नमस्यां=कौल्यायी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८४ । ओत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

ओत्रियः । ऐत्यनुवृत्तेश्छान्दसः ॥

1884. The word *śrotriyan* is irregularly formed meaning 'who has studied the *Chhandas*'.

*Note*:—The *न्* in *ओत्रियन्* is for the sake of accent. At *ओत्रियो ब्राह्मणः* "a *Brāhmana* learned in the *Vedas*". The word *ओत्रिय* is either a condensed expression for the full sentence *छन्दोऽधीते*, referring to no particular base or affix. Or the word *छन्दन्* is replaced by *ओन्*, and then is added the affix *यन्* ॥ But how do you form *छान्दसः*, in the sense of *छन्दोऽधीते*, by adding the affix *यन्* by IV. 2. 69 S. then *छान्दसः*? The present *sūtra* is optional, the word *य* of V. 2. 77 S. 1877 being understood here: so that we have the form *छान्दसः* also. Some say that *ओत्रिय* applies only to that person who has not only studied the *Vedas*, but who acts upon its purport also, while *छान्दस* applies to a student in general; so one *sūtra* does not debar the other, as they apply to different objects.

१८८५ । आद्धमनेन भुक्मिनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

आद्धी । आद्धिकः ॥

1885. The affixes *ini* (*इन्*) and *than* come after the word *śrāddha*, in the sense of "this is eaten by him".

Thus *आद्धं भुक्मनेन*=*आद्धी* or *आद्धिकः* "a person who has eaten obsequial food".

*Note*:—This relates to a person who eats on the day the *Śrāddha* ceremony takes place; and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of *śrāddha*. *यद्य भुक्ते आद्धे भ्यः आद्धिक इति मायम् ॥* The word *आद्ध* originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word *यद्धा* with the affix *य* V. 2. 10) In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony.

१८८६ । पूर्वोदिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्वं कृतमनेन पूर्वो ॥

1886. The affix *ini* (*इन्*) comes after *pūrva*, in the sense of 'by whom something was done formerly'.

The word *मनेन* of the last *sūtra* is understood here. But what is the verb of which *मनेन* is the agent. The *भुक्* of the last *sūtra* is not to be read

into this sūtra. Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c. to complete the sense. Thus पूर्वैः कृतमनेन = पूर्वैः ॥ In fact पूर्वैः means "by whom some thing was done &c. formerly".

१८८७ । सपूर्वाच्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887. The affix ini comes after the word pūrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done'.

Thus कृतपूर्वी कृतम् = पूर्वैः कृतमनेन 'who formerly made'. कृतपूर्वी कृतम् ॥

Note.—In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II. 1. 4; and then the affix is added. These two sūtras V. 2. 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims बहुवचनं प्रातिपदिकेन तन्मन्विषिर्नोक्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika or Nominal-stem, does, (contrary to I. 1. 72 S. 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself." व्यपदेशिवद्वाचीः प्रातिपदिकेन "The rule of vyapadesivad-bhāva does not apply to a prātipadika". That rule is embodied in the following paribhāṣā—व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्—"an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमनेन इष्टी । अर्धीती ॥

1888. The affix ini comes after iṣṭa &c. in the sense of 'by him'.

Thus इष्टमनेन = इष्टी बहे; इर्नीयाद्दे &c. "who sacrificed", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिन्, इर्हीन् &c. formed by इप् will govern locative instead of accusative. See vārtika under II. 3. 36. So also अर्धीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 इर्ही, 3 उपधातुश्च (उपधातुश्च), 4 निगदित, ५ परिगदित, 6 परिगदित, 7 निगदित, 8 निगदित, ९ निगदित, 10 संकलित, 11 परिकलित, 12 संकलित, 13 परिकलित, 14 निगदित, 15 निगदित, 16 अर्धीर्ही, 17 अर्धीर्ही, 18 अर्धीर्ही, 19 अर्धीर्ही, 20 अर्धीर्ही (अर्धीर्ही), 21 अर्धीर्ही, 22 अर्धीर्ही (१), 23 अर्धीर्ही, 24 अर्धीर्ही, 25 अर्धीर्ही, 26 अर्धीर्ही, 27 अर्धीर्ही, 28 अर्धीर्ही, 29 अर्धीर्ही, 30 अर्धीर्ही, 31 अर्धीर्ही, 32 अर्धीर्ही, 33 अर्धीर्ही, 34 अर्धीर्ही, 35 अर्धीर्ही, 36 अर्धीर्ही, 37 अर्धीर्ही, 38 अर्धीर्ही, 39 अर्धीर्ही, 40 अर्धीर्ही, 41 अर्धीर्ही, (१), 42 अर्धीर्ही, 43 अर्धीर्ही, 44 अर्धीर्ही, 45 अर्धीर्ही ॥

१८८९ । अन्तसि परिपन्थिपरिपन्थि पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

अन्तसि तु परिपन्थिपरिपन्थि न व्याच्यः ॥

1889. In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'.

*Note 1*—The word पर्यवस्यान् means 'an adversary, an antagonist'. Thus मा त्या परिपरिजो विवन् मा त्या परिपरिजो विवन् (Yaj. Ved. IV. 34.). These words are obsolete in the classical literature. See however Gita III. 34.

१८६० । अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाम् ॥

1890. The word anupadin, formed anomalously by ini, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'.

Thus अनुपदी गवाम् "going after or searching the cows".

१८६१ । साक्षाद्द्रष्टृरिदंक्षायाम् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

साक्षाद्द्रष्टा साक्षी ॥

1891. The affix ini comes after the word sākṣhāt, in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word साक्षाद् is an Indeclinable. The word दंक्ष is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word. Thus साक्षाद् दृष्टा = साक्षी, 'an eye witness'.

*Note 1*—In any transaction like loan, &c. three persons directly see the fact and may be called दृष्टा viz. who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on. By using the word दंक्ष the word साक्षिन् is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower.

१८६२ । क्षेत्रियच परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । क्षीयान्तरे चिकित्स्यः । अप्रतिहार्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1892. The word kshettriyaś (क्षेत्रीय) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i. e. "not curable in this life".

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of para-kshetre-chikitsya; or the word क्षेत्रिय, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix च् to the word परक्षेत्र, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word पर is elided before this affix. Thus क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः 'incurable disease', i. e.—organic disease. The word परक्षेत्र means body assumed in the next reincarnation. The word क्षेत्रिय applies to an irremediable disease.

*Note 1*—The word क्षेत्रियं means 'poison' also = यन् परक्षेत्रे परवर्तीरितं कृत्यं चिकित्स्यते ॥ That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered'. Or क्षेत्रिय means 'rank growth or grass', i. e. यानि सम्यगर्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि वारानि-तस्यानि "that like grass &c. which grows in a para-kshetra or another's field i. e. a field set apart for grain &c. and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded".

out (chikitsya) " Or क्षेपित्वेन 'an adulterer', i. e. परस्यतः परस्तेवं, तथा चिकित्स्यः निगृहीत-  
व्यः ॥ These are all secondary meanings.

१८९३ । इन्द्रियमिन्द्रसिद्धमिन्द्ररूपमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रलुप्तमिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा । ५ ।

१२ । ६३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य सिद्धं कारयेन कर्तुरनुमानात् । इति शब्दः प्रकाशार्थः । इन्द्रेण दुर्जयमिन्द्रियम् ॥

1893. The word Indriyam, (having udātta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense; and so called, either because it is " the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred ", or ' it is seen by Indra ', or ' it is created by Indra ', or ' it is wished for by Indra ', or ' it is given by Indra

The word इन्द्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c. Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all. In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix वच् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either ' a mark thereof '. As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम् = इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Ātma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c. So that these organs are the 'marks' or signs or linga of Indra: because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent.

Note :—Or the senses (indriyas) are so-called because they are 'seen of known' by Indra or Ātma (इन्द्रेण दृष्टं = ज्ञातं). The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction. The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Śruti of the Āitaraya Upanishad Chapter III verse, 18, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it. स एतन्नेव पुष्टवं द्रष्टुं सत्तममपश्यद्विदमवदमिति. He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—' I have seen this '. Or they are so called because they are created by Indra or Ātma (इन्द्रेण सृष्टं) i. e. the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self. Or they are so called because they are 'wished for' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण सृष्टे सेवितं) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge. Or they are so called because they are 'given by' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्तं) i. e. they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e. g. the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on. The word वा 'or' joins every one of the above.

The word दृष्टि shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also. As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम् = इन्द्रियम्, 'senses'—difficult to be subdued by the Soul.

१८९४ । तदस्यास्त्यस्मिन्निति मनुष्य । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

मादोऽस्यास्मिन्ना सन्ति गोमात्रं ॥ भुगनिन्दामसंशयं नित्ययोगेऽप्रविद्यायने । संदग्धेऽस्तिविषयाणां भयानि मनुष्याणां ॥

1894. The affix matup (मत्तु मन्त्. ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of 'whose it is', or 'in whom it is'.

Thus गावोऽस्य सन्ति = गोमान् nom गोमान् 'having cows', as गोमान् वेदन्तः ॥ इवा अस्मिन् सन्ति = वृत्तान् (व being substituted for ग by VIII. 2. 9), as वृत्तान् पर्वतः ॥ Similarly दन्मान्, पुत्रवान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मत्तु and cognate affixes are restricted in their application. For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called दन्वान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गोमान् 'having many cows', (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as दन्तुवाचनी, संसाधनी, (3) When praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (नित्ययोग) as, क्षीरिणी वृक्षः ॥ 5 When excellence (अतिशायन) is meant, as हरीणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (संसार) is meant, as वृक्षी, हरी ॥ (7) When the sense of अस्ति, 'to be' is denoted, as अस्मिन्मात्रे ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

मत्तु, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अत्यन्तवर्धयितुं वृत्तान् । रसः रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, कण्ठ, शब्द, माय, सुखात् । एकाग्रः ॥ स्ववान् । गुणमयं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895. The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of 'whose it is', or 'in whom it is'.

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sūtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मत्तु by the last sūtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मत्तु ॥

Note :—How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिको दारकः ॥ These are rare forms. According to Pāṇjali this sūtra is useless. Or the words रस &c. must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i. e. रस should mean taste, रूप form. Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिकः are valid, meaning रसायोदयता ॥ So also रसिको वरः = भावयोगः, here रूप and रस do not mean 'form' and 'taste'. And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sūtra, and form their derivative in मत्तु ॥ See V. 2. 115.

१ रस, २ रूप, ३ वर्ण, ४ गन्ध, ५ स्पर्श, ६ कण्ठ, ७ शब्द, ८ माय, ९ सुखात् (गुणमयं रसादीनां विशेषणम्), १० एकाग्रः (स्ववत्) ॥

Gana Sūtra :—The affix मत्तु comes after रस &c, when they denote quality.

Gana Sūtra :—So also after words of one syllable. As रसवान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्तवर्णे । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

तान्तयान्तौ भसंज्ञौ स्तौ मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परे । वसोः संवसारणम् । विदुभान् ॥  
 शुण्वचनेभ्यो मनुष्यो लुगिष्टः \* ॥ शुक्ले शुणोऽस्यास्ती शुक्लः पदः । कृष्णः ॥

1896. The word-form ending in व् or in स् is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word विदुभान् (VI. 4. 131 S. 435). By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred.

Vat:—The affix मत्व् is elided after words of quality (शुण्वचन), as शुक्ले शुणोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्लः पदः ॥ कृष्णः, श्वेतः &c.

१८९७ । मातुषघायाञ्च मतोर्बोऽयवादिभ्यः । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

मर्णावर्णानामवर्णावर्णोपधायाञ्च यवादिर्वर्णितास्वरस्य मतोर्दस्य वः स्यात् । किंवात् ।  
 ज्ञानवात् । विद्यावात् । लक्ष्मीवात् । अश्ववात् । भास्वात् । यवादेस्तु यवमात् । भूमिमात् ॥

1897. For the व् of the affix मत्व् is substituted व्, if the stem ends in म् or ञ् (and झ) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यच् and the rest.

After a stem ending in व् or having व् as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in ञ् or झ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the व् of मत्व् ॥ First after stems ending in व्, as किंवात् ( किंवात् ). Secondly व् penultimate: as लक्ष्मीवात् । Thirdly a stem ending in ञ् or झ, as ज्ञानवात्, विद्यावात् ॥ Fourthly ञ् or झ in the penultimate as यशस्वात्, भास्वात् ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of यच् &c"? Observe यवमात्, भूमिमात् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यच्, 2. दक्षिन्, 3. कर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृषि, 6. कुम्भा, 7. वसन्, 8. ऋचा, 9. भ्राता ॥

These words either end in व् and ञ् or have these as their penultimate. 10. धनि, 11. यन्त्रि, 12. सञ्चि, These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. S. 3600 ) 13. हस्ति, 14. फलन्, 15. मत्तन् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इष्ट, 17. मत्तु 18. हुन्, 19. यच्, 20. हुन् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an Akṣitigana. Wherever in a word, the व् of मत्व् is not changed to व् though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class. In the secondary word नार्धन् (= नृपत इहं), the व् change has not taken place, because the व् is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

The word यवात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of व्, i. e. of व् + ञ्, it is a Samāhāra D १ ndva of these two letters,



अयन्ताभ्योर्णस्य वः स्यात् । अपदान्तज्ञानवरत्वम् । निष्पुत्वान् ॥

ॐ त्रिपुरारण्यम् ॥

मत्तोमरस्य यः स्थानम् । अक्षिपती । हुनीवती । शरसीनां चोत्ति शीर्षः ॥

As अशीवन्ति, क्षीवीवन्ति ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. (20. S. 1042.

१६०० । आसन्दीवद्विचक्षकीवत्कक्षीवहुमण्वक्षर्मण्वती । ८ । २ । १२॥

१६०० । आसन्दीवदष्टावष्टावकलाविधुमव्ययन-  
एते षट् संतार्या निपात्यन्ते । आसनशब्दस्यासन्दीभावः । आसन्दीवान् यानः । अन्धभासन्-  
वान् । अस्थिशब्दस्याष्टीभावः । अष्टीवान् नान् ऋदिः । अस्थिमान्शब्द । अक्रशब्दस्य अक्रीभावः ।  
अक्रीवमान् राजा । अक्रवान्शब्द । कर्षयाः संपसारण्य । कक्षीवाज्ञान् ऋदिः । कक्षयादन्त्यन ।  
कक्षशब्दस्य क्कन्भावः । क्कन्पात्रान् शर्वतः । कक्ष्यावान्शब्द । शर्वतो नक्षीपाभावे शर्वतं य । शर्वन्पत्नी  
नान् नदी । शर्वन्पत्न्यन ।  
The following six Names are irregularly form-

1900. The following six Names are irregularly formed :—*āsandivat*, *aśṭhivat*, *chakrivat*, *kakshivat*, *rumapvat* *charmapvati*. These are obtained from the last sūtra. The

The change of व to वृ in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. आसन्दीवन्, is from the stem आसन् which is here changed to आसन्दी. ॥ As आसन्दीवन् यामः अवित्पद्यत् ॥ When not a name we have आसन्-वन् ॥

not a name we have आसन्नशब्द ॥  
 2. अग्नीवत् is from अग्निय which is changed to अग्नी ॥ As अग्नीवत् the name of a particular Rishi. Otherwise अग्निवत् ॥ 3. चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री as चक्रीवत् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवत् ॥ 4. कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या, there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI. 4. 3. S. 2559. कक्षीवत् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावत् ॥ 5. रुमण्वत् is the name of a mountain ; it is formed from रुमण which is changed to रुमन् ॥ Otherwise we have रुमणवत् ॥ 6. चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to व् ॥ The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥  
 ३-१-१५३१२३ ॥

१६०१ । उदन्वानुदधौ ज । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

१६०९ । उदन्वानुद्धौ च । प । २ । १२ ॥  
उदन्तस्य उदन्मात्रे मलो दधौ संतायां य । उदन्वान् सप्तः ऋषिच ॥

The word उदन्वान् is irregularly

१९०१। उदन्वानुदधी ॥  
उदन्वानु उदन्वावो मत्तो उदधी संतायां ॥ उदन्वानु समुद्रः क्षयिष्य ॥  
1901. The word उदन्वानु is irregularly formed, in the  
sense of "a sea" or a "name".

It is derived from उदक् 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like, सद्यक &c.

१६०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भूः । राजवानन्वज ॥

1902. Also राजन्वान् when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती भूः ॥ The affix मत् is used here in the sense of वक्षसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१६०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्वतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

चूडाक्षः । चूडाक्षम् । पाणिस्त्याक्षिम् । सिखावन्धीपः । भासः किम् । हस्तवान् । पाण्डङ्गदेव, मेहु । मेधावान् । मलयस्वरिणैश्च सिद्धेऽम्बोवाचक्षे चूडानीऽक्षीत्यादौ स्वरितो वाङ्मसन्ने पञ्चाविति स्वरि सदाधनार्थेयकारः ॥

1903. The affix लच् ( लै ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being.

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडाक्षः or चूडाक्षम् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe सिखाक्षम् शीपः 'the crested flame of a lamp'. Why do we say " ending in आ "? Observe हस्तवान्, पदवान्, ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, ( and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c. that are also found in a living being ). Hence there is no affixing of लच् here in मेधाक्षम् " possessed of intelligence".

Every affix is udatta ( III. 1. 3 ), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha. The लच् would have been udatta by III. 1. 3, even without the indicatory च् ( VI. 1. 163 S. 3710 ). The employment of this anubandha, however, indicates that this udatta will never be changed into svarita, as other udattas are by rule VII. 2. 6. S. 3659 ). As चूडाक्षोऽस्ति ॥

-१६०४ । सिध्मादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

लज्जया रयाम् । सिध्माक्षः । सिध्मवान् । अन्यतरत्वाङ्गुष्ठा मनुष्यासुण्यायै पदु मलयविकल्पार्थम् । तेषां प्राणभ्य इति इनी न ॥ शान्तवन्वदन्तप्रधानासु च् ॥ ० शान्तः ॥

1904. The affix लच् comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्माक्षः or सिध्मवान् ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in this sūtra, causes the employment of the affix मत् in the alternative. It does not mean



1907. The three affixes *sa* (स), *na* (न), and *hal* (हल) come in the sense of *matup*, respectively after the words of these three classes i. e. *lomādi*, *pāmādi*, and *picchhādi* : and the affix *matup* also comes in the alternative.

The affix *sa* comes after *loṃādi* words as *loṃas* : or *lōmavān* 'hairy'. So also *roṃas* : or *roṃavān* ॥ The affix *na* comes after *pāmādi* words, as *pāman* : or *pāmanav* 'scabby'.

*Vart* :—The affix *na* comes after the word *an* in the sense of beautiful, as *an* *an* 'the fair one' i. e. a woman.

*Vart* :—The affix *na* comes after *lakṣmī* before which *ī* is changed to *a*, as *lakṣmī* *lakṣmī* = *lakṣmā* : ॥

*Notes* :—The words *śakī*, *palamī* and *vaḥ* shorten their final vowel before *na* ॥ *śakī* *śakī* = *śakā*, *palamī* *palamī*, *vaḥ* *vaḥ* ॥

*Vart* :—The word *viśva* (*विपु* + *वंच्*) loses its second member, before *na*, and the change caused by *sandhi* (*वं* into *व्*) is undone. Otherwise the form would be *viśva* : (*व्* being elided), as *viśva* *viśva* *viśva* *viśva* = *viśva* *viśva* 'moving variously'.

The affix *hal* comes after *viśva* words, as, *viśva* *viśva* or *viśva* *viśva* 'broth' ; *varṣita* : or *varṣita* ॥

1 *loṃas*, 2 *roṃas*, 3 *vaḥ*, 4 *śakī*, 5 *giri*, 6 *śakī*, 7 *śakī*, 8 *śakī*, 9 *śakī* ॥

1 *pāman*, 2 *pāman*, 3 *veṃs*, 4 *veṃs*, 5 *veṃs*, 6 *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 7 *veṃs*, 8 *veṃs*, 9 *veṃs*, 10 *veṃs*, 11 *veṃs* *veṃs*, 12 *veṃs* *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), *veṃs* *veṃs*, 13 *veṃs* *veṃs* *veṃs* *veṃs* *veṃs* *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 14 *veṃs* *veṃs* *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 15 *veṃs*, 16 *veṃs* ॥

1 *viśva* ( *viśva* ), 2 *varṣita*, 3 *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 4 *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 5 *veṃs* *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 6 *veṃs* *veṃs* ( *veṃs* ), 7 *veṃs*, 8 *veṃs*, 9 *veṃs* ॥

*Notes* :—The affix *hal* comes after *jaṭā*, *ghaṭā*, and *kāṭā*, when *consonant* is meant, as *jaṭā*, *ghaṭā*, *kāṭā* : but *veṃs*, when *no consonant* is meant.

१९०८ *प्रज्ञा* *प्रज्ञा* *प्रज्ञा* : १ । २ । १०१ ॥

*प्रज्ञा* *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* । *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* ॥ *प्रज्ञा* ० ॥ *प्रज्ञा* ॥

1908. The affix *na* ( न ) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *prajñā*, *śraddhā*, and *archā* : as well as the affix *matup*.

As *prajñā* : or *prajñā*, *śraddhā* : or *śraddhā*, *archā* : or *archā* ॥

*Vart* :—So also after *prajñā*, as *prajñā* : or *prajñā* ॥

१९०९ । *प्रज्ञा* *प्रज्ञा* *प्रज्ञा* : १ । २ । १०२ ॥

*प्रज्ञा* *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* । *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* । *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* । *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* । *प्रज्ञा* : *प्रज्ञा* ॥

1909. The affixes vini (विन्) and ini (इन्) come, with the force of matup, after the words tapas and sahasra respectively.

The final इ in विनि and इनि is for the sake of saving the न from becoming इन् and thus get elided.

The word तपस् ends in अन्, and therefore by V. 2. 121. S. 1928 it would have taken विनि; similarly सहस्र ends in अ, and by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 it would have taken इनि; it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present sūtra? To this it is replied, that by the next sūtra, these words take the affix अन् also; so that, had there not been this present sūtra, the अन् would have debarred the application of इनि and विनि of V. 2. 115. S. 1922, and V. 2. 121. S. 1928. The affix इन् (V. 1. 115) is also debarred after the word सहस्र though it ends in अ ॥

Thus तपोऽस्त्वस्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्, nom तपस्वी ॥ Similarly सहस्रिन् nom सहस्री ॥

१६१० । अण् च । ५ । २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उक्तार्थः । तावसा । साहस्रः ॥

उद्योत्स्नादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ उद्योत्स्नः । तानिवा ॥

1910. And also अण् (अ) comes after tapas and sahasra.

Thus तावसा. साहस्रः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for two purposes; 1st, the anuvṛtti of अण् runs in the subsequent sūtras, which could not have been done had it been included in the last sūtra, 2ndly, the rule of yathasankhya (I. 3. 10 S. 62) would not have applied to the last sūtra, had अण् been read along with विनि and इनि ॥

Varṇi:—The word उद्योत्स्ना &c. are governed by this rule and take अण् As उद्योत्स्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् एके = उद्योत्स्नः एकः ॥ Similarly तानिवाः (a kind of hell).

१६११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो घटः । शार्करः ॥

1911. The affix अण् comes in the sense of matup, after sikatā and sarkarā.

Thus सैकतो घटः, शर्करं वधु ॥

Note:—These are the examples, when they do not denote a place. In denoting a place they will take इन् and लुप् of the next sūtra.

१६१२ । देये लुविष्ठचौ च । ५ । १०५ ॥

यादण् मल्लश्च । सिकताः सन्तस्मिन्नेके सिकताः । सिकतिनः । सैकतः । सिकतायाश्च ।

एवं शर्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912. When the sense is that of 'a locality', there may take place the lup-elision of the affixes denoting matup

(with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix *ilach* ( इल ), as well as *an* and *matup*, after the word *sikatâ* and *śarkarâ*.

By *च* in the *sūtra*, *अच्* and *मत्तुप्* are introduced. The *सुप्* refers to *मत्तुप्* and every affix in general. Thus *सिकता जलिन विद्यन्ते*—*सिकता देशः* or *सिकतिलः*, *सैकतः* or *सिकतावान्* 'a sandy country'. So also *शर्करा देशः* or *शर्करिलः* or *शर्करा* or *शर्करावान्* 'a stony locality'.

*Note* :—Why do we say when meaning a 'locality'? Observe *सैकतः* 'a vessel of sand', *शर्करा* "honey or sugar". In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I. 2. 51. S. 1294).

१६१३। दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५। २। १०६ ॥

दन्ता दन्ताः सन्तस्य दन्तुरा ॥

1913. The affix *urach* ( उर ) comes after *danta*, denoting 'having projecting teeth'.

Thus *दन्ता उन्नता यस्य सन्ति*—*दन्तुरा* ॥

*Note*—The words in the *sūtra* are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative.

Why do we say when the meaning is that of 'projecting'? Observe *दन्तवान्* 'having teeth'.

१६१४। ऊपसुषिमुष्कमधोरः । ५। २। १०७ ॥

कषरः। सुषिः। मुष्कोऽङ्गः, मुष्करः। मधु माधुर्यं, दन्तुरा ॥ समकरणे सुषुसकुम्भीभ्यः। कषरस्यमाय ॥ सरः। सुसरः। कुम्भो हरिः। कुम्भरः। मधुपांसुषाण्डभ्यश्च ॥ मधुरम्। पांसुरा। पांसुरा। पांसुरास्यस्तु अन्यत्वन एव ॥ कम्भु ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कम्भुरा ॥

1914. The affix *र* comes, after the word *ūsha*, *sushi*, *mushka* and *madhu*, with the force of *matup*.

Thus *ऊपरे जेज्व* 'a barren soil, impregnated with *ūsha* or salt' *सुषिरे काष्ठे* 'a perforated wood i. e. containing *सुषि* or hole' *मुष्करा मधुः* 'a beast having testicles, or *mushka*' *मधुरे सुद* 'sweet sugar'.

*Note* :—The word *इति* shows that the words formed with *र* are names of certain things. Therefore it will not apply here *कषोऽस्मिन् पटे विद्यते* 'there is salt in this pot' we cannot say *कषरो पटः*, nor *मधुरो पटः* for *मध्यस्मिन् पटे विद्यते* ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix *र* comes after *स्य*, *सुष* and *कुम्भ*, as *समस्यास्ति कम्भदाविषं मधु*—*सरः* 'an ass, lit. having a wide throat'. *सुषमस्यास्ति इति सपस्मिन् यक्तये*—*सुसरः* 'talkative', *कुम्भमस्तस्य स्तः*—*कुम्भरः* 'an elephant having tusks'. The word *कुम्भ* means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word *कुम्भरः* is a common name for all elephants.

*Vart* :—The affix *र* comes after *नग*, *पांशु* and *पाण्डु* as *नगरम्* 'a city' lit. having trees (*naga* = tree), *पांशुरं* *पाण्डुरं* ॥ The word *पाण्डरः* has no derivative.

*Vart* :—So also after *कच्छुः* the vowel being shortened: as *कच्छुरं* ॥

१९१५ । *सुदुष्यम्* ॥ ५ । २ । १०८ ॥

*दुमः* । *द्रुमः* ॥

1915. The affix *म* comes after *dyu* and *dru*, in the sense of *matup*.

Thus *दुमः* । *द्रुमः* ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take *मत्पृ* in the alternative.

१९१६ । *केवाहोऽन्यतरस्याम्* । ५ । २ । १०६

*महतेनान्यतरस्यामद्वयेन ननुपि कित्ते पुनर्वहणमनिङोः सकृदेवार्थम् । केवः । केवी । केविकः । केवावा ॥ अन्येनोपि द्वयस्य ० नभियोः नामविशेषः । हिरण्यो निधिविशेषः ॥ अर्जसो लोमचः ० ॥ धर्मवः ॥*

1916. The affix *व* comes optionally, with the force of *matup*, after *kesa*.

Though the word *अन्यतरस्याम्* was understood here from V. 2. 96. S. 1903 (see V. 2. 97); its repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only *मत्पृ* but the affixes *ह्वि* and *ट्वृ* (V. 2. 115. S. 1922) also. Thus we have four forms *केववः*, *केव्री*, *केविकः* and *केवावा* ॥

*Vart* :—The affix *व* is seen after other words also. As *नर्जिवः* 'a kind of serpent'. *हिरण्यवः* 'a kind of gem', *कर्मवः*.

*Vart* :—The final of *अर्जम्* is elided before *व*, as *अर्जवः*.

१९१७ । *गाण्डवजगात्संज्ञायाम्* । ५ । २ । ११० ॥

*अथदीर्घयोर्व्या उन्वेण निर्वेयः । गाण्डिवम् । गाण्डीवम् । यजुर्वेस्य यजुः । अजगवः विनाक्तः ॥*

1917. The affix *व* comes after *gāṇḍī* and *ajaga*, in the sense of *matup*, when the word is a Name.

As *गाण्डीवः* 'the bow *Gāṇḍīva* of Arjuna'; *अजगवः* 'the bow *Ajagava* of Śiva'. There is shortening also, as *गाण्डिवं* ॥ The sūtra is so framed, that the word *गाण्डी* and *गाण्डिः* are both included,

१९१८ । *काण्डाण्डादिरित्रीरचौ* । ५ । २ । १११ ॥

*काण्डारः* । *आण्डीरः* ॥

1918. The affixes *iran* and *irach* come in the sense of *matup*, after the words *kāṇḍā* and *aṇḍā* respectively.

Thus *काण्डीरः* and *आण्डीरः* ॥ Another reading has *काण्ड* and *गाण्डीरः* ॥

१९१९ । *रजःकृष्णामृतिपरिषयो वृत्तम्* । ५ । २ । ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री । कृषीवलः । राज्ञि वीर्यं । आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः । परिपदलः । पर्वविति पाठान्तरम् । पर्वदलम् ॥ अन्यथोपि दृश्यते \* ॥ भावुवलः । पुत्रवलः । वायुवलः । वन दल्यन्न संज्ञायामि-त्यनुवृत्तेर्ह वीर्यः ॥

1919. The affix *valach* (वल्ले) comes, in the sense of *matup*, after *rajas*, *kṛishī*, *āsuti*, and *parishad*.

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीवलः कुटुम्बी, आसुतीवलः शौण्डिकः, परिपदलो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृष and आसुति takes place by VI 3. 118. S. 1040.

Note:—The affix वलच् comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples. Thus in राजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing.

Vart:—The affix *valach* is seen after other words also. As भावुवलः, पुत्रवलः वायुवलः, ॥ The sūtra VI. 3. 118 S. 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words "when it is a name" is understood there. The examples here are not names.

१९२० । वृन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

वृन्तावतो हस्ती । शिखावलः केकी ॥

1920. The affix *valach* comes in the sense of *matup* after *danta* and *sikhā* when a Name is formed.

Thus वृन्तावतो हस्ती, शिखावलः केकी ॥ The final vowel of वृन्त is lengthened before वल by VI. 3. 118 S. 1040.

१९२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिषोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मलधै निपात्यन्ते । ज्योतिष् उपधातोर्वी नञ् प्रत्ययः । ज्योत्स्ना । तनस उपधाया इत्ये रञ् । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीत्यनन्तरम् । तमिस्रम् । शृङ्गादिभ्यः । शृङ्गिणः । ऊर्जस्तो वलच् । तेन वावा ना भूविति विनित्ति, ऊर्जस्वी । ऊर्जस्वलः । ऊर्जोऽस्तुमानम् इति वृत्तित्तु चिन्त्य । ऊर्जस्वतीति वदुन्नतानवोपनते । गोशब्दाभ्यामिः । गोमी । मलशब्दादिभ्यः । मलिनः । ईनसञ्च । मलीमसः ॥

1921. The words *jyotsnā*, *tamisa*, *śṛṅgiṇa*, *ūrjasvin*, *ūrjasvala*, *gomin*, *malina*, and *malmasa* are irregularly formed, in the sense of *matup* and are Names.

They are thus formed. ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना 'moon-light, (the इ being elided). तनस + र = तमिस्र 'night'. (इ being added): it has other genders than feminine as तामस नमः 'dark sky'. शृङ्ग + इनच् शृङ्गिणः ॥ To ऊर्जम् are added the affixes विदि and वलच्; as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्; ऊर्जस्वलः ॥ The Kāśikā derives this by adding the augment अस्तुक् to ऊर्ज् and then affixing वल and इन् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative: for there is a form like ऊर्जम् ending in अस्तुन् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive *ūrjasvin* and *ūrjasval*, from this *ūrjas*. गो + विनि = गोमिन् N. S. गोमी; मल + इनच् = मलीनः; मल + इनसच् = मलीमसः ॥



१६२२। अत इतिठनौ। ५। २। ११५ ॥

इयङी। इण्डिकः ॥

1922. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after nominal stems ending in short अ; and in the alternative matup also comes.

Thus इतिठन् N. S. इण्डी or इण्डिकः ॥

Note:—The word अन्यतरस्वम् (V. 2. 96 S. 1903) is understood here also, so we have मनुष्य, as इण्डवान्, छत्रवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ'? Observe एङ्गवान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor उन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and इन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in kṛit-affixes, after words denoting genus (jāti), and when the construction is that of locative. As स्व and ख form only स्ववान्, खवान् ॥ Kṛit: as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative; as इयं वा अस्यां सन्ति = इण्डवती शाखा ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as kṛit:—कार्दिव्, कार्दिकः शार्दिव्, शार्दिकः ॥ Genus (jāti):—तयङ्गुलिन्, तण्डुलिकः ॥

१६२३। व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च। ५। २। ११६ ॥

व्रीही। व्रीहिकः। य य सर्वेभ्यो व्रीह्यादिभ्य इतिठनाविधिते। किं तर्हि विद्यामालासंज्ञादिभ्य इतिः \*। ययल्लहादिभ्य इकः \*। अन्योभ्य उभयम् \* ॥

1923. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after the words vṛīhi &c; as well as the affix matup.

Thus व्रीहिन् (nom. व्रीही), व्रीहिकः, व्रीहिवान्, मयी, मायिकः, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all व्रीह्यादि words.

Vārtiṣa:—The affix इनि comes after शिखादि sub-division

Vārtika:—The affix इकन् after ययल्लहादि sub-division.

Vāst:—After the remaining words, both इनि and इन् (=इकन्) come.

Note:—The शिखादि after which इनि only comes are:—1 शिखा, 2 देहला, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बलाका, 5 माला 6 वीणा, 7 वडवा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्णन्, 11 जर्मन्, 12 देहा, ॥ The ययल्लह &c. are the following 1 ययल्लह, 2 कुमारी, 3 नौ; they take इकन् only. The rest take both. The word व्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sūtra also, why is it then read in this class? The word व्रीहि in the Tādādi class V. 2. 117, S. 1924 does not mean the word-form व्रीहि, but words synonymous with it. Thus चान्दोऽस्य सन्ति = चान्दितः, शानी, शालिकः, शालिवान् ॥ The word व्रीहि preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अश्रीहि and अश्रीहिकः ॥ The remaining words are व्रीहि, नाय, शाला, केका, वर्मेन्, दंष्ट्रा, संज्ञा ॥

१६२४। तुन्दादिभ्य इल्लवा। ५। २। ११७ ॥

चरिनिठनी मनुष्य च। तुन्दिः। तुन्दिकः। तुन्दवान्। उदर, विषण्ट, धय, व्रीहि। स्वाहादिद्वौ \* ॥ “विश्वरूपपाथिकाव्याहवाचिन इन्द्रादयः स्त्र”। विवृती कर्त्तुं यस्य स कर्त्तव्यः। कर्त्तुं। कर्त्तिकः। कर्णवान् ॥

1924. The affix *ilach* (इल) also comes in the sense of *matup*, after the nominal-stems *tunda* &c.

The force of च is that इनि, उच् and मतुप् also come. As तुन्निजः, तुन्नी दुन्दिकः, तुन्दवान् ॥ Similarly उच्चरिन्, उचरी, उचरिकः, उचरवान् ॥

The following is the list of लुन्नादि words : तुन्द, 2 उचर, 4 चिषण्ड, 4 पद, 5 यव, 6 व्रीहि, 7 स्वाङ्गादिवृद्धौ च ॥

Gaṇa sūtra :—The affix इलच comes after words denoting parts of one's body, when the largeness (विवृद्धि) of those organs is implied : as विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स = कर्णितः, कर्णी, कर्णिकः, कर्णवान् ॥

१६२५ । एकगोपुर्वाद्भुज् नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ११८ ॥

एकगवमस्यास्तीति ऐकशक्तिकः । ऐकसहस्रिकः । गौशक्तिकः । गौसहस्रिकः ॥

1925. The affix *than* comes always in the sense of *matup*, after a stem, which in composition is preceded by एक or गौ ॥

Thus एकगतमस्यास्ति = ऐकशक्तिकः, गौशक्तिकः, गौसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—The word नित्यम् 'always', is used in the sūtra to indicate that मतुप् does not come in the alternative. In all the previous sūtras मतुप् came in the alternative.

१६२६ । शतसहस्रान्ताम् निष्कात् । ५ । २ । ११९ ॥

निष्कात्परा यो शतसहस्रशब्दौ तदन्तात्प्रतिपत्तिरित्यहम् इत्यात्मन्वये । नैकशक्तिकः । एकसहस्रिकः ॥

1926. The affix *than* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *śata* and *sahasra*, when they follow after *nishka*.

Thus निष्कगतमस्यास्ति = नैकशक्तिकः, नैकसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—But not so after शुद्धर्णनिष्कगतं, it being never so found in usage.

१६२७ । कृपादादतमशस्तयोयं । ५ । २ । १२० ॥

आहतं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यः कर्पापणः । प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यो गौः । साहसौक्तिः किम् । रूपवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ इन्द्रियाः पर्यन्ताः । रुच्यन् आह्वयः ॥

1927. The affix *yap* (य) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *rūpa*, when stamping (coining) or praise is denoted.

Thus आहतं रूपमयं = रूप्यः कर्पापणः "a coin having stamped on it the form of some king &c". Similarly प्रशस्तं रूपमस्यास्ति = रूप्यो गौः 'a handsome bull.' The form impressed on a coin &c by hammering &c, is called आहतं or stamping.

Why do we say 'when stamping or praise is denoted? Observe रूपवान् 'having form'.

*Vart*:—The affix **वृ** is seen after other words also, as हिम्या पर्वताः,

पुण्या ब्राह्मणाः ॥

१९२८ । अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः । ३ । २ । १२१ ॥

यशस्वी । यशस्वाद् । मायावी । मायावात् । त्रीणादिपठान्निष्पन्नोः । मायी । मायिकः ।  
 क्लिप्तत्वात्कुः । अर्था ॥ आनयत्वेपसेत्त्वानं दीर्घश्च ॥ नामयावी ॥ मृद्भृश्याभ्यामात्कुः ॥  
 भृश्यात्कुः । वृन्शारकः ॥ फलवर्ह्याभ्यामिन्च ॥ फलिनः । वरिणः ॥ हृदयाच्छात्राभ्यामरत्न्याम् ॥  
 इन्द्रेणा ननुष च । हृदयात्कुः । हृदवी । हृदयिकः । हृदयवात् ॥ शीतोष्णानुमेयस्तवसहने ॥ शीतं न सहते  
 शीतात्कुः । शब्दात्कुः । स्थायित्वेऽपीति रक् । नृपः पुरोडाशः तं न सहते नृपात्कुः । नृपं दुष्प्राप्तिं माधवः ॥  
 हिमःपल्लुः ॥ हिमं न सहते हिमेलुः ॥ घृतात्कुः ॥ दलं न सहते दल्लुः ॥ वाताक्षमूत्र च ॥ वातं न  
 सहते वातस्थ समूहो वा दातुनः ॥ सप्त पञ्चमरुद्व्याम् ॥ पर्वतः । महत्तः ॥

1928. After a stem ending in **अस्**, and after **māyā**,  
**medhā** and **sraj**, comes the affix **vinī** (विन्) in the sense of  
**matup**.

Thus पयस् पयस्विन्, यशस्—यशस्विन् N. S. यशस्वी or यशस्वाद् ; मायावी, मायावाद्  
 मेधाविन्, क्लिप्त् ॥ The word माया being included in त्रीणादि class, will take इनि,  
 and इत् also V. 2. 116. As मायी मायिकः ॥ The word स्रज् is क्तिप् formed and  
 so क् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377) and we get स्रज्विन्, N. S. स्रजवी ॥

*Vart*:—The word आनय also should be enumerated; and there is  
 lengthening of the final, both in the sacred and classical literature. As  
 आनायावी ॥

*Vart*:—The affix **आरकन्** comes after **वृ** and **इन्** as घृशारकः, वृन्शारकः ॥

*Vart*:—The affix **इमच्** comes after **फल** and **वर्ह**; as फलिनः and वरिणः ॥

*Vart*:—So also after **हृदय**: the affix **चात्** comes optionally: along with  
**श्व**, **इन्** and **ननुष** as, हृदयात्कुः, हृदवी, हृदयिकः हृदयवात् ॥ The च् is इत् by I. 3. 7.

*Vart*:—The affix **चात्** of the last *vārtika* comes after **शीत**, **वृण** and  
**हृ** in the sense of 'not being able to bear that' As शीते न सहते = शीतात्कुः 'shiver-  
 ing from cold' हृनात्कुः नृपात्कुः ॥ the word **नृप** is formed from  $\sqrt{\text{हृ}}$  with the affix  
**रक्** (unādi II. 13). It is the name of Puroḍāśa rice cake. According to Mā-  
 dhava it means 'pain'.

*Vart*:—So also after **हिम** comes the affix **एलु** in the above sense: as  
 हिमं न सहते = हिमेलुः ॥ The affix begins with ए and not ई as the construction of  
 the *vārtika* may lead one to think (Mādhava).

*Vart*:—The affix **ऊनुष** in the same sense after **मत्**; as मत्तं न सहते = मत्तुनः  
 (See Sidhmādi Gāya).

*Vart*:—So also after **वत्त**: in the sense of 'collection thereof' and 'not  
 being able to bear that' as वातानां समूहः or वानं न सहते = वातुलः ॥ (See sidhmādi  
 gāya also).

*Vart*:—the affix **सप्** comes after **पर्व** and **मरु** As पर्वतः and मरुतः ॥

*Note*:—The affix **इनि** comes after **कार्य** in the sense of 'not having that' as कार्यं

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth.' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'rich'. All these are obtained by बहुलः

१६२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सिखास्वरस्य । ऊर्णायाः । अत्र छन्दसीति केचित्तुवर्तयन्ति । युक्तं चेत्तत् । अन्यथा हि

अहंशुभनोरित्यत्रैवोर्णाग्रहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929. The affix युस् is added to ऊर्णा in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandas).

The स् of युस् makes the word कर्ण पद ( I. 4. 16 S. 1252 ); the result of which is that rules applicable to म Bha do not apply; e. g. VI. 1. 148, S. 1063 by which the final ह् or ईच् or ञ् is elided. Thus कर्णापुः ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sūtra. This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ūrṇā in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sūtra. The word ūrṇā could have been read along with aham and śubham in V. 2. 140. S. 1946,

१६३० । वाचो ग्मिनिः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930. The affix gmini (ग्मिन्) comes after the word vāch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note:—The affix is not ग्मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाटग्मिन् by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116 Vark.

१६३१ । आलजाटञ्चौ बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

क्रुद्धित शब्दे वक्तव्यम् ॥ क्रुद्धितं बहु भाषते वाचालः । वाचालः । वस्तु सम्यग्बहु भाषते । वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931. The affixes ālach (आलं) and ātach (आटं) come, in the sense of matup, after vāch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars ग्मिन् ॥ Thus वाचालः 'garrulous', वाचालः ॥

Note:—These affixes come when contempt is expressed. An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose. He will not be called वाचालः or वाचालः ॥

१६३२ । स्वामिन्निश्चयं । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशसंज्ञायास्तत्त्वज्ञानार्थं ज्ञामिनश्च । स्वामी ॥

1932. The irregularly formed word svāmin denotes 'Sir or Lord'.

The affix **आमिन्** comes in the sense of lordship after the word **स्व** meaning 'lord'. Thus **स्वमस्वातिन्** = **ऐश्वर्यमस्वातिन्** = **स्वामिन्** ॥

*Note*:—Why do we say when meaning 'Sir'. Observe, **स्वपाम्** ॥

१६३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

अर्शोत्यस्य विशान्ते अर्शसः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933. The affix **ach** (अँ) comes in the sense of **matup**, after the word **arśa** &c.

Thus **अर्शोति** अस्य विशान्ते = अर्शसः ॥ The **Arśādi** is an **Ākṛitigaṇa**.

*Note*:—After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix **आच्** when defect is meant. As **रज्ज्**: **वायोत्पाति** = **रज्ज्**: **आणः** ॥ So also after words denoting color, as **हृस्वोऽम्बाति** = **हृस्वः**: **पटः** ॥

1 अर्शच्, 2 अर्शच्, 3 अर्शच्, 4 अर्शच्, 5 अर्शच्, ॥ अर्श, 7 अर्श, 8 अर्श, 9 अर्श (अर्श), 10 अर्श, 11 अर्श, (अर्श) 12 अर्श, 13 अर्श, 14 अर्श, ॥ अर्शगणः ॥

१६३४ हन्त्रोपतापमर्त्यान्नाजिस्वादिभिः । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

**हन्त्रः** । कटकवक्रादिभिः । हन्त्रपुत्रिणी । उपतापो रोगः । कुटी । किलारी । गर्ह्यं निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । पणित्यादिभिः । पुष्पफलवाच्यः । प्राण्यङ्गान् । पाणिपादवर्ती । अन्त इत्येव । चित्रकनालादिकावर्ती । सिद्धे मन्त्रे पुनर्बन्धनं उपादेनाध्वार्यम् ॥

1934. The affix **ini** (इन्) comes, in the sense of **matup**, after a **dvandva** compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being.

Thus **Dvandva**:—**कटकवक्रादिभिः**, 'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', **पण्डितपुत्रिणी** 'a woman having *sankha* and *nīpura* ornaments'. So after diseases, 1—**कुटी** 'a leper', **किलारी** 'a white leper'. So after names of faults:—**ककुदावर्ती**, **काकतालुकी** ॥

Why do we say 'when found in 'a living being?' Observe **पुष्पफलवाच्यम्** ॥

**Vārtika**:—The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body : as, **पाणिपादवर्ती** ॥ The words **अन्तः** V. 2 115, S. 1922 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in **अ**; as **चित्रकनालादिकावर्ती** ॥ Though the **Dvandva** compound &c. ending in **अ**, would have taken **इनि** by V. 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present sūtra shows that the **Dvandva** compounds &c. take only **इनि**, and not **अच्** &c.

१९३५ वातानीस्तापभ्यां कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२९ ॥

वादिभिः । वातकी । स्त्रीवातकी ॥ तेषां वादविशेषे \* । भेदः । वातवर्ती इति ॥ विनाशाल \* ॥

विनाशाली ॥

1935. The augment *kuk* (क्) comes before इनि, after the words *vāta* and *atisāra*.

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sūtra; the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment. Thus वातकी, अतिसारकी ॥ Another reading is अतीसारकी ॥ *Ishā*. This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases. Otherwise, वातवती इति ॥

*Var.* :—So also after विद्याया, as विद्यायकी वैभवव्यः 'the Kubera'.

१९३६ । वयसि पूरणात् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

पूरणवयान्तात्मस्वर्ये इतिः स्वाह्वयति शोले । मासः संवत्सरे वा पञ्चमोऽस्यास्तीति पञ्चमी वृद्धः । इन्वाधनार्थमिदम् । वयसि कित् । पञ्चमवयान् वयान् ॥

1936. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted.

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्यास्ति मासः संवत्सरे वा—पंचमिन् 'five months or years old', as 'पंचमी वृद्धः' ॥ By V. 2. 115 S. 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words; the present sūtra is a restrictive rule teaching that क् does not come in this sense.

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, 'पंचमवयान् वयान्ताः ॥

१९३७ । सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । १३१ ॥

इतिर्मत्वर्थे । सुखी । दुःखी । माताक्षरे ॥ माली ॥

1937. The affix *ini* comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of *matup*, after the words *sukha* &c.

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी; दुःखी &c. When censure is implied, then इन् comes after माला, to the exclusion of मत्वप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखादि words :—

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 मृद, 4 कृष्ट, 5 आश (आश), 6 अश, 7 वशीक, 8 कद्व (कद्व), 9 शीत, 10 वशीर्व (वशीर्व), 11 चील, 12 इल, 13 माता क्षरे, 14 कृपण, 15 मज्ज (मज्ज), 16 वृद्ध, 17 वृद्ध ॥ *Ganapātra*. After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure',

Thus मालिन्, ॥ ५. माली ॥

१९३८ । धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च । ५ । २ । १३२ ॥

धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च । धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च । धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च ॥

1938. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in *dharma*, *śila*, and *varṇa*.

Thus धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च धर्मः—धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च धर्मः । धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च धर्मः ॥ धर्मशौचयज्ञान्ताश्च धर्मः ॥

१८३६ । हस्तोज्जातो । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥

हस्ती । जातो किञ् । हस्तान्पुरुषः ॥

1939. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word hasta, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed.

Thus हस्तोऽस्मास्ति = हस्मिन् N. S. हस्ती 'an elephant'. Why do we say when meaning a जाति. 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुषः ॥

१८४० । वर्णोद्गच्छचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥

वर्णी ॥

1940. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word varṇa, when the word so formed means a Brahmachârin.

Thus वर्णिन् 'a Brahmachâri'. Nom. Sing वर्णी ॥

Note :—The first three वर्णै or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with the sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are called. When the meaning is not of Brahmachâri we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । वसिनी । देशे किञ् । पुष्करावन्करी ॥ बाहुरुपूर्वपदाहनात् \* ॥ बाहुवन्नी । कदम्बा ॥ सार्वदेश \* ॥ सर्वधनी । सर्वधीनी ॥ अर्थाचातमिहिते = ॥ अर्थी । सन्निहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ सङ्गताय \* ॥ आचार्यी । शिष्यार्थी ॥

1941. The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the words puṣhkaṛa &c. when the word so formed denotes a locality.

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', वसुभिनि &c. Why do we say when 'locality' is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान् करो ॥

Vart :—The affix इन् comes after बहु preceded by बाहु or कर्, as बाहुवान् कर्बलिन ॥

Vart :—So also after words preceded by सर्व; as, सर्वधनिन्, सर्वधीनिन्, सर्वकेशी नरः ॥

Vart :—So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near'; as अर्थिन् meaning 'wanting wealth'. Otherwise कर्षवान् 'having wealth'.

Vart :—So also after a compound ending in सर्व, as आचार्यी, शिष्यार्थी ॥  
1 पुष्कर. 2 वय. 3 तपन. 4 तपन. 5 कुक्ष. 6 मट. 7 क्षत्रिय. 8 निज. 9 दूता. 10 कर्ष. 11 बाहुव. 12 विपद्. 13 करिष. 14 शिरीष. 15 वना. 16 प्रवाह (प्रवास). 17 शिष्य. 18 केश. 19 कर्ष. 20 तट. 21 तप. 22 वसु. 23 सरीष. 24 राजीव. 25 बालीक. 26 सरीष. 27 पुष्क. 28 अर्थिन्. 29 अर्थोत्र. 30 मरु. 31 कपल. 32 वयस्. 33 वयस. ॥





1945. The affix *bha* (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after *tundi*, *vali* and *vaṭi*.

Thus *तुन्विभः* 'having a protuberent belly', *वलिभः* and *वटिभः* ॥ Another form is *वदिभः*, because *वलि* is included in the *Pāmādi* class V. 2. 100 S. 1907. The forms *तुन्विभः* &c, are valid by V. 2. 117 S. 1924.

१६४६ । अहंशुभमोयुस् । ६ । २ । १४० ॥

*अहंशुभमोयुस्* । *अहंशुभमोयुस्* । *अहंशुभमोयुस्* । *अहंशुभमोयुस्* ॥ *अहंशुभमोयुस्* ॥

1946. The affix *yus* (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words *aḥam* 'pride', and the indeclinable *ubham* 'good'.

Thus *अहंशुभमोयुस्* 'selfish, haughty', *अहंशुभमोयुस्* = *अहंशुभमोयुस्* ॥ 'auspicious'. The *स्* of *युस्* makes the words *अहंशुभमोयुस्* and *अहंशुभमोयुस्*, *Padas*; and *स्* is changed into *Anusvāra* (I. 4. 16; VIII. 3. 23). See V. 2. 123.

Here ends the chapter on Matup-affixes.

# अथ तद्धित प्राग्विशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES.

१६४७ । प्राग्विशो विभक्तिः । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

विश्वशब्देभ्य इत्यसः प्राग्विश्वभाषाः प्रत्यया विभक्तिसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ अथ स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः ॥

समर्थानामिति प्रयनादिति च निवृत्तम् । चेति स्वतुल्यत्वं च ॥

1947. The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V. 3. 27. S. 1974. ( exclusive ) are called Vibhakti.

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i. e. they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation. The rule IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else.

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिकाः, the anuvṛtti of समर्थानाम् and प्रयनाद् of IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 does not apply to them. The word वा of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कुतः or कस्माद्, कुप or कल्पिन् ॥

Note :—Thus V. 3. 7. S. 1953 declares, that after the words किम् in the oblation there is the affix सतिन्, as कुतः सतः यतः ॥

Note :—The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to debar the elision of final् and ऋ of the affixes as इन् ( 1. 3. 4. S. 199 ). Thus in the affix वागीम् V. 3. 38, S. 1967 च् is not इन्, had it been so, rule 1. 1. 47 would have applied ; (b) to regulate the accent of इदम्, thus इदम् + सतिन् = इदं : here by VI. 1. 171. S. 3717 the affix सतिन् becomes udatta by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ल ( VI. 1. 193. S. 3676 ) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of सप्तमि, that is, the rules given in the Sūtras VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and those that follow. Thus स्वद् + सतिन् = स्वतः, the द् being replaced by च् by VII. 2. 102. S. 265.

१६४८ । किमर्थानामथदुभ्योऽद्वय्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

विभः सर्वनामो बहुवचसोऽपि प्राग्विशोऽपि विभः ॥

1948. These Prāgviśīya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanāma, and after bahu ; but not after dvī &c

The words हि &c. though सर्वनाम are exempted. Thus कुप, कुतः, यतः, यत्र, यतः, यद्वयः ॥

Note :—Why do we say अद्वयवि 'not divi &c. Observe द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयोः ॥ Why do we say किम् &c.? Observe वृषात्, वृत्ते &c. The word किम् is a सर्वनाम, but it being included in the dryādi class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned.

Note :—The word वट् here is 'a Sankhyā.' Therefore, the affix does not apply there, वटोः सूत्रात्, वटो लुप्ते ॥

१६४९ । इदम् इत् । ५ । ३ । ३ ।

मागिदीये परे ॥

1949. For idam, there is the substitute इत् (इ), when a Prāgdisīya affix follows.

The word मागिदीयः is understood here also. The इ of इत् is indicative of the substitution of the whole (I. 1. 55). Thus इत् + व V. 3. 11, = इव ॥

१६५० । एतेतौ रयोः । ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इत् + वाच्य एत इत् इत्यादी स्तो रेकादी यकादी य मागिदीये परे । इतोऽपवादः ॥

1950. The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of idam, when 'a Prāgdisīya affix beginning with इ and थ respectively follows.

This debars इत् ॥ The थ in इ is for the sake of euphony. Thus इत् + हिन् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 16). इत् + यद् = एतद्य (V. 3. 24).

१६५१ । एतदोऽन् । ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः ॥ एतद् ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रयोः ॥ अन् ॥ एतद् इत्येव । अनेकाद्वास्तवविभागः ।

नकोपः मागिदीयान्तरस्य ॥

1951. The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prāgdisīya affix follows.

Note :—According to Kāśika the substitute is अन् । The थ of अन् causes the replacement of the whole (I. 1. 55. S. 45). According to Patanjali the substitute is अन् and not अन् । Thus एतद् + नसिन् = अन् V. 3. 7, S. 1958; अथ V. 3. 10.

This sūtra must be divided into two, (1) एतद्, and (2) अन्, the meaning being. (1) The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with इ and थ respectively follow, as एतद् + हिन् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 21. S. 1969) एतद् + यद् = एतद्य ॥ The थ must be the थ of यद् which comes after idam (V. 3. 24. S. 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the थ of थान् (V. 3. 23. S. 1971) before which the substitute will be अन् ॥ The word एतद् will take यद् by the implication of this rule. The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prāgdisīya affixes. As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad. Thus एतद्+सविद्=अन्+तस्=अतः (the न is elided by VIII. 2. 7. §. 236).

१६५२ । सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि । ५ । ३ । ६ ॥

मासिदीयो वक्तारो प्रत्ये परे सर्वस्य सो वा स्थान् ॥

1952. The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a *prāgdisīya* vibhakti beginning with इ ॥

Thus सर्वस् or सवा ॥ When the affix is not *Prāgdisīya*, there is no substitution: as; सर्वे देवताः = सर्ववा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇ who gives all'.

१६५३ । पञ्चम्यास्तसिद् । ५ । ३ । ७ ॥

पञ्चम्यभ्येभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्तसिद् स्याद्वा ॥

1953. The affix *tasil* (तस्) comes after the word, *kim* a *sarvaṇīma*, and *bahu*, when ending in the ablative case: but not after *dvi* &c.

As *kim*+*tasil*=कु+तस् ॥ The following sūtra changes *kim* into कुम् ॥

१९५४ । कु तिहोः । ७ । २ । १०४ ॥

*kim* कुः स्यात्तारो ह्रस्वो ष विभक्तौ परतः । कुतः । कस्तात् । यतः । ततः । अतः । इतः । अततः । अतुतः । अतितुतः । आभ्याम् ॥

1954. कु is substituted for *kim* before ॥ vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः=कस्तात् ॥ कुतः, कुह (V. 3. 13, 7. S. 1961 and 1953). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥ So also यतः, वतः, अतः, इतः, अततः, अतुतः ॥ But not after दि &c. As आभ्याम् ॥

१६५५ । तसेत्त । ५ । ३ । ८ ॥

किमर्थन(मदहभ्यः परस्य तसेत्तसिन्नादेभ्यः स्यात् । एतस्यै विभक्त्यर्थे ष दप्यनम् ॥

1955. The affix *tasil* (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V. 4. 44, 45 S. 2111 and 1221) when *kim*, a *sarvaṇīma*, and *bahu* follow.

This substitution is for the sake of accent; and for giving it the designation of vibhakti. Otherwise तम् (V. 4. 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a *Prāgdisīya* affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so दन् &c cannot be changed to ॥ when तसि will be added (VII. 2. 102 S. 265). So we can never get the form दन् as in the sentence यतोऽनमश्च्यते ॥

१६५६ । पर्यानिभ्यां ष । ५ । ३ । ९ ॥

प्राणिनिभ्याम् ष्याद् ॥ सर्वोपधायार्थाभावेऽपि ॥ पति । सर्वत इत्यर्थः । धिनिता । उभयत इत्यर्थः ॥

1956. The affix *tasil* comes after *pari* and *abhi* also.

*Vart 1*—This affix comes when परि means 'all'; and अत्रि means 'both'. Thus परिः = सर्वतः; 'all round'; अत्रितः, समस्तः 'on both sides'.

१६५७। सप्तम्यास्तल्। ५। ३। १०॥

कुत्र। यत्र। तत्र। बहुत्र॥

1957. The affix त्रल (त्र) comes after kim, a sar-vanāma, and bahu, when ending in a locative.

Thus कुत्र (VII. 2. 104 S, 1954) 'where', तत्र (VII. 2. 102. S. 265) 'there', बहुत्र 'in many places'.

१९५८। इदमो हः। ५। ३। ११॥

मलोऽनवाहः। इवादिहः। इह॥

1958. The affix ह comes after इदम् ending in the locative.

This debars संह॥ Thus इह (V. 3. 3. S. 1949) 'here'.

१६५९। किमो ऽत्। ५। ३। १२॥

षाभवनवक्रपदेति। सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽहः स्वात्पक्षे चल्॥

1959. The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix त्रल.

We must draw forward the word अत् 'optionally' from the sūtra after the next. So that this sūtra is an optional one. Thus किम् + अत्॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which किम् is replaced by क्॥ In the other alternative अत् also comes, as कुत्र॥

१६६०। क्कति। ७। २। १०५॥

किन्। क्कतिहः स्वादिहः। क्। कुत्र॥

1960. क् is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 8. 13).

As क्; So also कुत्र॥

*Note* :—The substitute ह् of VII. 2. 104. S. 1954, before the affix अत् would have become क्, but it would have caused guna, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽह्, it would not have included the अत् + augmented किम्॥

१६६१। वा ह च क्कन्दसि। ५। ३। १३॥

कुह स्वः। कुह जम्भशुः॥

1961. Optionally the affix ह् also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative: as well as the other affixes.

As in the Rig Veda VIII. 62. 4 : कुहस्य कुहजम्भशु कुह स्वनेन वेतशुः॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles?'

१९६२ । एतद्व्यक्तसोऽस्तसौ चानुदात्तो । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतद्व्यक्तं स्वास्त्यानुदात्तसोऽस्तसौः परतः सौ चानुदात्तो स्तः । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे

सुखं वसतमः । अथोऽथाधीनहे । अतो न वन्तारः स्तः ॥

1962. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes ञ ( V. 3. 10. S. 1957) and तस् ( V. 3. 7. S. 1953) follow, and the affixes ञ and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented).

Thus अश् 'here', and अस्तस् 'hence', in the following :—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसतमः । अथो अत्र अधीनहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छावाचन्महोऽधीन्य, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीन्य । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar'. By rule V. 3. 5. S. 1951 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद् ; its repetition here is to indicate that the अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीसर्धविभक्त्यन्ताकारे तस्मिन्नाभ्यो दृश्यन्ते । इतिमहत्याद्वयदादिषोऽप एव । स भवान् । सतो भवान् । तव भवान् । त्वं भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तव भवन्तम् । एवं शीर्षाणुः । देशानां विषयः । आशुष्यान् ॥

1963. The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative.

That is to say, the affixes तस्मिन्, तव, इ &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case. By the employment of the expression 'are seen', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवान् 'Your Honor', शीर्षाणुः 'long-lived', आशुष्यान् 'having long life', and देशानां विषयः 'the beloved of the Gods'. Thus :

Nom. ममो भवान् or तव भवान् — म भवान् ॥

Acc. तव भवन्तम् or ममो भवन्तम् — तं भवन्तम् ॥

Ins. तव भवता or ममो भवता — मेव भवता ॥

Dat. ममो भवते or तव भवते — तस्मै भवते ॥

Abl. ततो भवतः or तव भवतः — तस्माद् भवतः ॥

Gen. ममो भवतः or तव भवतः — मस्य भवतः ॥

Loc. ममो भवति or तव भवति — माम्नाद् भवति ॥

Similarly with the words शीर्षाणुः, आशुष्यान् and देशानां विषयः ॥

१९६४ । अर्थवत्त्वार्थविषयः काये वा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यः कालार्थेभ्यः स्वार्थे ॥ स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा । सर्वदा । एकदा । अन्यदा । कदा । यदा । तदा । काले किम् । सर्वत्र केषे ॥

1964. After sarva 'all', eka 'one', anya 'other', kim 'what', yad 'which', and tad 'that', when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, the words being in the locative case.

The word सप्तम्याः V. 2. 10 S. 1957 is understood here and not the word इत्थन्दा of the last. This debars जन् ॥ Thus सर्वदा or सदा (V. 3. 6 S. 1952) 'at every time' or 'always', एकदा 'once', अन्यदा 'at another time', कदा (VII. 2. 103 S. 342) 'when', यदा 'when', तदा 'then'.

Why do we say काले 'when time is denoted'? Observe सर्वत्रदेवे where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not दा, because the sense is 'in every place' or 'every where'.

१९६५ । इदमोर्हिङ् । ५ । ३ । १६ ॥

\* सप्तम्यन्तात्काले इदमेवे । इत्यावशात् । अस्मिन्काले एवर्हि । काले किम् । इह देवे ॥

1965. After idam 'this', ending in the locative case, comes the affix र्हिङ् when time is denoted.

The words सप्तम्यन्तः and काले are understood. This र्हि debars हा. The ल् of हिङ् is for accent. Thus अस्मिन् काले-एवर्हि (V. 3. 4 S. 1950) 'at this time'. Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe, इह 'in this place', as इह देवे ॥ See V. 3. 4 S. 1950

१९६६ । अधुना । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इदमः सप्तम्यन्तात्कालवाचिनः स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्ययः स्यात् । इष् । यत्वेति लोपः । अधुना ॥

1966. After idam ending in the locative case, comes the affix अधुना, when time is denoted.

Thus इदम्+अधुना=इ+अधुना (V. 3. 3. S. 1949)=ओ+अधुना (S. 311)=अधुना ॥ According to Kāśikā अस्मिन् काले-अधुना 'at this time' अष् is substituted for इष् and, पुन affix is added.

१९६७ । दानीम् । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

इदानीम् ॥

1967. The affix दानीम् also comes after idam, ending in the locative, and denoting time.

Thus अस्मिन् काले-इदानीम् (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८ । तदो दा च । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥





उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एवम्, in the sense of 'a day': as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वैवम् 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येवम् 'on the following day'. अन्य-त्तरस्मिन्नहनि = अन्यत्रेवम्: 'on either of two days'. इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेवम्: 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेवम्: on the following day' अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेवम् 'on a previous day' उभयेरहो = उभयेवम्: 'on both days'. ; *Vart*:—So also उभयद्वय is formed by द्वय added to ubhaya.

१६७१। प्रकारवचने थाल् । ५ । ३ । २३ ॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्याल्वात्स्वार्थे । तेन प्रकारेण तथा । यथा ॥

1971. The affix thāl (था) comes, after the words kim &c V. 3. 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being.

The sūtra V. 3. 2, S. 1948 is to be read into this. The anuvṛtti of सप्तम्याः and कलि ceases. The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus; it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c. Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner'. Similarly यथा ॥

*Note*:—The affix ज्ञानीयल् taught in V 3. 69 S. 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that ज्ञानीयल् applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवात्) while thāl denotes mode itself. Therefore, one does not debar the other, ■ that we have forms like सधानाज्ञानीयः. and यथाज्ञानीयः ॥

१६७२। इदमस्थमुः । ५ । ३ । २४ ॥

थालोऽपवादः ॥ एतदेति वाच्यः ॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्यम् ॥

1972. After idam comes the affix thamu (थम्) in the same sense i. e. in denoting manner.

*Vart*:—It comes after etad also. This debar थाल्; thus:—अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इदम् V. 3. 4, S. 1950 'in this manner.' The व in वत् protects the व from becoming इत् (See I. 3. 4 S. 190).

१६७३। किमथ । ५ । ३ । २५ ॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम् ॥

1973. Also after kim, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner.

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how?'

Here ends the chapter on Prāgdisīya affixes.

## अथ तद्धितप्राग्विीय प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

#### THE SVĀRTHIKA AFFIXES.

१६७४ । दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । ५ ।

३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यभ्यो दिक्दिक्देशयो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः स्यात् ॥

1974. After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix *astāti* (अस्तात्) without change of sense.

*Note* :—The word दिक् शब्दाः means 'words denoting directions'. Thus पुरस्तात्, has all these three significations in the following sentences, पुरस्ताद्वसति 'he lives eastward', पुरस्ताद्वागतः 'he came from east' पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम् 'It was delightful previously'. Similarly with अपस्तान् ॥ For further explanation see S. 1977 below.

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराधामसि पुरुषवक्ष्येयम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तात्यर्थेऽतिप्रत्ययः स्वस्ययोगे येषां क्रमात्पुनः, अध, अध, इत्यदिष्टाः स्युः ॥

1975. After *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara* comes the affix *asi* (अस्) in the sense of *astāti*; and *pura*, *adh*, and *av* are their respective substitutes before this affix.

*Note* :—The word अवपञ्चम्याः does not govern this sūtra. Thus पुनो वसति, पुन वागतः, पुनो रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधत् and अधत् with वसति, वागत and रमणीयम् ॥ As आधोवसति, अध-वागत, अधोऽरमणीय, अधोवसति, वनगागत, and नभोऽरमणीयम् ॥ See S. 1984.

१६७६ । अस्ताति च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

जाताभ्यो वे पूर्वोक्तिर्न पुनश्च स्युः । पूर्वोक्त्यर्थेऽतिः पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुनः पुनस्तान् । अधः अपस्तान् । अधः । अपस्तान् ॥

1976. The same substitution takes place when the affix *astāti* (अस्तात्) follows.

That is *pura* for *pūrva*, *adh* for *adhara* and *av* for *avara* ॥ Thus पुरस्तात् or अपस्तान् or नभस्तान् वसति or वागतः or रमणीयम् ॥

१९७७ । नितापानरह्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवस्तातो षेऽन् स्यात् । अवस्तात् । अवस्तात् । एवं द्वे काले च । शिषी ह्येभ्यः क्तिम् ।  
ऐन्द्र्यां वसति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यः क्तिम् । पूर्व भागं गतः । दिग्विभक्तिभ्यः क्तिम् । पूर्वस्मिन् द्युतो वसति ।  
अस्ताति चेति ज्ञापकादविरस्ताति न बाधते ॥

1977 The substitution of अच् for अवर् is optional when astāti follows.

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory. As अवस्तात्, or अस्तात् वसति, आगतः, or एवजीवय ॥

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe ऐन्द्र्यां शिषी वसति, 'He lives in the Aindra direction'. Here ऐन्त्री is a secondary word denoting eastern direction. Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe पूर्वम् भागं गतः ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe पूर्वास्मिन् द्युतो वसति 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'.

Note :—This affix is a स्वार्थिक affix, like the affixes taught previously. The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction; and not derivative words like ऐन्त्री &c. which also denote direction.

The sūtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix अस्ताति V. 3. 27 S, 1974 is not debarred by अच् after these words.

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातेरपवादः । दक्षिणतः । उत्तरतः ॥

1978. After dakṣiṇā and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch. (अतसुच्) ॥

This debar अस्ताति ॥ Thus दक्षिणतः, उत्तरतः ॥

Note :—The word दक्षिणा can never refer to time, so with regard to its direction and locality are only taken. The अ of अतसुच् is for the sake of differentiating this affix from तसुच् in sūtras like II. 3. 30.

१९७९ । विभाषापरावराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परतः । अवरातः । परस्तात् । अवस्तात् ॥

1979. Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astāti.

Thus परतः or परस्तात् ॥ So also अवस्तात् or अवरातः ॥

१९८० । अञ्जलेर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्जलमन्त्रादिकञ्जनादस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् लङितलुकि ॥ प्राच्यो वाच्यः प्राची वा दिक् प्राक् । उदक् । एवं द्वे काले च ॥

1980. After words of direction ending in अञ्च्, there is luk-elision of the affix astâti.

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक्: as प्राच्यां स्थितिं वसति ~ प्राग् वसति, प्रागागतः, प्रागमणीयम् ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I. 2. 49. S. 1408. So also उक् 'in the north'. Similarly when locality or time is denoted.

१६८१ । उपर्युपरिष्ठात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तरेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्यापदेशः स्याद्विपरिष्ठातिश्चैव प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्ठात् वसति । प्रागतो रमणीयः वा ॥

1981. The words upari and uparishṭât are anomalous in the sense of astâti.

These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप, and adding the affixes स्ति and स्थाति ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वां स्थितिं वसति ~ उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागतः उपरि रमणीयः ॥ उपरिष्ठात् वसति, उपरिष्ठात् प्रागतः, उपरिष्ठात् रमणीयम् ॥

१६८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चभाव आतिश्च मत्वयोऽस्ततेर्विषये ॥

1982. The word paschât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti.

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix प्राति ॥ As अपरस्यां स्थितिं वसति ~ पश्चात् वसति, प्रागतः रमणीयः &c.

Note:—So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into pascha and âti is added. As दक्षिणपश्चात्, उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note:—So also when ऊर्ध्व follows such a compound, apart is changed into pascha; as, दक्षिणऊर्ध्वार्थः, उत्तरपश्चार्थः ॥

Note:—Apara is changed into pascha, when followed by ordhs, and not preceded by any other word. As, पश्चार्थः ॥

१९८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983. To the words Uttara, adhara and dakshina is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti.

Thus उत्तरस्यां स्थितिं वसति ~ उत्तरात् वसति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१६८४ । एतदन्यतरस्यामदूरेऽपञ्चम्याः । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एतस्या स्थानपञ्चमिणोः सावीप्ये पञ्चम्यन्तं विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । परे यपार्थं मत्वयोः । इह कंचिदुत्तरादीननुवर्त्य दिक्पञ्चम्याच्चेनपमात् । पूर्वैर्ण मानम् ॥ अधरेण मानम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एन) comes optionally, (after the words *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakshina* in the sense of *astāti*), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

Note :—The affix *अस्ताति* and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative. The एनप् comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative. The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance.

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरतो वसति or रमणीयम् = Similarly अधरेण, अधरात्, अधस्तात् वसति &c, so also दक्षिणेन, दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो, वसति &c. 'He lives near by in the north-ward or southward'. Why do we say when not denoting distance? In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः, अधस्तात्, उत्तरात्. Observe उत्तराद्वसति 'he lives far away in the north'. Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तरादगतः 'come from the north'.

Note :—The word अपठ्यम्भ्याः governs all the succeeding sūtras upto V. 8. 39, exclusive.

Some do not read उत्तर &c. into this sūtra : according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction. As पूर्वैव मानम्, अपठ्यैव मानम् (II. 3. 31) The ए in enap is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4. S. 3709).

१९८५। दक्षिणादाय् । ५। ३। ३६५

अस्तातिरिष्यते । दक्षिणा वसति । अपठ्यम्भ्या इत्येव । दक्षिणादागतः ॥

1985. The affix *ach* (अचि) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astāti*, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

The word अद्वे of the last sūtra is not read into this: though the word अपठ्यम्भ्याः governs it. Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत आगतः in the ablative.

Note :—The ए in एनप् is not for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 163, 8. 3710) for the simple affix आ would be udātta by the general rule III. 1. 3. S. 3708. The ए serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sūtra II. 3. 29 S. 595.

१९८६। आहि च दूरे । ५। ३। ३७५

दक्षिणाद दूरे आहि इत्येव आगतम् । दक्षिणाहि । दक्षिणा ॥

1986. The affix *āhi* (आहि) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astāti*, as well as *ach*. when the reference is to a distant limit.

We draw in the affix आत् by force of the word च 'and'.

Thus दक्षिणादि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south',

Note:—Why do we say दूरे 'when the adverb denotes a distant limit'?

Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्या governs this also: as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१६८७ । उत्तराच्च । ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तरादि । उत्तरा ॥

1987. The affixes आत् and आदि come after uttara in the sense of astāti; when the reference is to a distant limit.

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तरादि वसति or उत्पलीक्य ॥ "He lives far away in the north: or the northward far away is pleasant".

Note:—But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेष प्रदाति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्या governs this also: as उत्तरागतः ॥

१६८८ । संख्याया विधायै चा । ५ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे वर्तमानात्संख्याप्रमाणार्थे वा स्वात् । चतुर्थी । पञ्चमा ॥

1988. The affix dhâ (चा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action.

Note:—The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning. Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action.

Thus एकदा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once'. द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice'. Similarly विधा. चतुर्थी. पञ्चमा ॥

१६८९ । अधिकरखविद्याले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

द्रव्यस्य संख्यानंतरापादने संख्याया वा स्वात् । एकं चार्थे पञ्चमा कृह ॥

1989. The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances.

Note:—The word संख्यायाः is understood here. The word अधिकरणम् means 'matter, stuff, substance'. विधानः 'change in numbers'. Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one.

Thus एकं चार्थे पञ्चमा कृह 'divide one heap into five'. Similarly अनेकम् एकम् कृह "make these many heaps into one".

१९९० । एकादो व्यमुञ्चन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

पञ्चम्या । एकया ॥

1990. After the word *eka*, the substitute *dhyamuñ* (ध्यम्) comes optionally instead of *dba*.

Thus एकधा शक्तिं कुरु or ऐक्यं कुरु; एकधा मुह्यते or ऐक्यं मुह्यते ॥

Note:—The repetition of धा in the sūtra shows that the substitution takes place when the sense is that of विधा, as well as when it is that of अधिकरण विधान ॥ Had धा not been repeated, the substitution would have come in the sense of अधिकरण विधान only, as immediately preceding this sūtra.

१९९१ । द्वित्रयोश्च धमुन् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

आभ्यां धा इत्यस्य धमुं स्यात् । द्वेषन् । द्विधा । वैषम्य । त्रिधा । धमुमन्तात्तदर्थे दर्शयन् ॥ यदि द्वेषानि

1991. The substitute *dhamuñ* धम् comes optionally, in the place of धा after the words *dvi* and *tri*.

Note:—Here also it comes in both the विधाय and अधिकरण विधात senses. By च, the word 'optionally' is drawn into the sūtra.

Thus द्विधा or द्वेषन्, त्रिधा, or वैषम्य ॥

Vari:—The affix ड (ḍa, with the elision of the final vowel) comes without changing the sense, after words ending in *dhamuñ*. As यदि, द्वेषानि संशयान्ते ॥

१९९२ । एधाच्च । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

द्विधा । वेधा ॥

1992. The substitute *edbāch* (एधौ) comes optionally in the place of *dba*, after *dvi* and *tri*.

Thus द्वेधा (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) or द्वेषन् or द्विधा, वेधा वैषम्य or त्रिधा ॥

१९९३ । याव्ये पाशप् । ५ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कुत्सितो निषक् निषक्पाशः ॥

1993. The affix *pāsap* (पाश) denotes something as insignificant.

The word याव्ये means 'contempt, trifling' &c. Thus कुत्सितः याव्यो निषक् निषक् पाशः 'a very bad physician.' So also यज्ञिकपाशः ॥

Note:—Of course this will not come in denoting a person who is a good physician, but bears a bad character, or who is a good performer of sacrifices but immoral.

१९९४ । पूरुषाद्भागे तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो भागो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । स्त्रे त्रिषध ॥ तीयादीकम् स्वर्थे जायते ॥ द्वितीयो द्वितीयः । तृतीयो द्वितीयः ॥ च विधायाः ॥ द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । विधेयः ॥

1994. After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in *tīya*, comes the affix **अन् (अ)** (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant.

This sūtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which **अन्** is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent. Thus द्वितीयः (V. 2. 54. S. 1854) has udātta on *वी* (III. 1. 3. S. 3708) but when **अन्** is added, the accent falls on द्वि (VI. 1. 197. S. 3686). Thus द्वितीयो भागः = द्वितीयः 'the moiety'. Similarly तृतीयः 'the one-third'.

*Note*:—Why do we say when 'part' is meant? Otherwise, there is no change in accent. The affix **सीय** always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the **सीय** in words like **तृतीयः** is not significant as it is not an affix. The employment of the word **पुरय** in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sūtra. Its *anuvṛtti*, however, runs in the other sūtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here.

*Vart*:—The affix **ईकच्** is added to words ending in **सीय**, without changing the sense. As द्वितीयिकः, तृतीयिकः, in the same sense as द्वितीयः and तृतीयः ॥

*Vart*:—But not so, when the word ending in **सीय** refers to **विद्या** ॥ As द्वितीया विद्या, तृतीया विद्या ॥

१९६५ । प्रागेकादशभ्योऽष्टम्वसि । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पुरयामस्यान्तकाशेऽन् । चतुर्थः । पञ्चमः ॥

1995. After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix **अन्**, the word retaining its denotation, when = 'part' is meant : but not so in the *Chhandas*.

This is for accent also. Thus चतुर्थः, पञ्चमः, सप्तमः, नवमः, ईशमः ॥

*Note*:—Why do we say प्रागेकादशः 'before eleven'? Observe एकादशः, द्वादशः no change of accent (VI 1. 223. S. 3734). Why do we say 'not in the *Chhandas*'? Observe, पञ्चममभिनिवृत्त्यन्ताकामस्य (पञ्चम has acute on the final being formed by **अह** preceded by **म** V. 2. 48, 49 S. 1849, 1850).

१९६६ । षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां अ च । ५ । ३ । ५७ ॥

आदन् । षष्ठो भागः, षष्ठः । षष्ठः । आष्टमः । अष्टमः ॥

1996. The affix **ना (अ)** also comes as well as **अन्** after *shastha* and *ashṭama*, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the *Chhandas*.

The words **भागे** and **अष्टम्वसि** are understood here. By **च**, the affix **अह** is included. Thus षष्ठः or षष्ठः अष्टमः or अष्टमः ॥



१९६७। मानपञ्चदशयोः कन्तुको च। ५। ३। ५१ ॥

पञ्चदशशब्दाभ्यां क्रमेण कन्तुको स्तो माने पञ्चदशे च वाच्ये। पञ्चको भागः मानं चेत्। अष्टमो भागः पञ्चदशे चेत्। इत्येवमनो वा लुक्। अकाराद्यपामात्रम्। पठः। पाठः। अष्टमः। घाटनः। महावि-  
नाशवा सिद्धे ह्यवचनं पूर्वम् मानो नित्यविवृतिं ज्ञापयति ॥

1997. After the words *śaṣṭhā* and *aṣṭama* there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक् elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called *māna* or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively.

The word मान means a grain weight (श्रीहि वसन्ति ह्यवर्जं) ॥ That is to say, कन् comes after पठः when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed; and लुक् comes after घट् when a part of पञ्चदश is denoted. Thus पञ्चको भागः 'a sixth of a grain measure'. अष्टमो भागः 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast'. The लुक् here takes the place of the affix न as well as कन् ॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed: as पाठः or पठः, घाटनः or अष्टमः ॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply.

Though under the Great Option (IV. 1. 82. S. 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk-elision herein-taught indicates by implication, that the न and कन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option. See also V. 3. 1. S. 1947.

१९६८। एकादशकिंनिकासहाये। ५। ३। ५२ ॥

वाक्यलुकोः। एकः। एकाकी। एककः ॥

1998. After the word *eka*, comes also the affix *ākin-* ich (आकिन्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'.

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect: the elision being of कन् or आकिनिष् ॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एककः or एकः ॥

Note:—By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone'. एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च, प्रपदे, केवले, तथा ॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽहमे, संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनी, and the plural एकाकिनः ॥

१९६९। भूतपूर्वे चर। ५। ३। ५३ ॥

मातुलो भूतपूर्वः साव्यचरः ॥

1999. The affix चर (with the feminine in चीर्) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'.

The word **भूतपूर्व** is a compound of **पूर्व** and **भूत**; the compounding being by **सुप्रसृपा**, and denotes something done in a past time. Thus **भ्राज्यो भूतपूर्वः** = **भ्राज्यपर** 'once opulent'.

*Note* :—The **॥** indicates that the feminine will be in **ह्रीप्**, as, **भ्राज्यपरी ॥** The **प्** is not **इत्** in **चरद्** though required by I. 3. 7. S. 189. This proves that **चुट्** rule is anitya. The sūtra V. 2. 18. S. 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word **भूतपूर्वः**, but then **स्रज्** would have debarred **चरद्** which is, however, not intended.

२००० । पठया कृष्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

**पठयसाङ्गनपूर्वोऽर्थे कृष्यः स्याच्चरद् च । कृष्यस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः कृष्यकृष्यः । कृष्यः ॥**  
**तद्विनादिषु कृष्यस्यापरिगणितत्वात्तु देवत् । दृष्ट्याया भूतपूर्वः दृष्ट्याकृष्यः ॥**

2000. After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix **कृष्य**, and also **चरद्**, in the sense of 'having belonged formerly to somebody'.

The word **भूतपूर्व** here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sūtra. Thus **कृष्यस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः** = **कृष्यकृष्यः** 'the cow that formerly belonged to Kṛishṇa'. Similarly **देवदक्षपरः ॥** The affix **कृष्य** not being included in **taṣilādi** class of sūtra VI. 3. 35. S. 836 does not cause the masculinisation. Thus **दृष्ट्याया भूतपूर्वः** = **दृष्ट्याकृष्यः** and not **दृष्ट्यकृष्यः ॥**

२००१ । अतिशायने तमपिठनी । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

**अतिशयविधिपर्यवृत्तेः स्वार्थे एवो सः । अर्थमपामतिशयेनायः भाज्यतमः । सतुलनी लघिष्ठः ॥**

2001. When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes **तमप्** (**तम्**) and **रहन्** (**रह**), after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation.

*Note* :—These affixes form the superlative degree. The word **अतिशयम्** is an irregular form of **अतिशयन्**, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive. The **स्वाधिक** affixes sometimes qualify the sense of the primitive.

Thus **भाज्यतमः** = **सर्वे इमे भाज्याः, अन्त्येपायविधिदेनायः** 'the richest' i. e. 'these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches'. Similarly **पटु** = **पठिष्ठः, पटुः** = **पठिष्ठः, लघु** = **लघिष्ठः** (VI. 4. 155. S. 1786).

*Note* :—When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also : as **श्रेष्ठ**, though a superlative, forms **श्रेष्ठतमः ॥** As **देवत** **यः** **सन्निता** **प्रापयतु** **श्रेष्ठतमय** **कर्मणे** । **पुष्टिष्ठः** **श्रेष्ठतमः** **कुरुष्यामिहि** ॥

२००२ । तिष्ठन् । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

**तिष्ठन्तादितिष्ये षोडशे तमप् स्यात् ॥**

2002. So also after a finite verb, comes the affix **tamap**, when 'surpassing' is meant.

By the next sūtra, the affix *तम्* gets the designation *gha* घः

*Note*:—By *दृष्टाप्रातिपदिकान्* IV. 1. 1. S. 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem; they would not have come after verbs; hence this sūtra. Thus *पचति* ताम् (the *ताम्* is added by V. 4. 11; S. 2004) = सर्व इमे पचन्तीति. अयमेवामपिपचयेन पचति. 'he cooks surprisingly'. *उच्यते* ताम् &c. The affix *तम्* never comes after a verb, as by V. 3. 58. S. 2006 it is restricted to adjectives.

२००३। तरतमपो घः। १। १। २२॥

एतौ पसेतौ स्तः ॥

2003. The affixes *तार* and *tamap* are called घः ॥

As this affix is *gha*, the next sūtra applies.

२००४। किमेत्तिङ्ग्यघादम्बद्रव्यप्रकर्षे। ५। ४। ११॥

किम् एतन्तादितोऽव्ययस्य सौ पस्तवन्तादातुः स्तम्बं तु द्रव्यप्रकर्षे। कित्तम्। माहेतम्। पचतिताम्। उच्येतम्। द्रव्यप्रकर्षे तु उच्येतस्तम्।

2004. To the affix *तर* and *तम्* (च I. 1. 22, S. 2003) ordained to come after the word *किम्* (V. 3. 55. S. 2001) or after a word ending in *ए* (VI. 3. 17. S. 975) or after a finite verb (V. 3. 56. 57. S. 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix *ām* (आम्), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality).

*Note*:—The *ए* or *तर* and *तम्* affixes are employed for comparison ('excess') of adjectives and adverbs. This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives; i. e. when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun. The *द्रव्य* denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c. It is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of excess or comparison. The prohibition in *सद्रव्यप्रकर्षे* therefore really relates to the quality of a substance; i. e. to adjectives. *द्रव्यस्याव्ययपदे* ॥ विना भेर इतुना। मकस्योदितये नापि कस्यस्यपेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus *कित्तम्* or *कित्तम्* "how excessively", *माहेतम्* or *माहेतम्*, *पचतिताम्* or *पचतिताम्* "he cooks surprisingly", *उच्येतम्*, *उच्येतम्* "more or most loftily or loudly".

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the *ām* *ताम्* is not added. As *उच्येतम्*: *तरः* "a most lofty tree".

२००५। द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तत्वीयसुनौ। ५। ३। ५७॥

इतिरेकस्याविधये विभक्त्ये शेषपदे सुविभक्त्यावौ स्तः। पूर्वयोःपदः। अदभनयोःविभक्त्येन तदुक्तुतरः तथीयम्। तथीयः। प्राच्यः। अदभनः। तथीयः।

2005. The affixes tarap (तृप्) and iyasun (इयस्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or ■ finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada); is to be distinguished from another.

Note :—The word द्विपचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two. इयस् is irregularly formed by यस्, and means 'that which is to be distinguished or differentiated'.

This debars सन् and इत् ॥

The rule of वयासंख्य (I. 3. 10. § 128) does not apply here. First to take an example of द्विपचन or when comparison is between two things: thus: ह्यदिनावाक्यौ, अयमनयोरातिशयेन = भाव्यतरः 'both are rich, but he is richer amongst the two'. So also लघुतरः and जयीवाक् ॥

Similarly लघुतरतरः, पद्यतितरा, काव्यतितराक् (V. 4. 11. §. 2004) or with इयस् as ह्यदिनौ पद्य अयमनयोरातिशयेन पद्यः = पदीयान् 'more skilful of the two', जयीवाक् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभक्त्ये चोपपदे i. e. when a word in construction is to be differentiated: thus माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आरब्धतराः 'The men of Mathurā are richer than those of Pāṭaliputra.' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used.

Similarly so also पदीय्याः पाच्येभ्यः पद्धतराः "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पदीयांसः जयीयांसः ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons.

२००६ । अजादी शुश्रूषणादेव । ५ । ३ । २६ ॥

इदानीमनुनी शुश्रूषणादेव इतः । प्रथितः । प्रथीयन् । ये । पाच्यकृतः । पाच्यकृतः ॥

2006. The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. ईयस् and इत्) are added only after words denoting attributes.

Thus प्रथितः प्रथीयन्; but not after words like पाच्यकृतः &c. there we have पाच्यकृतः, पाच्यकृतः ॥

Note :—The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the affixes, and not of the primitives. Thus पद्धतरः, पद्धतमः are also valid forms,

२००७ । तुष्टकन्दसि । ५ । ३ । २६ ॥

तुष्टकन्दसि तुष्टकन्दसि तुष्टः ।

2007. These affixes ishthan and iyasun come in the Chhandas after a nominal stem ending in तु ॥

The तुः is ablative of तु which includes both तुम् and तुम् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्टेमेयः सु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

इष्टस्य स्तेयः स्वारिष्टेमेयः पठ्यु । अतिष्ठेन कर्त्ता कार्त्तः । शेहीयसी धेनुः ॥

2008. The affix *त* is elided before the affixes *इष्ट*

*इमनिच्* and *ईयसुन्* ॥

Thus *करिष्टः*, *विजयिष्टः*, *वहिष्टः*, *शेहीयसी धेनुः* ॥ The whole affix *तु* is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (*दि*) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules.

Thus *अतिष्ठेन कर्त्ता* = *करिष्टः* ( *कर्त्तु* + *इष्ट* = *कर्-इष्ट* by VI. 4. 154, S. 2008 *t* is elided ). As *आशुतिं करिष्टः* *शेहीयसी धेनुः* ॥ By the Vārtika under VI, 3. 35 S. 836 *शाशुता* is changed into masculine *शेहिहृ* and then *ईयस्* is added by VI. 4. 145, S. 2008 ).

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य अः । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य आदेशः स्वारजायोः ॥

2009. For *प्रशस्य* is substituted *अ*, when these affixes *iṣṭhan* and *iyasnn* follow.

Then applies the following.

२०१० । प्रकृत्यैकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्टादिदेकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठः । श्रेष्ठान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic *bha* stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes *इष्ट*, *इमन्* and *ईयस्* ॥

Thus *श्रेष्ठः* and *श्रेष्ठान्* ॥

२०११ । ज्यच् । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य आदेशः स्वारिष्टेमेयोः । क्वेष्ठः ॥

2011. For *praśasya*, *ज्य* is also substituted before these two affixes.

As *क्वेष्ठः* ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ४ । ६ । १६० ॥

आदिः परस्य । ज्यादायान् ॥

2012. *आ* is substituted for the first letter of *ईयस्* after *ज्य* ॥

As *ज्यादायान्* ॥

Note 1—*ज्य* is substituted for *प्रशस्य* by V. 3. 61, S. 2011.

कथावेसः स्यादज्ञास्योः । कथेष्टः । ज्येष्ठाय ॥

Thus वृद्धः 'the oldest', ज्येष्ठान् 'the older'.

Note:—By VI. 4. 157, § 2016 वरि is also substituted for वृद्ध and we have वरिष्ठः and वरिष्ठान् also. The word वृद्ध though not a guṇavachana, takes these affixes by the implication of this sūtra.

अजाप्योः । नेदिष्ठः । मेसियान् । आभिष्ठः । सार्धायान् ॥

Thus नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः and साधीयान् ।

एषां यगादिपरं सुगममेतत् पूर्वस्य च सुखं ददातिषु । स्यविष्टः । दक्षिष्टः । वादिष्टः । ह्यसिष्टः । तैपिष्टः ।  
भीदिष्टः । एषभीष्टः । इत्यभिप्रायानां प्रख्यापित्वात् ह्यसिना । तैपिना । लौकिन् ॥

2015. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guna is substituted, in स्फुल्ल, दूर, युयुत्सु, हृस्व, क्षिप्त and क्षुब्ध ॥

That is ल, र, वञ् and ञ and र are elided. Thus स्वविद्यः, स्वकीयान्; कविः कवीयान्; कविः, कवीयान्; कविः, कवीयान्; कविः, कवीयान्; कविः, कवीयान् ॥ The words ब्रह्म, सिद्ध, and ब्रह्म are read in Prithvādī class and take 'iman' affix (V. 1. 122 S. 1784). कविः, कवीयान्, कवीयान् ॥ Why do we say परं in पद्यादिपरं 'the first semivowel'? The first semivowel of वृक्ञ and ब्रह्म i. e. व of वृ and र of ब्र should not be elided. The word परं is employed for the sake of distinctness.

२०१६ । प्रियस्वियसिफरोखेहुलमुसुद्वत्प्रदीर्घन्दारकाणां प्रत्यस्कचयैहि-  
गर्भेर्भिप्रनुवायिष्टन्दाः । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

अपिहः । द्रापिहः । नृन्पिहः । एषपीयसुन् । ज्ञेयान् । त्रिकोस्तुतुष्टुसुपीर्याः । धृम्यादित्वात्तमेत्यादि ॥

2016. Before the affixes श्र, ह्रस्व and ईयस् the following substitutions take place :—अ for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, यस् for उरु, बह् for बहल, गस् for गुरु, बर्ष for वृद्ध, जप् for जप, द्राव for दीर्घ, and बुद् for बुन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्टः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान् ; स्मिन्, स्मेष्टः, स्मेयान्, स्मेया ; स्मिन्, स्मेष्टः, स्मेयान् ; उरु, वरिष्ठः ; वरिणा वरीयान् ; बहुल, बंदिष्टः, बंदीयान् बंदिना ; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान् गरिना ; वृद्ध, वर्धिष्ठः वर्धीयान् ; मृग, त्रपिष्ठः, त्रपीयान् ; दीर्घ, द्राधिष्ठः, द्रापीयान्, द्राधिना ; वृन्तारक, वृन्तिष्ठः, वृन्तीयान् ; ॥

Of the above, priya, urn, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvādi class and take इमन् ( V. 1. 122. S. 1784. ) while others do not.

२०१७ । यदोलोपो भू च वहोः । ६ । ४ । १५८ ॥

यहोः परयोऽरिमेयसोलोपः स्याद्वहोश्च सूरवेष्टः । भूना । भूयान् ॥

2017. The इ and ० of these affixes ( इमन् and ईयन् ) are elided after वहु ; and for वहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूना

Note:—In the case of इष्ट, the following sūtra 2018 will apply. Under L. 1. ६६. and 67. यहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई ; in this case वहु belongs to the Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. ( V. 1. 122. S. 1784. The repetition of यहो is for the sake of pointing out the athna. for which the word भू is to be substituted : otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

२०१८ । इष्टस्य विद् च । ६ । ४ । १५९ ॥

यहोः परस्य इष्टस्य लोपः स्यान् विद्भागनश्च । भूयिष्ठा ॥

2018. After वहु the augment विद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces वहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥

Note:—This augment विद् debars the lopa substitution of the last sūtra in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in विद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being इ ॥ Or इष्ट may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ the augment वि may be added.

२०१९ । युवात्पयोः कन्धत्तरस्याश्च । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

यहोः कन्धत्तरी या स्वादिष्टयोः ; कनिष्ठः । कनीयान् । यते वरिष्ठः । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019. Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted or युवन् and कल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् or वरिष्ठः, वरीयान् ; similarly अल्पिष्ठः, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् ॥ सर्वज्ञे युवान् ; अयमेवामतिष्ठयेन कनिष्ठः ; इतिवो युवानो अयमनयोरतिष्ठयेन, कनीयान् ; वरिष्ठः । वरीयान् । सर्वज्ञेऽल्पाः । अयमेवामतिष्ठयेन, कनिष्ठः । अयमेवामतिष्ठयेन कनीयान् । अयमनयोरतिष्ठयेन कनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठः अल्पीयानीति वा ॥

२०२० । विष्मत्तोर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

विनी ननुपश्च लुक् स्वादिष्टयोः । अविष्ठयेन अन्वी । अविष्ठा । अवीयान् । अतिष्ठयेन स्वम्बन् स्वपिष्ठः । स्वपीयान् ॥

2020. The affixes **विन्** and **मन्** are *luk-elided*, when *iṣṭhan* and *īyasun* follow.

Thna सन्विन्—सजिष्ठः, सजीयान् ; स्वयम्—स्वचिष्ठः, स्वचीयान् ॥ सर्वदने सन्विजः, शय-  
नेषामतिशयेन, सजिष्ठः । उभाविवी सन्विषी । अयमनयोःसिचयेन, सजीयान् । अयमस्मात् सजीयान् । सर्वदने  
स्वयन्तः शयनेषामतिशयेन, स्वचिष्ठः । उभाविवी स्वचिन्तौ, अयमनयोःसिचयेन, स्वचीयान् । अयमस्मात्स्व-  
चीयान् ॥

Note:—This sām is a jāpaka or indicator that words ending in **विन्** and **मन्** or **वृ** form their comparative and superlative degrees by adding **ईयस्** and **इष्टस्** ॥

२०२१ । प्रशंसायां कृष् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुप्रसन्नचित्तः । प्रसन्नः पटुः पटुकृष् । प्रशंसं पचति पचतिकृष् ॥

2021. The affix **कृष्** ( **कृ** ) comes, without change of connotation, after a stem (nominal or verbal) denoting praise.

Note:—The word **प्रशंसा** means 'praise', and it qualifies the sense of the primitive; i. e. when the sense of the primitive is that of 'praise', then **कृष्** is added. As a general rule the **स्वार्थिक** affixes, which do not change the denotation of the word, serve the purpose of prominently bringing forward one particular meaning out of the several meanings possessed by a primitive.

Thus **प्रसन्नः पटुः** = **पटुकृष्** : 'a celebrated artist'. So also **प्राज्ञिककृष्** ॥

The affix comes after a verbal word ending in **विह्**, for the word **विह्व** V. 3. 56. S. 2002 is understood here also. Thus **पचतिकृष्**, **पचतकृष्** or **पचति-कृष्**, 'who is celebrated, who two are celebrated or who all are celebrated in cooking'. These words **पचतिकृष्** &c cannot take dual or plural; because the action denoted by the verb is only one, not many. These words are always in the neuter gender, by the general usage of the people.

२०२२ । ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पद्वैश्वदेशीयः । ५ । ३ । ६७ ॥

ईषद्वैश्वी विह्वन् विह्वकल्पः । यक्षकल्पम् । यक्षुःकल्पम् । विह्वेश्वः । विह्वेश्वी । पचतिकल्पम् ॥

2022. The affixes **कल्प** ( **कल्** ), **द्वैश्व**, and **देशीय** ( **देशीय** ) come after a nominal or a verbal stem which connotes a slight incompleteness.

The word **संप्रति** means 'fulness of objects'. A little non-fulness is called **ईषदसमाप्ति** ॥ Thus **विह्वकल्पः**, **यक्षकल्पम्**, **यक्षुःकल्पम्**, **विह्वेश्वः** or **विह्वेश्वी** 'a clever but slightly incomplete' i. e. 'tolerably clever'. So also after verbs as **पचतिकल्पम्**, &c.

२०२३ । विमाया सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात् । ५ । ३ । ६८ ॥

ईषदसमाप्तिविशिष्टैर्बहुभूतैश्च स्वात्म्य प्रागेव नतु पतेः । ईषद्वै, यक्षुःकल्पः । पटुकल्पः ।  
पु. किल् । अयतिकल्पम् ॥



2023. Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before : when the sense is slight incompleteness.

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added after a word. The affix बहुच् however is added before the word. The च् of बहुच् indicates that the udātta will fall on the final vowel of the word. See VI. 1. 163, S. 3710. Thus बहुवर्द्धः 'a tolerably skilful person'. By the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the affixes क्तच् &c also come as बहुक्तच् : Why do we say क्तच् 'to a noun ending in a case-affix i.e. a declined noun'. For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (विदन्त) : As वक्तव्यम् ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जानीयर् । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

प्रकारवचि भावम् । याह्यं तु प्रकारवचि । बहुप्रकारः बहुजानीयः ॥

2024. The affix जानीयर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'.

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality'. When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचनम् ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive. The affix जानीयर् and the affix प्राह्य V. 3. 23, S. 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जानीयर् denotes प्रकारवचनम्, the other denotes प्रकारमात्रम् i.e. merely प्रकार ॥

Thus बहुजानीयः 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'.

Notes:—The above Sūtra may, therefore be translated in those words also, "the affix जानीयर् has the sense of "belonging to the class of" "being of the nature of".

२०२५ । प्राप्तिवाक्यः । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

प्रतिप्रतिकृत्यादिवाक्यः प्राह्य कश्चिदकारः ॥

2025. The affix ka (क) governs all the sūtras, as far as "ive pratikritau" (V. 3. 96. S. 2051).

Notes:—Properly speaking क extends only upto V. 3. 85. S. 2041. Thus in the sūtra वदन्ते V. 3. 73. S. 2028 the word क must be applied to complete the sense. As वाचकः, गर्वभक्तः ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (विदन्त), but the affix चकच V. 3. 71 S. 2026 comes after such verbs. In other words, the phrase विदन्त V. 3. 56, S. 2022 should be connected, by way of samvṛitti, with the next sūtra, and not with this

२०२६ । अत्ययसर्वनामकम् प्राह्य टेः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

विदन्तेत्यनुवर्तने ॥

2025. The affix **akach** (अक) is added to an Indeclinable and to a Pronominal, before the last vowel of those words; in the sense of Prāgiviya affixes.

*Note.*—The **च्** shows that the acute accent falls on the final (VI. 1. 163. S. 3710), though the affix is inserted in the middle of the word. The phrase **विह्व** V. 3. 56. S. 2012 is understood here also. This **अकच्** debars **क्** ॥ Thus **उद्येः + अक् = उद्यच् + अक् + ऐः = उद्यच्यैः** ॥ Similarly **नीच्यैः**, **सर्व्यैः** from **नीचेः** and **शर्वैः** ॥ So also after Pronominals, as **सर्व्यैः**, **विष्यैः**, and **उपस्यैः** from **सर्वे**, **विष्ये** and **उपस्ये** ॥

२०२७। कस्य च हः। ५। ३। ७२ ॥

काम्नाप्यस्य सक्रोऽन्तादेष्टः स्वावकच ॥

2027. The letter **ह** is the substitute of the final **क्** of an Indeclinable, when the affix **akach** is added.

*Note.*—The word **अव्यय** is to be read into this sūtra and not **सर्वमान**, because no Pronominal ends in **क्** ॥ Thus **यकित्**, **हिरकुत्** and **पृथक्त्** from **यिक्**, **हिरिक्** and **पृथक्** ॥ Thus **हिरिक् + अक् = हिरि + अक् + उक् = हिरिकुक्**, now comes the present rule and the final **क्** is changed into **ह**, = **हिरिकुह** or **हृ** ॥

२०२८। अद्याते। ५। ३। ७३ ॥

कस्यायम्योऽव्ययः। उच्यैः। नीच्यैः। सर्व्यैः। विष्यैः। श्रीकारस्तकारनकागदौ ध्रुवि सर्वमासौ। मावकच् \* ॥ अव्ययं तु ध्रुवनास्य ऐः। मावकच् \* ॥ पुष्यकयोः। मावकयोः। पुष्यकासु। अस्मकासु। पुष्यकानि। श्रीकारित्याविकित्। स्वयका। मयका ॥ अकच्यकार्ये नृप्यीनाः काम्नाप्यः \* ॥ निश्वाव्यव्ययः परः। नृप्यीनामासौ ॥ शीते कोमलोपच \* ॥ नृप्यीनीतिरनृप्यीनि। पचसकि। अप्यसकि। यकित्। हिरिकुत् ॥

2028. The affix **क** (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) and **अक्** (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) come after a word, noun or verb, when something or somebody not known, is spoken of.

This **अज्ञान** or want of knowledge refers not to the object itself, but to its relation with some other object. As **अव्ययः** 'whose horse?' Similarly in **उच्यैः** 'high' (is it so?) **नीच्यैः** 'Is it low?' **सर्व्यैः** 'was this agreed to by all?' So also **विष्यैः** ॥ Similarly **पचसकि** "He cooks, is it?" **अप्यसकि**, 'He speaks, does he?'

The affix is added to **ध्रुवन्** words i. e. to declined nouns, and not to **पानिपदिक** or crude-nouns: as was required by IV. 1. 1. S. 182. Sometimes, however, the affix is added after a **Prātipadika** also. The usage will determine when the affix should be added to a Nominal stem (**Prātipadika**) and when to a Subanta word. Thus in **पुष्यकानि**, **अप्यकानि**, **पुष्यकासु**, **अस्मकासु**, **पुष्यकयोः**, **मावकयोः**, the affix is added to the **Prātipadika** viz. to **पुष्यत्**, **अप्यत्**, giving **पुष्यकह**,

अस्मकद् which are then declined as Pronominals. But in the examples स्वयका, मयका, स्वयकि, मयकि, the affix क् is added to स्वय, मय (the Instrumental case of शुभ्रद् and अस्वद्), and क्वि and क्वि the Locative singular of the same.

*Vart*:—The fix क् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prātipadika when a case-affix beginning with ओ, स or य follow.

*Vart*:—The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases.

*Vart*:—The affix कान् is added to the Indeclinable वृणीम् ॥ The य is indicative, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (I, 1. 47 S. 37). As वृणीन् + का = वृणीकान्, as वृणीकान्वास्ते, वृणीकां विवृति 'he remained silent'.

*Vart*:—When, however, the meaning is 'that-whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the य of वृणीन् is elided. As वृणीकः 'a taciturn'.

The phrase लिङ्ग्य (V. 3. 56. S. 2002) being understood here, the affix क् comes after finite verbs also. As पचति—पचति । अचति—अचति ॥

२०२६ । कुत्सिते । ५ । ३ । ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽम्बोऽश्वकः ॥

2029. The above affixes come when the thing is spoken of as contemptible.

Thus अश्वकः 'a sorry horse'.

२०३० । संहायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् स्वात्तत्वेन वेत्संहा गम्यते । शूद्रकः । दूषकः । स्वरायै वपनम् ॥

2030. The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sūtra is understood here also. This कन् debars क ॥ शूद्रकः । दूषकः ॥ The difference between कन् and क is in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

२०३१ । अनुकम्पायाम् । ५ । ३ । ७६ ॥

पुत्रकः । अनुकम्पितः पुत्र इत्यर्थः ॥

2031. The above affixes come when compassion is denoted.

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment'. Thus पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child'.

२०३२ । नदीये च तदुक्तात् । ५ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सागवानादिदशयो नीतिस्तस्य गम्यमानायामनुकम्पापुष्कामकण्ठयः स्यान् । इन्त ते धानकाः ।  
 छदकाः । एहकि । अन्नकि । पूर्वपात्रुकम्पमानात्पत्यः । अनेन तु परम्परासंबन्धेऽपीति विवेचः ॥

2032. Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown.

The word नीति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and 'punishment'. तप्तुक्ता means 'joined with that', i. e. with gift compassion &c. In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion. Thus, इन्त ते धानकाः 'alas! here are barley for you'. एहकि, अन्नकि 'O-dear! come and eat'. (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him. Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want). In the last Sûtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity. In the present sûtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of ई 'to go' with the upasarga सा ॥

२०३३ । यद्गो मनुष्यवान्नद्वया । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्ववत्तद्विषयः ॥

2033. The affix thach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कच् also. As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तः = देविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V. 3. 83. S. 2035). When कच् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तकः ॥ Similarly यज्ञिकः or यज्ञदत्तकः ॥

Why do we say बहुचः 'after a polysyllable'? Observe एत्तकः । छमकः ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name'? Observe मन्त्रवाहुकः मन्त्रवाहुकः, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (मन्त्रो वाहु यस्य); or these are names of quadrupeds.

२०३४ । घनिलचो च । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तदेव ॥

2034. Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

*Note* :—The force of च is that the other affix कन् also enters, as well as टच् ॥ Thus from देवदत्त we have: देवियः, देविका, देविकाः, देवदत्तकः ( V. 3. 88. S. 2035 ).

२०३५ । ठाजादावूर्ध्वद्वितीयादचः । ५ । ३ । ८३ ॥

अस्मिन्प्रकरणे यष्टोऽजादिप्रत्ययस्य तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतोर्ध्वीयादच ऊर्ध्वे सर्वे लुप्यन्ते । अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तो देविकः । देवियः । देविकाः, देवदत्तकः । अनुकम्पिता वायुदत्तो वायुदत्तकः । इमहायुको द्वितीयादये कविधानार्थः । वायुकः । पितृकः ॥

अतुर्यादच ऊर्ध्वस्य स्त्रियोः वाचकः \* ॥ अनुकम्पितो वृहस्पति इत्यो, वृहस्पतिकः ॥

अथजाहौ च विभाषा स्त्रियो वक्तव्यः \* ॥ देवदत्तकः ॥ देविकः ॥

जापः पूर्वपदस्य च \* ॥ इत्तिकः । इत्तियः । इत्तिकाः । दत्तकः ॥

विभाषा प्रत्यय पूर्वोत्तरपारस्वार्थो स्त्रियो वाच्यः \* ॥ देवदत्तः । दत्तः । देवः ॥ तत्प्रभामा । भामा ।

सप्त ॥

उवर्णात्त इत्यस्य च \* ॥ भावुदत्तः भावुकः ॥

भृवर्णादापि \* ॥ सविद्वियः । सविद्वित्तः ॥ स इति शेष सप्त प्रमाणम् ।

अतुर्यादमजाहौ च शेषः पूर्वपदस्य च ॥

अथत्यये तथैवेष्ट उवर्णात्त इत्यस्य च ॥ १ ॥

2035. When *tha* ( V. 3. 78 S. 2033 ) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel ( V. 3. 79, 80 S. 2034, 2036 ) taught above, follows, there is elision of all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word *स्त्रिय* is understood here from V. 3. 82. S. 2039. The word कर्त्तव्येष्ट indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided ( by I. 1. 54. S. 44 ). The illustrations have been given above. Thus देवदत्त + इक; here all the letters after the *त* of देव should be elided : as देविकः, so also देवियः, देविकाः ॥

The affix *क* is replaced by इक् or क् ( VII. 3. 50; 51 ). hence its special mention in this sūtra. For had it not been used, the sūtra would have run thus. 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक substitute of क, but not to क substitute of इ which comes after words ending in उ, ऋ, ए, इन् and उक् ॥ But it is intended that क ( and not इक ) substitute of क should be added to words whose second syllables end in इक् ( उ or क ) vowels. If it be said that इक substitute of क would be sufficient for words like वायुदत्तः &c. also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables; and when such syllables are elided, क would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक, which we can do by the rule of *sthānavat*; we say, it is not so. For if it were the case, we should add the क substitute and not इक in the following, मयित् + इक् ( VI. 4. 51 S. 2313 ) = मयित् + इक् ( VI. 4. 143. S. 311 ). because, after elision, मयिद् ends with

But we know that क is not added but ह्क, and we have मयितिकः ॥ Hence the employment of म in the sūtra is proper as बाहुवचः—बाहुकः, पित्रवचः—पित्रकः ॥

*Vart*:—It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases. As अत्रुक्तमितो बृहस्पतिवचः—बृहस्पतिकः, बृहस्पतियः, बृहस्पतिलः ॥

*Vart*:—When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional. Thus देववच + कञ् = देववचकः or देवकः; यज्ञवचकः or यज्ञकः ॥

*Vart*:—There is elision of the first term, when these affixes इच् &c. denoting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow. Thus वनिकः, वनिसः, वनियः, वनकः from देववच or यज्ञवच or बाहुवच &c.

*Vart*:—The diminutive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name. Thus एतः or ऐकः from देववचः, सख्यमाणा—माना or सखा ॥

*Vart*:—The affix ह्रस्व is replaced by ल after a word ending in ह् as, बाहुलः from बाहुवचः, वसुलः—वसुवचः ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients.

*Vartika*:—So also after a word ending in अच् = सवित्तः or सविधिकः ॥

२०३६ । माचामुपादेरञ्जुखी च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वाभातिपदिकात्पुर्वविषये अडच् डुच् एतौ स्तः । चाययामास्त्व । माचां मण्डपं पूजार्थम् । मनुकम्पित उवेन्द्रवचः उपवः । उपकः । उपिकः । उपियः । उपिलः । उपेन्द्रवचकः । वच् क्वाणि ॥

2036. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes aḍach (अड) and vuch (अक्) also come after a human-name beginning with the word उप ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come. The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz. compassion or courtesy. Thus from the word उपेन्द्रवच, we have, 1. उपेन्द्रवचकः ( kan ), 2. उपिकः ( thach ), 3. उपिलः ( ilach ), 4. उपियः ( ghan ), 5. उपकः ( vuch ), 6. उपवः ( aḍach ). The shortened forms are by V. 3. 83 S. 2035. In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened. The word माचां is used as a sign of respect ( puṣārtha ), for the word या was understood in the aphorism by anuvṛitti from V. 3. 78.

२०३७ । जातिमासः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यमास इत्येव । जातिमासो ये मनुष्यमासयेत्यस्तत्प्राक्तन्यादत्रुक्तप्रयोगो नीतो च । विदकः । वाचकः । रात्रयकः ॥ द्वितीयं संध्यस्तौ चैतद्विर्लोका वक्तव्यः \* ॥ मनुकं विसः कथोडः कदिकः ॥ एकाधार्त्तपदवाचकवचनार्थः वक्तव्यः \* ॥ वाचां वीरितः वाचिकः । कथं पदद्वयमिति पदिक इति ॥ पदमाभातिपदवाचकवचनम् ॥

2037. The affix *in* क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea: when compassion, or courtesy is meant.

The word *manushya nāmanah* of S. 2033 is understood here:

The *कृतिनामन्* are words like *व्याघ्र* &c. which are well-known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor. The *anuvṛtti* of *बहुलः* does not extend to it. This is a general rule. Thus *सिद्धकः*, *राजमकः*, *राजनकः* ॥ The word *वा* being understood in this sūtra, the previous affixes also come, as *सिद्धिः* ॥ The word *नामन्* is used along with *कृति*, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form *कृतिः* (I. I. 68).

*Vṛt*:—When the second vowel is *ओ*, *औ*, *ए*, or *ऐ*, then this is also elided. As *सिद्धिकः* from *सिद्धोः*, *कहिकः* from *कहोः* ॥

*Vṛt*:—When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member: as *वाचिकः* from *वागाधीवः* (the *ए* changed back to *च्* because the stem is now *म* and not *व* and rule VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 does not apply). So also *सुधुषिकः* *त्वयिकः* ॥ The form *वदिकः* (and not *वदिका* from *वद*) is an exception. It is diminutive of *वदद्भुषितः* ॥

२०३८ । शेषलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्थमादिनां तृतीयात् । ५ । ३ । ८४ ॥

एषां ननुष्यनाम्नां आगतौ षडे तृतीयादयः कर्त्तव्ये लोपः स्यात् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । अनुकम्पितः शेषलदत्तः शेषलिकः । शेषलिकः । शेषलिकः । सुपरिकः । विशालिकः । वरुणिकः । अर्थमादिकः ॥

2038. There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with *Śeṣala*, *Supari*, *Viśāla*, *Varuṇa*, and *Aryaman*, when the above affixes *tha* or those having an initial vowel follow.

This debars the previous sūtra. Thus अनुकम्पितः शेषलदत्तः = शेषलिकः, शेषलिकः, शेषलिकः, सुपरिकः, सुपरिकः, सुपरिकः from सुपरिदत्तः, so also विशालिकः, विशालिकः, विशालिकः, वरुणिकः, वरुणिकः, वरुणिकः, अर्थमादिकः, अर्थमादिकः, अर्थमादिकः ॥

२०३९ । अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च । ५ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अजिनान्ताननुष्यनाम्नोऽनुकम्पयां कर हस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः । अनुकम्पितो व्यापृशितो व्यापृकः । सिद्धकः ।

2039. The affix *kan* (क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in *अजिन*, and this second member is elided before the affix.

The words कर् and मनुष्यनाम्नः are understood in this sūtra. Thus व्यापृक् from व्याप्राजिनः and सिद्धक् from सिद्धाजिनेः ॥ Vyāghrājina and Sinhājina are names of men.

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्पे तैल तैलिकम् ॥

2040. The above-mentioned affixes क ( V. 3. 70 S. 2025 ) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything.

Thus अल्पे तैल = तैलिकं 'a little oil.'

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षकः ॥

2041. The above mentioned-affixes ( V. 3. 70. S. 2025 ) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive.

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or 'long'. Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्षः = वृक्षकः 'a small tree'.

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कम् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वेद्वक् या संज्ञा सत्त्वां गम्यमानार्थं कम् । पूर्वस्यापवाहः । वचकः । वेशुकः ॥

2042. The affix kan ( क ) comes when the short thing is a Name.

Thus वचकः, वेशुकः ॥ This debars क् ॥

२०४३ । कुटीशमीशुण्डाज्यो रः । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटी कुटीरः । शमीरः । शुण्डारः ॥

2043. The affix र comes after the words kuṭī, śamī and śuṇḍā, when shortness of length is meant

The word ह्रस्वा is understood here, but not संज्ञा ॥ This debars क V. 3. 70. S. 2025. Thus ह्रस्वा कुटी = कुटीरः, शमीरः and शुण्डारः ॥

Note:—The derivatives are masculine names; though the primitives are feminine.

२०४४ । कुत्वाङ्गपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

अस्या कृतः कृतपः । कृतः कृतेः शेषान् अस्या वा कृतपः पुमान् ॥

2044. The affix ḍapach ( ङप् ) comes in expressing diminution, after the word kuṭā 'a jar'

This debars क् ॥ Thus कृतपः, from कृत the long क being elided owing to र ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil. This word is neuter also, as, कृतपम् ॥ See Amarakośha II. 9. 33.



२०४५ । कासुगोणीभ्यां ष्टरच् । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

आयुधविशेषः कासः । इत्वा सा कासवती । गोणीवती ॥

2045. The affix *shṭarach* (त्तरँ with feminine ई IV. 1. 40. S. 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words *kāśi* and *gōṇi*.

Thus इत्वा कासः = कासवती 'a small lance'; गोणीवती 'a small sack'.

२०४६ । वत्सोक्षाश्वर्यमेभ्यश्च तनुस्व । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

वत्सवरः । द्वितीयं वयः प्राप्तः । उच्चतरः । अश्वतरः । क्षयमश्वः । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमतुल्य एवायम् ॥

2056. The affix *shṭarach* expresses slenderness, after the words *vatṣa*, *ukshan*, *aśva*, and *piśhava*.

The *anuvṛtti* of इत्स्व ceases. Thus वत्सवरः 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age. उच्चतरः 'a slender bull': being the third age of a वत्स ॥ अश्वतरः 'a mule': (तस्य तनुस्वन्यविशुद्धता); क्षयमश्वः 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'.

२०४७ । कियत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य ष्टरच् । ५ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः । यतरोः । ततरोः । महाविभाषया कः । यः । तः ॥

2047. After the words *kiyam*, *yat* and *tat*, in determining of the one out of two, comes the affix *ṣṭarach* (अतरँ with the elision of the final इम् and अद्) ॥

Note:—This affix comes in the *svārtha* sense. The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्धारण or specification.

Thus अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः 'amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'.

Similarly यतरोः 'of the two the one who', ततरोः 'of that two—the one'.

The *taddhita* affixes being optional by the Great option of sūtra IV.

.. 82. S. 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word कः, यः or तः also. As, कौ यतरो देवदत्तः स मामश्नुते 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'.

२०४८ । वा घृह्णां जातिपरिग्रहे ष्टतमच् । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

घृह्णां मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे ष्टतमच् वा स्यात् । जातिपरिमय इति प्रत्याख्यानमाकरे । कन्यां मदात्ता कतः । यतनः । ततमः वायद्वयमकमर्थम् । यकः । सकः । महाविभाषया यः सः ॥ किमोपनिमित्तपदे अतज्जातिः ॥ कनयः ॥

2048. The affix *ṣṭatamach* (अतमँ with the elision of the last syllable) comes after *kim*, *yat* and *tat*, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many the question being that of *jāti*.

The phrase 'the question being that of caste' is redundant.

The words किञ्चनः and निर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sūtra. Thus कतमो भवतां कटः 'which of you, Sirs, ■ a Kāṭha Brāhmaṇa?' यतमो भवतां कटः सतम आगच्छतु 'that one of you, Sirs, who is a Kāṭha, let him come'. The word वा 'optionally' indicates that the affix अकृष् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) also comes, as यको भवतांकटः, सकः, आगच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः यः and सः also, owing to the नदाक्षिपथ (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072); as, को भवतां कटः यो, भवतां कटः, स आगच्छतु ॥

*Vart* :—The affix इतर has also this force, after the word किञ्च, as, कतरं भवतां कटः 'which of you, Sirs, is a Kāṭha Brāhmaṇa?' As may be inferred from the sūtra. कतरकतमो जातिपरिग्रहे (II. 1. 63. S. 742).

२०४६ एकाक्ष प्राचोम । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

इतरश्च इतनश्च स्थतु । अनयोरेकतरो मेव । एवानेकतनः ॥

2049. After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes ḍatarach and ḍatamach in the above senses.

The च draws in इतरश्च ॥ That is इतरश्च comes when one out of two is to be specified; and इतनश्च when one out of many is to be specified. The word जातिपरिग्रहे does not govern this sūtra; it being a general rule. Thus अनयोरेकतरो मेव । एवानेकतनः ॥

The word प्राचाम् is for pujārtha; because the word वा is already understood in the sūtra.

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वितः । येनेतरः कुत्स्यते तविरोधाद्वर्णम् । स्वतः कुत्स्यते तु कुत्सित इत्यस्य ॥

2050. The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing.

Thus व्याकरणकः 'Grammar' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride. As व्याकरणकेन नम एं गर्वितः 'thou art proud, because thou hast read grammar only'. Here the word व्यसकरण is used in a mocking sense. When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3. 14. S. 2029: as देवदत्तकः &c.

So far the governing power of क V. 3. 70 S. 2025.

## अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XXXIX.

#### TADRĀJA AFFIXES.

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । २६ ॥

कञ् स्याद् । अथ इव प्रतिकृतौः सम्प्रसारकः । प्रतिकृतौ क्तिप् । गौरिव गवयः ॥

2051. The affix कञ् means also 'like this'; when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed.

The word कञ् is understood here. Thus अथ इवावयमथ प्रतिकृति = सम्प्रसारकः 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c. Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe गौरिव गवयः "The gayal cow".

२०५२ । संज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । ६७ ॥

इत्यर्थे कञ् स्यात्सदृशत्वेन येन संज्ञा गम्यते । अथप्रतिकृत्यर्थेनारम्भः । सम्प्रसारकस्य संज्ञा सम्प्रसारकः । वृद्धकः ॥

2052. The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name.

This applies when imitation is not meant. Thus सम्प्रसारकस्य संज्ञा = सम्प्रसारकः 'a thing reminding a horse'. वृद्धकः ॥

२०५३ । लुप्तमनुष्ये । ५ । ३ । ६८ ॥

संज्ञायां विहितत्वं कर्त्तुं लुप्तमनुष्ये वाच्ये । चञ्चला वृत्तयः पुत्रात् । चञ्चलेव मनुष्यदशायां । वृद्धिका ॥

2053. When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup; the word retaining its number and gender.

Thus चञ्चला (चञ्चलेवमनुष्यः) 'straw-man' i. e. an effigy in straw. So also वाप्रका &c. For accent see VI. 1. 204. S. 3692.

Note:—Why do we say 'a man'? Observe सम्प्रसारकः, वृद्धकः &c. This effigy may be considered to be an enlargement of V. 3. 100, S. 2055.

२०५४ । जीविकार्ये चापत्ये । ५ । ३ । ६९ ॥

जीविकार्ये वापिकार्यमार्गे नरसमन्वाच्ये कर्त्तुं लुप्तमनु । चापत्येवः । चित् । लुप्तम् । देवदत्तार्त्तं जीविकार्यान्तु इत्यप्रतिकृतिविशेषः । अत्रत्ये क्तिप् हस्तिकान्तिर्विधीति ॥

2054. A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby.

That which is bought and sold is called वप्य; that which is not so dealt with is अवप्यः ॥ The rule applies to the images of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. Thus वासुदेवः 'the idol of Vāsudeva': शिवः 'the idol of Śiva'. स्कन्दः &c.

Why do we say अवप्ये? Observe, वृत्तिकान् विक्रीयन्ति 'he sells the images of elephants'. जम्बकान्, रयकान् ॥

Note:—This rule is also an amplification of V. 3. 100. S. 2055.

२०५५ । देवपथादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०० ॥

कनो वृत्त्यान् । देवपथः । ईसपथः । आकृतिगणेश्वर ॥

Note:—अर्वाक्षु पूजार्थान् पितृकर्मभ्यजेतु य ।

इति प्रतिकृतौ तेषः कनो देवपथादिभ्यः ॥

2055. After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix kan, ( V. 3. 96 S. 2051 and 97. S. 2052 ) expressing an image or a Name.

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथा, ईसपथः ॥

1 देवपथ, 2 ईसपथ, 3 कारिपथ, 4 शयपथ, 5 स्पतपथ\*, 6 करिपथ, 7 भजपथ\*, 8 राजपथ, 9 राजपथ\* 10 राहुपथ, 11 सिन्धुपथ ( सिद्धपथ ), 12 सिद्धगति ( सिद्धगति ), 13 वृद्धगति ( वृद्धगति ), 14 वायव्य ( वायव्य ), 15 वृत्त, 16 वृत्त, 17 वृत्त, 18 वृत्त, 19 वृत्त, 20 वृत्त, 21 वृत्त, It is आकृतिगणः ॥

Note:—The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag. As शिवः, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुनः 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कृपिः 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुडः the eagle-flag.

२०५६ । घस्तेर्देन् । ५ । ३ । १०१ ॥

देवत्वदुपवर्तयन् । प्रतिकृत्यादिनि निपुचन् । पस्तिरिण वास्तेष्य । वास्तेषी ॥

2056. The affix dhañ एय comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'.

The word एव is understood here. The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images. Thus पस्तिरिण = वास्तेष्य fem. पस्तिषी 'like the abdomen'.

२०५७ । शिलाया ङः । ५ । ३ । १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति धातुपिभागाङ्गुमीत्येके । शिलेय शिलेयम् । शिलेयम् ॥

2057. The affix *ḍha* ( ढ ) comes after *śilā*, in the sense of 'like this'.

Thus *सिनेव* = *सिनेयं दधि*: curd, hard as stone. According to some the affix *इञ्* also comes after *सिन्ना*, by dividing this sūtra into two : namely ( 1 ) *सिन्नायाः* "the affix *ḍhan* comes after *śilā*". ( 2 ) *इ*: "So also the affix *ḍha*", as *सिनेवम्* ॥

२०५८ । शाखादिभ्यो षत् । ५ । ३ । १०३ ॥

शाखेव शाखः । कुण्डः । जघननिव जघनः । जघनः । शरणः ॥

2058. The affix *यच्* comes, in the sense of 'like this', after *śākhā* &c.

Thus *शाखेव* = *शाखः*, *कुण्डः* ( VI. 1. 213 S. 3701 ) *जघनः*, *जघनः*, *शरणः* ॥

1 शाखा 2 कुण्ड, 3 जघन, 4 शृङ्ग, ॥ नेच, 6 जघन, 7 शरण, 8 स्थाव, 9 स्कन्द 10 उरव,

11 शिरस्, 12 जघ, 13 शरण ॥

२०५९ । द्रव्ये च भव्ये । ५ । ३ । १०४ ॥

द्रव्यमर्थं ब्राह्मणः ॥

2059. The word *द्रव्य* is anomalous, meaning beautiful.

The word *द्रव्य* is formed by adding *यच्* to the word *दृ* ॥ The word *भव्य* means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit; having or containing in himself all the desire's requisites'. As *द्रव्येनैव ब्राह्मणः* 'how nice is this Brāhmaṇa'.

२०६० । कुशाम्राच्छः । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

कुशाम्रमिव कुशामीयं बुद्धिः ॥

2060. The affix *chha* ( च्छ ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word *kuśāgra*.

Thus *कुशामीय* ( *कुशाम्रमिव बुद्धिः* ) *बुद्धिः* "Intellect sharp as the point of the *kuśa* grass". *कुशामीयं वक्ष्य* ॥

२०६१ । समासाच्च तद्विषयात् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

इयार्थविषयात्समासाच्चः स्यात् । काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य पथः । इह काकतालीयसमागमसदृशमी-  
रसमागम इति समासार्थः । सद्युक्तः काकतालीयसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थः । अजाकृपाणीयः । अतर्कितोपनस  
इति फलितोऽर्थः ॥

2061. The affix *chha* ( च्छ ) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note :—The word *सद्* refers to *इय*, and *तद्विषय* means *इयार्थविषय* ॥ A compound which is formed with the force of *इय*, takes the affix *छ*, when a second *इय* is to be

indicated. In the chapter on Compounds, no *samāsa* is taught with the force of इव; this *sūtra*, therefore, indicates by implication that such a *samāsa* of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of इव ॥ Such a *samāsa* will come under the head of सुप्र सुपा समासः ( II. 1. 4 § 649 ).

Thus काकतालीयम्, अजाकुपाणीयम्, अन्यकवर्त्तकीयम् ॥

The word काकतालीयम् means 'like the crow and the palm-fruit : the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm-fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree ; and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence'. Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray, Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीयसमागमः, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the palm fruit. The first case of समागमः will form the compound, the second case of वधः will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वधः ( the compound काकताल meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशचौर समागमः and the derivative word काकतालीयः meaning काकमरणसदृशः ) :

Similarly अजाकुपाणीयम् means "like the death of a goat (ajā) by the accidental falling of a sword (kṛpāṇa) as the goat was passing". Similarly अन्यकवर्त्तकीयम् means "like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakā) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it". All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikaraṇa) coincidences. In short, these words mean 'accidentally', 'unexpectedly'.

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो अङ् । ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेव शर्करम् ॥

2062. The affix an (अ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śarkarā &c.

Thus शर्करेव = शर्करम्,

1 शर्करा, २ कषाणिका, 3 कषाटिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका ( कषाटिका : विष्टिका, कनिष्ठिक ), 5 पुण्डरीक, 6 वातवध, 7 गोलामन, ८ लोमम्, 9 गोमुच्य, 10 नरापी (नरलि), 11 गङ्गुल (गङ्गुल), 12 शिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यमुक् । ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीय आङ्गुलिकः । अङ्गुलिव आङ्गुलिकः ॥

2063. The affix thak (इक् or क्) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words aṅgulī &c.

Thus आङ्गुलिक ( = अङ्गुलीय ) आङ्गुलिकः ॥

1 आङ्गुलि (आङ्गुली), 2 मरु, 3 मधु, 4 वस्तु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 आङ्गुली (आङ्गुल), 8 हरि, 9 कवि, 10 पुनि, 11 खट्, 12 खट, 13 उरुधिर, 14 गोपी, 15 दन्, 16 कुलिश, 17 शिला ॥

२०६४। एकशालायाष्टजन्यतरस्याम् । ५। ३। १०४ ॥

एकशालायाष्टदिवार्ये षष्ठा पक्षे षष्ठः । एकशालेव एकशालिकः । एकशालिकः ॥

2064. The affix *thach* (इक) also comes optionally after the word *ekasālā*, with the force of 'like this',

Thus एकशालिकः by *thach* or एकशालिकः by षष्ठः ॥

२०६५। कर्कलोहितादीकम् । ५। ३। ११० ॥

कर्कः शुक्लोऽथः स एव कार्कीकः । लौहिनीकः स्फटिकः ॥

2065. The affix *kā* comes in the sense of 'like this' after *karka* and *lohita*.

Thus कार्कीकः 'like कर्क or white horse'. लौहिनीकः स्फटिकः 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'.

२०६६। पूमाञ् इयो अग्रमणीपूर्वात् । ५। ३। ११२ ॥

इवार्यो निवृत्तः । नानाजातीया मनियस्तद्वृत्तवोर्ध्वकावस्थानाः सङ्घाः पूमास्तद्वाचकास्वार्ये इव स्यात् । लौहित्यञ्चः ॥

2066. The affix *nya* (ञ) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The *anuvṛtti* of इव ceases. The word पूमा means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c. Thus लौहित्यञ्चः 'the red bannered horde'. *duāl* लौहित्यञ्चो, pl. लौहित्यञ्चाः ॥ Similarly, शैव्यः, शैव्यो, शिव्यः, पातस्यः, पातस्यो, पातकाः ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II. 4. 62. S. 1193.

Note:—Why do we say अग्रमणीपूर्वात्? Observe देवदत्तकाः (V. 2. 78, S. 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta'. From this sūtra, commence the तद्वाच affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof'. The affix इव, therefore, has this meaning also viz. 'the leader of the horde'. Here we repeat V. 9. 113, S. 1100 owing to the context.

२०६६। क ॥ वातञ्कञोरस्त्रियाम् । ५। ३। ११३ ॥

मति । कापोतपाक्यः । चक्रम् । कोञ्जायनः । ग्राधायनः ॥

2066. A. The affix *nya* comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in *chphañ* (ग्राधर्च IV. 1. 98. S. 1049) without change of sense; but not in the feminine.

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called वात or 'wild band'. Thus कापोतपाक्यः





The following are the six warrior races, of Trigartai-कौण्डोपर्य, सण्डकि, कौण्डकि,

Thus शमनीयः, शमनीयौ, pl. शमनयः । क्षीतपीडः, क्षीतपीडौ, pl. उक्षपयः । क्षीयक्षेपरपीडः

1 शान्ति, 2 शौनवि, 3 शैवशास्त्रि, 4 शौचिकी ( शौचिक शौचिक ) 5 शौचिक, 6 शौचिक, 7 शौचिक, 8 शौचिक, 9 शौचिक, 10 शौचिक, 11 शौचिक

२०७० । पश्चादि योधेयादिभ्योऽण्यौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

2070. The affix अण् (अ) comes after parāṇ &c, and

Thus पार्श्वः, d. वार्श्वो pl. पर्वशः । औपेयः d. औपेयी ।<sup>1</sup> औपेयः ।<sup>2</sup>

10 विराण, 11 मशानि 12 कार्पाषण ॥  
1 दौधिय, 2 कौशोय, 3 शौक्रेय, 4 शौभेय, 5 धार्येय, 6 धाल्येय 7 ज्यापारेय (ज्यावाल्लेय),  
8 ज्योत्तरेय, 9 ज्योत्थरेय, 10 ज्योत्थरेय ॥ See IV. 1. 178.

२०७१ । अभिजिह्मिदभृङ्गालावटिभावाच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छुम्बदणो यम् ।

११८ ॥ अभिजिदादिभ्योऽणन्तेभ्यः स्वार्थे शब्दस्यात् । अभिवित्तोऽपत्यमाभिवित्तः । देवभूतः । आनादयः ।

2071. The affix *yañ* (ञ) comes without changing

The *sanayiti* of मायुष्यश्रवसंश्चतः *caṣṭaḥ*. Thus अभिजितोऽपराधः = अभिजित, add

Note:—The **शङ्ख** here is Patronymic. Otherwise **साभिजितो** **सुहृन्** नरं **साभिजि-**  
तः **स्वासीवतः**, the affix here is **शङ्ख** of नक्षत्रेश्च **शङ्खः** कावः IV. 2. 3 S. 1201 and of राश्वदेश्च  
IV. 2. 24 S. 1226 respectively.

२०७२ । ज्यादयस्तद्राजाः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

दूगाज्ज्य इत्याख्य उक्ता एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः । केनास्त्रिंशं धेदुषु लुक् । लोहितध्वजः । कपोत-  
पाकाः । कौञ्जादयनाः । ब्रध्नायना इत्यादि ॥

2072. The affixes *nya* &c, ( V. 3. 112 &c 2066 ) are called *tadrāja*.

The illustrations of *Tadrāja* affixes have been given above. The word *तद्राजा* occurs in *Sūtra* II. 4. 62 S. 1193.

Being *tadrāja*, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words. As लोहितध्वजाः ( S. 2066 ), कपोतपाकाः ( S. 2066 A ), कौञ्जादयनाः ( S. 2066- A ), ब्रध्नायनाः ( S. 2066 A ) &c.

२०७३ । पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपश्च वनपरीक्षितकस्वार्थम् । शतं न स्यान्निवन् । पादः पद् । तद्वितार्थ इति सप्तमे कृते  
प्रत्यय । शुद्धं चिदात्रेय । द्वे द्वे पादौ दद्यात् द्विपरिकाम् ॥ द्विपरिकाम् ॥  
पादशतप्रदणमर्थकमप्यत्रापि वर्धमानम् \* ॥ द्विपरिकाम् ॥

2073. The affix *vun* ( अक ) comes after the words *pāda* and *śata* when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation; and the final of the stem is elided.

*Prātipadikas* preceded by a numeral and ending in the words *पाद* or *शत* take the affix *वुन्* when a distributive sense ( वीप्सा ) is to be expressed; and by the addition of this, the final is elided.

By VI. 4. 148 the final *व* of *pāda* and *śata* would have been elided before the *taddhita* affix *vun*; even if such elision was not taught in this rule. The repetition of the word *लोप* in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one caused by the affix. For if the elision had been caused by the affix, then by I. 1. 57, such *लोपदेह* or "substitute" would be equivalent to the principal ( *sthānivāt* ); and would thus debar the application of the rule VI. 4. 130 by which *पद्* *pād* ( and *not Pāda* ) is changed into *पद्* ॥ In other words, the *lopa* taught by *यस्येति व* is *पानिर्वित्तक* or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a *taddhita* affix or by *इ* or *ई* affix; therefore, this *lopa* would be *sthāni-vāt* for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it ( I. 1. 57 S. 50 ). Therefore, *pād* becomes *sthāni-vāt* to *pād*. Therefore, the *anga* or base ending with ' *pāda* ' will be called *प*, and not the base ending with ' *pād* ', and therefore VI. 4. 130 which applies to *प* bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of *पद्* for *पद्*, as there is not in the form *पादप* ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of word, ' the final of the stem is elided. '

Thus ही ही पावो वसति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिकां वसति (द्विपाद + वुन् = द्विपाद् + वुन् = द्विपव् + वुन् VI. 4. 130 = द्विपादेका VII. 3. 44 S. 463 by which व of वक् is changed into व्). Similarly द्वे द्वे वसते वसति = द्विवसिकां वसति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitārtha Tatpurusha compounds, viz. compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule II. 1. 51 S. 728. After the compound is formed, then the affix वुन् is added. Thus first we have द्विपाद and द्विवस compounded by II. 1. 51 S. 728 then the affix is added. The words पाव and वस when not so compounded, take वुन् affix only in the feminine.

Notes:—Why do we say "of the words पाव and वस" ? Observe ही ही पावो वसति, no affixing. Why do we say "preceded by a numeral" ? Observe पाव पाव वसति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense" ? Observe हीपावो वसति "He gives two quarters to each" ॥

Verdict:—The enumeration of पाव and वस is useless, as the affix is found after other words also. As, द्विवसविकिकां वसति "he gives two cakes to each", द्विवसविकिका वसति ॥

२०७४. दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च । ५ । ४ । २ ॥

वुन् वयाद् । अवीप्सार्थनिश्च । हीपावो वण्डितः द्विपादिकाय, द्विवसिकाय, व्यवसृजति वसतीत्यर्थः ॥

2074. Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation.

The word वसन् means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation". The prātīpadikas पाव and वस preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix वुन्, and the final व is elided. This sūtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here. Thus ही पावो वण्डितः = द्विपादिकाय वण्डितः "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)". ही पावो व्यवसृजति = द्विपादिकां व्यवसृजति "he makes a gift of two Padas". Similarly द्विवसिकां वण्डितः "punished with a fine of two hundreds". द्विवसिकां व्यवसृजति &c.

२०७५. स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन् । ५ । ४ । ३ ॥

जातीयरोऽपवादः । स्थूलकः । अशुक्लः ॥ अश्वत्थवृक्षोऽपसंख्यायम् \* ॥ अश्वत्थः । पृथक् ॥

अस्याय चर्त \* ॥ अश्वत्थोऽपि चर्तः ॥

2075. The affix कन् क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthūla &c.

This debars the affix आदीय (V. 3. 69 S. 2024). Thus स्थूलमकारः = स्थूलकः "bulky". So also अशुक्लः, नापकः ॥

Verdict:—The words अपेक्षन् and वृद्धन् should be included in the list of sthūlādi words. As, अपेक्षकः, वृद्धकः ॥ According to one version the words २०



*Note:—Objection:—*It is redundant to have prohibited कन् after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed.

*Note:—Answer:—*The prohibition contained in this sūtra does not refer to the कन् of the last sūtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness". It refers to that कन् which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वार्थकम्) ॥ Thus the words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of भिन्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete. These words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम also take the affix कन् without change of sense. As भिन्नतरकः and भिन्नतमकः and बहुवरकः &c. = used by Pāṇjali himself in the following sentences:—एवं हि सूत्रमभिन्नतरकं भवति, एतेहि बहुतरकं आख्याते ॥ This कन् is also prohibited in the case of compounds with सन्धि ॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sūtra teaches by implication (Jāpaka) that कन् comes also in the sense of svārtha. As बहुतरकम् ॥

२०७८ । बृहत्या आच्छादने । ५ । ४ । ६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । हो प्राचोत्तराक्षी सन्धि बृहत्किं तथा ॥ आच्छादने कन् । बृहती कन् ॥

2078. The affix kan comes after the word bṛihati when it means "an article of dress"

The word कन् is to be read into this sūtra and not its prohibition. The force of this कन् is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कन् ॥ Thus बृहति + कन् = बृहत्किं (प्राचः) (VII. 4. 13 S. 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle". see Amarakośha II. 9. 117.

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe बृहतीकन् "the metre called Bṛihati".

२०७९ । अषडक्षशितल्लङ्कुर्मालंपुरुषाभ्युत्तरपदात्तः । ५ । ४ । ७ ॥

स्वार्थे । अषडक्षीणा मन्त्रः । द्वाभ्यामेव कृत इत्यर्थः । प्राचिका प्राचोऽस्तिद्विधाशितल्लङ्कुर्विमर पदम् । निपातनाभ्युत्तरस्य षम् । अर्धं कर्मण्ये अलङ्कुर्मालः । अल्लङ्कुर्विषयः । ईश्वराधीनः । निर्योऽयं सः । इतरस्ये विनाप्राप्तमहात्मा ॥ अन्त्येषि केचित्स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्यय निर्यमित्यन्ते । तत्रावयवः प्राक्तनः । आद्यः प्राक्तनः । आमाद्यः प्राक्तनः । बृहती आत्यन्ताः समासांश्चावेति ॥

2079. The affix kha (ईन्) comes after the words aṣṭakṣha, āsitāṅgu, alāṅkarma, alampuruṣha, and after a stem ending with adhi.

The force of क् is स्वार्थे i. e. ॥ does not change the sense of the word.

*Note:—*The word अषडक्ष means "that which has not six eyes". अषड् is compounded from षट् + अधि by adding च् V. 4. 113 S. 852 = "having six eyes". The affix क् is to be added to this word already ending in the affix āch.

Thus अषडक्षीका मन्त्रः "a secret not having six eyes". i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third". Similarly **पशुक्षिप्तमकीने** **भरणम्** = **पशुक्षिप्ता** **शायोऽस्मिन्नस्थे** = **प्रभृतयवक्षे** "a forest where formerly cattle had grazed". The augment **वृ** is added to **क्षिप्त** by **nipātana**, or irregularly. So also **महत्कर्तृणः** = **महे** **समर्थः** **कर्मणे** **पर्याप्तः** = competent to do any act, clever. So **महे** **पुरुषीणः** = **महे** **समर्थः** **पुरुषात्** = **प्रतिमत्स्यारिः** = fit for a man.

A word ending with **क्षिप्ते**, will be a **Tatpurusha** compound, by II. 1. 40, as the word **क्षिप्ते** belongs to **Saundādi** class. As **ईदृशधीवः** ॥

The affix **kha** in the case of these words is invariable (**nitya**); because the word **विभाषा** occurs in the next **sūtra**; (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is **nitya**).

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally.

There are other affixes also which are *Suśrīhika* and *nitya*.

Such as **हम्** &c up to the affix **कच्** (V. 3, 55 to 95).

**व्य** &c upto **वृष्**, (V. 3. 112 to V. 4. 1.)

**साच्** &c. upto **मन्**, (V. 4. 11 to 21).

And affixes taught from V. 4. 61. a. **कच्** to V. 4. 9, (**ख**). ending ॥

**प्राप्ति** ॥

And all **Samāsānta** affixes.

२०८० । **विभाषाश्चेरादिक्** **क्षियाम्** । ५ । ४ । ८ ॥

**पश्चिमोत्तरीदक्षिणवर्णाश्रयविकाराणां** **स्वाहा** **स्वाधे** । **प्राक्**, **पश्चीनम्** । **प्रमक्**, **पश्चीनम्** । **पश्चात्**, **पश्चीनम्** । **निकृष्टगतिदृष्टार्थरेफाव्यावकापभाः** । **अर्धन्तमन्वसीति** **अर्धम्**, **अर्धोन्म** । **अनिकक्षिप्तं** **किन्** । **प्राप्ती** **दिक्** । **पश्चीनदिक्** । **दिग्महन्** **किन्** । **प्राचीनं** **माघी** । **क्षीमन्** **किन्** । **प्राचीनं** **माघावाः** ॥

2080. The affix **kha** (**ई**) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in **añch** (**अञ्च्**), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the feminine gender.

Thus **प्राक्** or **प्राचीनम्** "old", **प्रमक्** or **पश्चीनम्**, **पश्चात्**, or **पश्चात्तम्** "new".

Why do we say "when not denoting a direction in the feminine?"

Observe **प्राची** **दिक्** "eastern region", **पश्ची** **दिक्** "western region". Why do we say "a point of the compass"? Other words in the feminine will take this affix. A **पश्चीनं** **माघी** ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or (**दिक्**) used in any other gender will take this affix. As **प्राचीनं** **माघावाः** ॥

२०८१ । **जात्यन्तानन्द** **अन्त्युनि** । ५ । ४ । ९ ॥

ब्राह्मणजातीयः । तन्मुनि किम् । ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना । शक्तिर्ण्यस्यैव प्रत्यं वन्दु ॥

2081. The affix *chha* (ह्य) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word *जाति*, when it means appropriateness.

*Note* :—The word *वन्दु* means the substance or substratum in which *jāti* or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, ( *वन्दु* निरूप्यते इत्येवम् ) ॥

Thus *ब्राह्मणजातीयः* "appropriate to a *Brāhmaṇa*", *क्षत्रियजातीयः* *वैश्यजातीयः* &c.

Why do we say "when meaning appropriateness". Observe *ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना*, "the *Brāhmaṇa* caste is beautiful".

*वन्दु* means that substance by which the genus *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* &c is distinguished.

२०८२ स्थानान्तर्हिमाया सस्यानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । १० ॥

सस्यानेन दुस्येन चेत् स्थानान्तमर्थं विदित्यर्थः । विदुस्थानीयः । विदुस्थानः । सस्यानेन दिव्यः । गोः स्थानम् ॥

2082. The affix *chha* (ह्य) is optionally added to a stem ending in *स्थान*, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place.

The word *सस्यान* means समानं स्थानमस्य 'whose place is the same' or *दुस्य* or equal. Thus *विद्या दुस्यः* = *विदुस्थानीयः* or *विदुस्थानः* ( *विदुस्ति* स्थानमस्य whose place is that of a father ).

Why do we say "when it means equal to". Observe *मोक्षाय च* "cowshed".

*Note* :—The word *इति* in *सस्यानेनेति* is for the sake of distinctness. The word *सस्यान* as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound like *समाने च तत् स्थाने च* ॥ The word *चेत्* "when" is a conjunction : and joins the two meanings.

The rule S. 2081 occurring between this rule and S. 2080 both of which are optional must be a *nitya* rule, as explained above. एवोर्विना-  
नयोर्विना विधयः ॥

२०८३ अनुगादिनष्टम् । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अनुगादीन्नुगादीः । स एव अनुगादिः ॥

2083. The affix *thak* comes after the word *anugādin*, without changing its sense

Thus आनुगाधिकः "repeater or who echoes back".

२०८४ । विसारिणो मत्स्ये । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अप् सारत् । विसारिणः । मत्स्येति किन् । विसारी देवत्तः ॥

2084. The affix *an* is added to the word विसारिन् when a word expressing "fish" is to be made.

Thus विसारिणः "a fish". Why do we say "when it means a fish"? Observe विसारी देवत्तः "Devadatta who is gliding out".

२०८५ । संख्यायाः कृपाभ्यादुत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । ५ । ४ । १७ ॥

अभ्यादुत्तिगणनम् । क्रियाजनगणनसूतेः संख्याशब्दात्कार्ये कृत्वसुच् स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्यो ह्यङ्के । संख्यायाः कृप् । पुरिवात्सङ्ख्ये ॥

2085. The affix *kṛitvasuch* (कृत्वस्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted.

This is also a *svārtha* affix. The word अभ्यादुत्तिः means "again and again or repetition". The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called कृपाभ्यादुत्ति-गणनम् ॥ Thus पञ्चवारम् भुङ्क्ते = पञ्चकृत्योभुङ्क्ते "he eats five times".

Why do we say "after a Numeral"? Observe पुरीन् वारम् भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times".

२०८६ । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । ५ । ४ । १८ ॥

कृत्यशब्देऽपवादः । द्विर्भुङ्क्ते । त्रिः । चतस्रश्च । चतुः ॥

2086. The affix "such" (च्) is added to the numeral *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*, in the same sense of counting, the repetition of an action.

This debars कृपाभ्याम् ॥ Thus द्वि—द्विन्, त्रि—त्रिन्, चतुर्—चतुर् in द्विर्भुङ्क्ते, त्रिर्भुङ्क्ते, चतुर्भुङ्क्ते ॥ The च् in the last example is elided by VIII. 2. 24 S. 280.

Note.—But चतुर् meaning "four", and चतुर् "four-times", are differently accented: the च् of चतुर् indicating that the accent udatta falls on the last syllable. Thus चतुर् (चनेदात् Un V. 58, being formed with the affix 'uran' added to चत्), and चतुर् (with चत्) ॥

२०८७ । एकस्य सकृन् । ५ । ४ । १९ ॥

अङ्गिमादेः श्वादाभ्याम् । सकृद्भुङ्क्ते । शब्देणान्तरादेति शृणो लोपः । न तु इत्यप्राप्तिः । अङ्गिणीदिवाच निज इव शृणोति तदर्थेणाम् ॥

2087. The word सकृन् is substituted for एक before the affix *sun*, when an action is to be counted.

This debars कृपाभ्याम् ॥ The 'repetition' being impossible, the action



alone is counted: so the anuvṛtti of किय only runs into this sūtra and not of मभवाकुत्तः ॥ Thus सङ्कुरुते "he eats once" सङ्कुरुते ॥ The स of सुच् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54 and not by VI. 1, 68. S. 252; because the सु of that sūtra refers to the सु of सुच् and not to the सु of सुच्; as the सि of that sūtra refers to सिच् and not to सिच् as in अमेसीत् (See page 128). But not here in एकः वाकः as being against usage.

२०८८ । विभाषा बहुधा विप्रकृतकाले । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अविप्रकृत कालः । बहुधा विप्रकृतकाले भुङ्क्ते । अविप्रकृतकाले विप्र । बहुधा विप्रकृतकाले भुङ्क्ते ॥

2088. The affix चाँ is optionally added to the numeral बहु, to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time.

This-debars कृत्यसुच् which comes in the alternative. The word अविप्रकृत "not remote", qualifies किय-वाकुत्तः; i.e. when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृतकालः ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकाल विप्रकृतकाले भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day". But when a remote time is denoted then चाँ does not apply. Thus बहुकालो वाक्य भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily owing to poverty &c.'

२०८९ । तत्प्रकृतवचने मयत् । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

मात्रेण प्रकृतं प्रकृतं तस्य वचनं प्रतिपादयति । मात्रेण प्रकृतं वा मयत् । मात्रेण प्रकृतं वचनमयम् । अयम्प्रकृतं । अयम्प्रकृतं । द्वितीये अयम्प्रकृतं वचनः । अयम्प्रकृतं वचनं ॥

2089. The affix mayat (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly')

Note:—The translation of the sūtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof. Böhtlingk. According to Kāśikā:—मय् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV. 1. 82) the word प्रकृतम् means "happening to be in abundance". So that according to this interpretation the sūtra should be translated, as done by Dr. Ballantyne, "The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant." Thus वाङ् प्रकृतम् = वाङ्प्रकृतम् "abundance of food", अयम्प्रकृतम् "abundance of cake". According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयत् is added, is denoted by the whole word. Thus वाङ् प्रकृतमयम् = वाङ्प्रकृतमयम् "a feast in which there is abundance of food", अयम्प्रकृतं वचनं, वचनमयम् ॥ Both senses are possible, as the sūtra is constructed.

The word prakṛta is made up of pra and kṛta, pra has the force of abund-

antly and *kṛita* means made. *Prakṛita* therefore means "made in abundance". That which expresses (*vachana*) this is called *prakṛita vachana*.

The word *पचन* in the *sūtra* has two senses. It being made by the affix *शुद्* conveys the force both of the *nature* (III. 3. 114) and the *sita*. In the former case, (taking *सत् प्रकृतवचन* to mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have *अन्नमय* "abundance of grain". *आप्तमय*, *अक्षयमय* &c. But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant"), we have *अन्नमये यज्ञः* "a sacrifice in which food is abundant" so also. *अपचयं पर्व* &c.

२०१० । समूहवच्च बहुषु । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

साधुहिकाः प्रत्यय भवतिपरिवर्त्ते आन्वयः । मोदकाः प्रकृताः नौवकिकम् । मोदकमयम्, आप्कृतिकम् । शङ्खलीमयम् । द्वितीयस्यै । नौवकिको यज्ञः । नौवकमयः ॥

2090. When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing a great quantity (IV. 2. 37 &c S: 1243) may also be employed to denote 'made thereof, subsisting therein'.

The *च* shows that *मय* also comes in the same sense. Thus *मोदकाः प्रकृताः प्राप्नुय्य प्रकृताः* = *नौवकिकम्* (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256) or *मोदकमयम्*; so also *आपकृतिकम्* or *शङ्खलीमयम्* &c. In the second sense we have, *मोदकाः प्रकृताः अस्मिन् यज्ञे* = *नौवकिको* or *मोदकमयो यज्ञः*; *आपकृतिकः* or *शङ्खलीमयः* &c.

२०११ । अगन्तायसथेतिहमेपजाञ्च द्वयः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अगन्त एवागन्त्यम् । आगत्य एवागत्यम् । इतिहेति विशदसङ्काशः, ऐतिह्यम् । नपमनेव भेदव्यम् ॥

2091. The affix *स्या* (*च*) comes, without changing the sense, after the words *ananta*, *āvasatha*, *itiha* and *bhushaja*.

Thus *आवासार्थम्* = *अगन्तः*, *आगत्यम्* = *आगत्यः* 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire'. *ऐतिह्यम्* = *इति ह* 'traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a *prātipadika*. The word *इति ह* means tradition, as *इति ह* *अगन्तावासाः* *अपमनि* &c. *भेदव्यम्* = *भेदव्यम्* &c.

Note:—It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all collative affixes. See IV. 1 82. S. 1072.

२०१२ । सुयतान्तास्तार्थ्यं यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

तर्पणं वा तार्पणम् । तार्पणं यत् । अतिरेकमपि इदम् अतिरेकम् । निवृत्तिम् ॥

2092. After a stem ending in the word *देयता*, being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix *यत्*, in the



2094. The affix **न्या** (ञ) comes after **अतिथि** in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of "for the purpose of that"

The word **तावत्** is understood here also. Thus **अतिथये दत्तं=अतिथयः** ॥

२०९५ । देवास्तु । ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

देव एव देवता ॥

2095. The affix **स्तु** comes after **देव**, without change of sense.

The anuvritti of **तावत्** does not apply here and ceases. Thus **देवता=देवाः** ॥

Note :—This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a *svatthika* affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive.

२०९६ । अयेः का । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अतिरेकाधिकः ॥

2096. The affix **क** comes after **अवि**, without change of sense.

Thus **अधिकः=अविः** ॥

. २०९७ । यायादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

याव एव यावकः । गणिकः ॥

2097. The affix **कन्** comes after the words **याव** &c, without changing their sense.

Thus **यावकः=यावः**, **गणिकः=गणिः** ॥

1 याव, 2 गणि, 3 अतिथि, 4 तावत्, 5 जातु, 6 ज्ञान्, 7 पीत, 8 ज्ञान् (पीतज्ञान् पीत, ज्ञान्), 9 दत्ताद्वयवर्ति, 10 यतोः लुप्तविवर्ति (विशते), 11 अद्य विप्रुये, 12 वृत्त कृत्ति, 13 ज्ञात देवतागर्ही, 14 अन्तरिन्, 15 दात कृत्ति, 16 तद्वत्, 17 ईदृश (येदृश), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञात, 20 कुमारीकीर्तनकानि च 21 चण्ड ॥

२०९८ । लोहितान्मणी । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिर्लोहितकः ॥

2098. The affix कन् comes, without changing the sense, after the word लोहित, when it means a precious stone.

Thus लोहितकः=लोहितः "Ruby".

Note:—Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, लोहितः red.

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितकः कोपेन ॥ लोहितविह्वलाधर्न वा \* ॥ लोहितिका लोहितिका कोपेन ॥

2099. The affix कन् comes after लोहित, when it means color which is not permanent.

Thus लोहितकः कोपेन "red with anger". लोहितकः धीरुधेन ॥

Note:—Why do we say "not permanent," Observe लोहितो गौः "a red cow", लोहितं रश्मिर् "the red blood".

Art:—The derivative of लोहित may not take the gender of the primitive, as लोहितिका or लोहितिका कोपेन ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाक्षादिना रक्ते र्णे लोहितवर्णस्तस्मात्कम्ब्यात् । विह्वलाधर्न रक्तेषु । लोहितिका लोहितिका शब्दी ॥

2100. The affix कन् comes after the word लोहित meaning a substance dyed red.

As लोहितकः कम्बलः or रथः "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c". The vārtika of the preceding sūtra applies here also. Similarly लोहितिका or लोहितिका शब्दी ॥

२१०१ । कालाब्धे । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति द्वयमुपवर्तते । कालकं मुखं येषाम्बुधेन । कालकः रथः । कालिका शब्दी ॥

2101. The affix कन् is added to the word काल, when it means ■ passing color, or dyed with color.

The word वर्णे च चानित्ये and रक्ते are both understood here. Thus कालकं मुखं वेदरुधेन "the face black with shame or confusion". कालकः रथः 'a cloth dyed blue-black'. कालिका शब्दी ॥

२१०२ । विनयादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैनयिकः । सामयिकः ॥ उपाये ह्यन्यत्वं च \* ॥ औपयिकः ॥

2102. The affix ठक् ( कँ or हक् ) comes without changing the sense after the word विनय and the rest.

Thus वेनयिकः=विनयः, सावयिकः ॥

*Gana sūtra* :—The प्रा of उपाय is shortened, as, औपायिकः ॥ The word अकस्मात् should be read as अकस्माद् in order to apply इक् and not क्. as आकस्मिकः ॥ The टि is elided, because it is an Aryan. See VI. 4, 149, S. 499 The affix is optional by IV. 1. 82, S. 1072.

1 विनय, २ समय, ३ उपायो (उपायाद्) इत्यलं च (औपायिक), ४ संप्रति, ५ संप्रति, ६ कथं-  
चित्, ७ अकस्मात्, ८ समाचार, ९ उपचार, १० समयाचार, ११ व्यवहार, १२ संप्रदान, १३ संश्लेषः,  
१४ समूह, १५ विशेष, १६ अत्यय, १७ अस्ति, १८ कथं ॥

२१०३ चाचोऽप्याहृतार्यान् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

संदिष्टार्यां वाचि विज्ञापनाद्वाच्यत्वात् स्यात् । संश्लेषाद् वाचिकं स्यात् ॥

2103. The affix उक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another.

*Note* :—The word व्यहृत means 'declared, expressed'. That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party = a 'tidings' or 'news', is called व्याहृतार्यं ॥ Thus वाचिकं कथयति 'he relates the verbal message'. वाचिकं ग्रहे ॥ Some say it applies to written message also.

Thus वाचिकम्=संश्लेषवाक् ॥ See Amarakosha I. 6, 17.

*Note* :—Why do we say "when it means a verbal message?" Observe मधुरं वाक् देवदत्ताय 'the speech of Devadatta is sweet'.

२१०४ । तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽङ् । ५ । ४ । ३५ ॥

कर्मिणः कर्मणम् । वाचिकं श्रुत्वा क्रियमाणं कर्मत्वार्थः ॥

2104. The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मण् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i. e. when it is the result of an oral message or commission).

Thus कर्मणम्=कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)'. i. e. when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission.

२१०५ । औपधेरलातौ । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

शार्पण्ड । औपधं विनयि । अजाते विधे । औपधयः शेषे रुद्राः ॥

2105. The affix अण् comes after औपधि when it does not mean ॥ species.

Thus औपधं विनयि "he drinks medicine". Why do we say "when not meaning ॥ नाति or species". Observe, औपधयः शेषे रुद्रा वयन्ति "the herbs are growing in the field".

२१०८ । प्रकादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३८ ॥

प्रह एव प्रकाः । प्राप्ति च । वैदः । वान्यः ॥

2106. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **प्रज्ञ** &c. (the words retaining their sense).

Thus **प्रज्ञः** = **प्रज्ञः** "a wise person", feminine **प्रज्ञा** so also **द्वैतः**, **बाल्यः** ॥

Note :—While **प्रज्ञः** "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine **प्रज्ञा** comes from **प्रज्ञा** "wisdom" by the affix **ण्** having the sense of **सम्पृ** ("being possessed of"), taught in V. 2. 101. S. 1908. The **प्रज्ञ** of this **सूत्र** comes from the root **प्रजानाते** = **प्रज्ञः** "he who knows fully".

The word **विद्वन्** occurs in the list of **प्रज्ञादि** words. It is formed by the addition of the affix **ण्** (III. 2. 124 S. 3100) to the root, as, **विद् + ण्** = **विद्वन्** noun. S. **विद्वन्** ॥ The very fact that we have such a form **विद्वन्** shows that the substitution of **वद्** for **वृ** after the word **विद्** taught in VII. 1. 36 S. 3105 (by which we get **विद्वान्**) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from **Sūtra** VII. 1. 35, S. 2197.

The word **श्रोत्र** takes **ण्** when meaning 'body', as **श्रोत्रम्**; otherwise **श्रोत्रम्** 'the sense of hearing', **शुक्ल** takes **ण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as **शुक्लः** ॥ The word **शुक्ल** takes **ण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as, **कार्त्तः** ॥

1 **प्रज्ञ**, 2 **वसिष्ठ**, 3 **वसिष्ठ**, 4 **वसिष्ठ** (वसिष्ठ उच्यते), 5 **प्रत्यक्ष**, 6 **विद्वन्**, 7 **विद्वन्**, 8 **बोधन्**, 9 **विद्या**, 10 **मनस्**, 11 **श्रोत्र** शरीरे, 12 **शुक्ल**, 13 **शुक्ल** शृंगे, 14 **विष्णीर्ष**, 15 **बो**, 16 **बो** (बक), 17 **बो**, 18 **बो** (बक), 19 **बो** (बक), 20 **एवम्** (एव), 21 **मन्**, 22 **मन्** (मन्), 23 **मन्** (मन्), 24 **मन्** (मन्), 25 **मन्**, 26 **मन्**, 27 **मन्** (मन्), 28 **मन्** (मन्), 29 **मन्**, 30 **मन्**, 31 **मन्** (मन्), 32 **मन्**, 33 **मन्**, 34 **मन्**, 35 **मन्**, 36 **मन्** ॥

२१०७। **मुदोस्तिकन्** । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

**मुदोस्तिकन्** ॥

2107. The affix **तिक्** comes after **सुद्** (the word retaining its sense).

Thus **मुदोस्तिकन्** = **मुद्** 'mod'.

Note :—Of course, this is also an optional affix not = *nitya* affix like many of the *svārthika* affixes enumerated in V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

२१०८। **सस्त्री प्रशोसायाम्** । ५ । ४ । ४० ॥

**सस्त्री प्रशोसायाम्** । **प्रशोसायाम्** । **प्रशोसायाम्** । **प्रशोसायाम्** । **प्रशोसायाम्** ॥

2108. The affix **स्** and **ञ** comes after **सुद्** when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix **स्** **वृ** V. 3. 66. S. 2021. Thus **प्रशस्ता** **वृ** = **प्रशस्ता** for **प्रशस्ता** ॥ These two affixes are *nitya* or invariable, i. e. whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes. The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word **अन्तरस्याम्** 'optionally' follows it in V. 4. 42. S. 2109. so that this affix is not optional. cf. V. 4. 7, 10. &c.

२१०९ । बहुवर्ण्यन्तस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहूनि ददाति बहुशः । अन्यानि अल्पशः ॥ बहुवर्ण्यन्तस्कारकानामङ्गवचनम् • ॥ नेह बहुनि दशत्यनिदेशु । अन्यं वशात्प्रत्ययिकेषु ॥

2109. After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix **शस्** optionally, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as ■ *kāraka* ).

No especial *कारक* being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken. Thus बहुनि ददाति = बहुशो ददाति, बहुभिर्ददाति = बहुशो ददाति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुष आगच्छति &c. Similarly अल्पशो ददानि = अल्पं or अल्पेन &c.

Why do we say "signifying much or little"? Observe नां ददाति, अस्मै ददाति ॥

Why do we say "when it is a *kāraka*"? Observe बहुनां स्वामी "lord of many". Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a *कारक* or case, dependent or related to a verb; and so the affix is not applied here.

*Vart*:—By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included. Thus धुरिषो ददाति, स्तोत्रशो ददाति ॥

*Vart*:—This affix is to be applied to *bahu* and *alpa* only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively. Thus बहुशो ददाति = अशुभयुक्तिकेषु कर्मसु । अल्पशो ददाति = अभिष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशो देहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c". अल्पशो देहि "give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c". But not here बहुनि ददाति (अभिष्टेषु), or अल्पं ददाति (अशुभयुक्तिकेषु).

२११० । संख्यैकवचनाच्च धीप्तायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ ददाति द्विशः । मायं मायं मायशः । पश्यशः । परिमाणशब्दा दत्ता कार्या एव । संख्यैकवचनाधिकम् । पटं पटं ददाति । शीतार्थं क्षिप् । द्वौ ददाति । कारकाधिक्ये । दृशोर्दृशोः । आनी ॥

2110. The affix **शस्** comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a *kāraka* ):

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदको ददाति = द्विशो मोदको ददाति "He gives two sweet-meats to each". So also पश्यः ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number as कारशपणशो ददाति "he gives a Karshāpāṇa coin to each". So also मायशः, पायशः, पश्यशः ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called *eka-vachana*. The words *kārshāpāṇa* &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i.e. one ■ each, though in fact many are given



Why do we say "after Numerals and units of coin"? Observe पदे पदे ददाति "he gives a pot to each". Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe द्वौ ददाति "He gives two". कार्षापणम् ददाति "he gives = kārshāpaṇa".

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz. when it is a kāraka, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun. As द्वौद्वयोः स्वामी "Lord of two each". कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी "Possessor of a kārshāpaṇas each". In fact the work "karakāt" of the last sūtra is understood here also. This sūtra is exception to VII. 1. 4.

२१११। प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसिः । ५ । ४ । ४४ ॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रवचनीयेन योगे वा पञ्चमी विहिता तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात् । प्रत्युम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति ॥ आद्यादिभ्यः उपसंख्यानम् \* ॥ चादौ पादितः नञ्यतः । पृषतः । पार्श्वतः । भाकृतिगणोऽयम् । स्वरेण स्वरतः । वर्णतः ॥

2111. The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chañya word प्रति ॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sūtra II. 3. 11. S. 600. Thus प्रत्युम्नः कृष्णतः प्रति ॥ The anuvṛtti of वा "optionally" runs here also: thus it is an optional rule; we have the regular forms कृष्णात् &c. also.

Varṇt—The affix तसि comes after the word चादि &c: as, चादितः, नञ्यतः, कृततः पार्श्वतः, पृषतः &c. This is an ākṛitigaṇa, no complete list being given; so we have स्वरतः or स्वरेण; वर्णतः &c.

२११२। अपादाने चाऽर्हायकरोः । ५ । ४ । ४५ ॥

अपादानि वा पञ्चमी तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात् । आवाहकचकृति । आवाहः । अहीयकरोः । किम् । स्वर्गादीयंतः । वर्णताद्वयोदति ॥

2112. The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apādāna Kāraka, except when this apādāna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs हीय (passive of ह) and रुह ॥

Thus नामत आगच्छति or आगात् ॥ See Sūtra I. 4. 24, 25, and 26 &c. Why do we say "excepting hiya and ruha"? Not so when the verbs हीय and रुह govern the ablative: as स्वर्गाद् हीयते पर्वताद् अक्षरीयते ॥

Note:—The form हीय is given in the sūtra to indicate that the verb ह whose present is गृह्णाति is to be taken, and not विहीति ॥ Thus we have मुञ्चति रुचिजहीते or भुञ्जिजहीति ॥ How do you explain the use of "तसि" in the following well-known verse: "मन्वी हीनः स्वर्गो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the instrumental case i. e. स्वर्गेण वर्णेन वा हीनः ॥



2115. The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction.

Taking sides with one faction or another is called *vyavay* ॥ Thus देवाभ्युनस्य पक्षेऽभवत् - देवा भ्युनसोऽभवत् ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites'. So also आदित्याः कर्णसोऽभवत् - The Adityas became Karnāites.

Why do we say "when it denotes ॥ Party-name?" Observe वृक्षस्य शाखा "the branch of the tree".

२११६। रोगाद्यापनयने । ५। ४। ४६ ॥

रोगाद्याधिनः पक्षपक्षाहा तस्मिन्निक्षिप्तस्यायम् । प्रवाहिकातः कुरु । प्रसीकारनस्याः कुरिष्यर्थः । अपनयने किम् । प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपने कथंति ॥

2116 The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted.

The words *roga* means 'disease', and *apnayana* means 'healing', 'curing'.

Thus प्रवाहिकायाः प्रसीकारे कुरु - प्रवाहिकातः कुरु ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant? Observe प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपने कुरु ॥

२११७। कृष्वस्तियोगे संप्रकर्तृरि च्विः । ५। ४। ५० ॥

अभूतत्वात् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ विकारात्सर्वा प्राप्नुवतां प्रकृती वर्तमानादिकाराद्यन्तरेणैव च्विर्वा स्यात्कृतादिभिर्विभक्तिभिः ॥

2117. The affix *chvi* comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs *kṛi* 'to make', *bhū* 'to be', and *as* 'to be' are conjoined with it.

*Vārtika* :- When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix *chvi* is added. When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be *abhūtatadbhāva* - 'the state of that what it was not'. The agent of the action of attaining is called *sampadya kartā*.

२११८। अस्य च्वी । ७। ४। ३२ ॥

वाच्यमित्य ईदृश्यान् च्वी । च्वीरपः । च्वयन्तत्त्वव्ययस्य । प्रकृष्यः कृष्यः संपद्यते तं करोति कृष्णिकरोति । अद्विषयवति । गङ्गिस्तात् । अज्ययस्य च्वीरपेति वाच्यम् ॥ दीपामृतनदः । दिवाभूता रोहिः । एतन्वाच्यवीनायनेति सूत्रे भाष्यवक्तव्यम् ॥

2118. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि

The वि being aprikta is elided. The chvi ending word is an Indeclinable. Thus अकृष्णः कृष्णं संपद्यते ते कपोति-कृष्णीकरोति "He blackens"; when some one who is not black becomes black i. e. some one makes him so. Similarly ब्रह्मी भवति । ब्रह्मी स्यात् ॥

Vart.—The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before chvi. Thus शेषाभूतनहः शिवायुता सचिः ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on I. 1. 41. S. 451,

२११६। कृष्ण्योश्च । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

इतः परस्तापस्तदकारस्य लोपः स्यात् कये चो य परतः । गार्गीभवति ॥

2119. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix च्चि ॥

Thus गार्गीभवति-गार्गीयति or गार्गीयते ॥

२१२०। क्यो च । ७ । ४ । २४ ॥

क्यौ परेऽप्यस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पट् स्यात् । अय्यस्य दीर्घस्य नेति केचित्तन्निर्मुक्तम् । स्वाति स्वातिति तु नशादिभाषया अस्माकस्मिन्नह । स्वस्ती स्वातिस्वाति पक्षे स्वातिस्वाति वेदस्तु । अवि गेयते तिर्गन्निधानात् विशेषेण नापद्यते इत्यस्तु । दीकृतः । गार्गीकरोति ॥

2120. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि (V. 4. 50, § 2117).

As शुची भवति, दीर्घः स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened. This is without authority. The non-lengthening in स्वाति स्वाति can be explained by the non application of chvi under the great option of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. and as there is no चि added, so there is no lengthening.

Obj. As the great option IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of चि, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get स्वाती स्यात् ॥ Ans. Let it be so; where is the harm?

Obj. But this is not desired for we never find it in usage.

Ans. Then let us say that chvi never comes after स्वाति, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no chvi is ever added to स्वाति.

By VII. 4. 27 S. 1234 the final अ is changed to ई before chvi Thus गार्गी भवति ॥

२१२१ । अस्मन्तश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोऽसां लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । ५१ ॥

एषां लोपः स्यात् च्विप्त । अस्मकरोति । उन्ननीत्यात् । उच्छक्षकरोति । विचेष्टीकरोति । विरहीकरोति । विरजीकरोति ॥

2121. The affix *chvi* comes after the words *arus*, *manas*, *chakshus*, *chetas*, *rahas*, and *rajas*, and there is elision of their final consonant.

The affix *च्वि* would have come after these words by force of the sūtra V. 4. 50. S. 2117. which is of universal application: the present sūtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant. Thus अस्मकरोति, अस्मकरोति, अस्मकरोति, अस्मकरोति ॥ So also उन्ननी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also उच्छक्ष, विचेष्टी, विरही, and विरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात् ॥ The short *u* of अह and अश्नु is lengthened by VII. 4. 26, S. 2120 and the *ch* of the other words is changed into *h* by VII. 4. 32 S. 2118.

२१२२ । विभाषा साति कात्स्न्ये । ५ । ४ । ५२ ॥

च्विपिपदे सातिर्ना स्यात्साकाक्ष्ये ॥

2122. The affix *sāti* may be employed optionally in the sense of *chvi*, when something is changed in all its parts into something else.

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* are in conjunction", is understood here.

२१२३ । सारपदाद्योः । ८ । ३ । १११ ॥

सर्वं सर्वं न स्यात् । अविच्छिन्नमिति । कृत्वा शस्त्रमग्निः सर्वमग्निमभिसाराहति । अग्निमभति । नद्याविभाषया वास्यमपि । कात्स्न्ये किम् । एकमेवेन कृत्वा भवति यदा ॥

2123. The *ś* substitution does not take place in the affix *सार* and for that *स* which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus *सा* here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52. S. 2122 and it would have been changed to *ś* by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. The present sūtra prevents that. The Padādi *स* refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a *स*, and for which a *स* is substituted. This also is exception to VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. Thus अग्निसाह । दभिसाह । यजुसाह ॥ So also with Padādi *स* as अविच्छिन्नमिति, नद्यु विच्छिन्नमिति ॥

The affix *साति* is employed when the original is changed in its totality (कृत्वा). Thus अग्निसाह भवति यजम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire". We may also say अग्नि भवति यजम् ॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदिवेन पटः शुद्धी भवति "the cloth whitens in part".

The word "optionally" shows that the affix *chvi* also comes in the same sense. While the optional affixing of these terminations *chvi*, *sāti* &c is governed by the *Mahā-vibhāṣā* of *sūtra* IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. (see V. 3. 1).

२१२४ । अग्नि विधौ संपदा च । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

संपदा कृन्वस्तिभिश्च योगे सात्त्विका स्याद्वागी । पक्षे कृन्वस्तियोगे चिः । संपदा तु वाक्यमेव । अग्नितास्संपदते अग्निताः संपदति संपद्यते । अग्नीभवति । जलसाक्षेपद्यते जलीभवति जलपम् । एकस्य व्यक्तेः सर्वस्य वाक्यवच्छेदेनान्यदाभासः कात्स्न्यम् । बहुना व्यक्तीनां किञ्चिद्व्यवच्छेदेनान्यदाभास एव विविधः ॥

2124. The affix *sāti* comes after a word in the sense of *chvi*, when it is in construction with the verb *sam-pad*, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into some thing else, though partially.

The word *अग्निविधिः* means 'pervasion'. The force of the word *च* in the *sūtra* is that the same is expressed when the verbs *कृ*, *घृ* and *जस* are in construction as well. By drawing the *anuvṛtti* of the word *vibhāṣā* into this *sūtra*, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix *घि* in the same sense of *abhivṛddhi*: but then it must be followed by the verbs *कृ*, *घृ* and *जस* only and not by the verb *संपद* ॥

Thus *अग्निताः संपदते* or *अग्निताः संपद्यते*; *इक्षकाः संपदते* or *भवति* &c. Or *शुद्धी भवति* or *अग्नी भवति* ॥

What is the difference between the words *abhivṛddhi* and *kārtṣnya* of these two *sūtras*? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called *abhivṛddhi*. As, *अस्त्राणां संपदत्वात् इक्षकाः संपदते* or *इक्षकाः संपद्यते* *इक्षकाः संपदते* or *भवति* &c. Here *संपद* has the force of *प्रकारेण*, namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c. and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality. While the word *kārtṣnya* means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing. In short, the difference between these two words is this: when one object is changed in all its parts, it is *kārtṣnya* change, when many objects are changed in some of their parts, it is *abhivṛddhi* change.

२१२५ । तदधीनपदाने । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

तदधि तदधीनपदानि संपदा च योगे । तदधीनपदानि । तदधीनपदानि । तदधीनपदानि । तदधीनपदानि । तदधीनपदानि ।

2125. The affix *sāti* comes after a word expressing a master or lord, in the sense of 'dependent upon this'.

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti*, and *saṃ-pad*.

The anuvṛitti of *अनुवृत्ति* ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix. The anuvṛitti of the four verbs *Kṛi* &c, however, runs into the sūtra. The word *तदधीन* means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that'. The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word *tadadhina*. Thus *राजाधीन करोति* = *राजसात् करोति* "he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion". Similarly *राजसात् स्वाद्धः* or *मवति* or *संपद्यते* ॥ So also *ब्राह्मणसात् भवति*, *करोति*, *स्वादः* or *संपद्यते* ॥

२१२६। देवे वा च। ५। ४। ५५ ॥

*तदधीन* देवे वा स्वात्सल्ये कृष्णादियोगे। विप्राधीनं देवं करोति विप्रनाकरोति। विप्रनात्संपद्यते। पक्षे विप्रसात्करोति। देवे किम्। राजसात्भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126. The affix *trā* comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix *sāti*, in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti* and *saṃpad*.

The phrase "dependent upon that" is understood here also. The word *देव* qualifies the above phrase. When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the Brahmanas, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix *trā* is employed. Thus *ब्राह्मणाधीनं देवं करोति* = *ब्राह्मणना* or *ब्राह्मणसात् करोति* ॥ "He gives it to the Brahmana, as it is an object which ought to be given to them". *ब्राह्मणनाः भवति* "it becomes given to the Brahmana". So also with *स्वादः* and *संपद्यते* ॥ Why do we say, "when the sense is that of to be given"? Observe *राजसात् भवति राष्ट्रम्* ॥

२१२७। देवमनुष्यपुरुषमर्त्यैर्वा द्वितीयास्तस्योर्बहुलम्। ५। ४। ५६ ॥

एवो द्वितीयास्तस्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च वा स्वाद्धः। देवना वन्दे रमे वा। बहुलोत्तरत्वपाणि। बहुधी जीवतो भवः ॥

2127. After the words *deva*, *manushya*, *purusha*, *purn* and *martya* ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix *trā* is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case.

The anuvṛitti of *sāti* ceases, that of *trā* continues. The verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* also have no scope here. This is a general sūtra. Thus *देवान् पश्यति* = *देवना पश्यति*, *देवेभ्यः वसति* = *देवना वसति* ॥ So also *मनुष्यना*, *पुरुषना*, *पुत्रना*, *मर्त्यना* ॥ *देवना वन्दे रमे वा* ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also; as *बहुधा जीवतो भवः* ॥

२१२८ । अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् ध्वजवरार्धादिति डाच् । ५ । ४ । ५७ ॥

डाच् अक्षरं न्यूनं न ॥ नतो न्यूनम् अनङ्काञ्चि वाचत् । सट्छमर्धे यस्य तस्माद्वाच् स्यात्कृत्वस्ति-  
भिर्योगे ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते ह्य बहुलम् \* ॥ नित्यमाश्रित्वे डाचीति वक्तव्यम् \* ॥ डाच्परं यदोन्नतं  
तस्मिन्परं पृथपरयोर्वर्णयोः पररूपं स्यात् । इति तकारपकारयोः षकारः । षट्पटाकरोति । अव्यक्तानुकर-  
णादिप्रक्रमः । ईदृशकरोति । ध्वजवरार्धाङ्किय । अङ्करोति । अक्षरोति किय । खट्खट्टाकरोति । षट्पट्टपटा-  
करोति । अनेकाय इत्येव सूत्रमित्युच्यते । एवं हि डाचीति षट्सप्तमेव द्वित्वे सुवचनवधेयम् । भावितौ  
किय । पठिति करोति ॥

2128. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'.

The sound in which the letters न ञ्च &c are not distinctly expressed is called *avyakta* 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate'. The imitation of such a sound is called *avyaktā-anukarṇa*. That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called *dvyajavarārdha*, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved. The phrase "when joined with *kṛi*, *bhū* and *astī*" is understood here. The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (*ardha*) is at least (*avara*) of two syllables (*dvyach*).

*Vārtika*:—When the affix डाच् is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word. That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added. The force of the locative in डाचि is that of विदग्धसप्तमी and not परसप्तमी ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of *petitio principii*. By adding *ḍāch* and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables. If it is, then *ḍāch* is to be added. Thus पट् is a sound imitation word. By reduplication it becomes पट् पट् ॥

Now applies the following *Vārtika*:—

*Vārtika*:—Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix ञ्च is added which causes the elision of the final ण्, for the final ण् of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पट् पट्—पट् पट्—पट् पट्, with डाच्—पट्पट् ॥

The final ण् of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter प, and then for two प's one is substituted by this *vārtika*. Thus पट्पट् करोति—पट्पटा करोति "he makes a sound like *paṭ paṭ*". So also with मयमि and मयम् ॥ So also इषसा करोति, मयमि or मयम् ॥ The final ण् of पट्पट् is elided by VI. 4. 143 S. 316 before the affix डाच् having an indicative र the real affix being ञ्च ॥



Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe *रपन् करोति* 'it makes or turns to stone'. Why do we say "after that half which consists of at least two vowels"? Observe *अन् करोति* 'he utters the exclamation *arat*'. Why do we say "at least"? Observe *खरखर करंति* where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies. But had the *sūtra* been "द्व्यज्वरं half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables. So also *अपपप करोति* ॥

The *sūtra* ought to have used the word *अनेकाक्षः* "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of *dvyajavarārdhāt*. Thus before the affix *दाच्* the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (*दाचि* in the *vārtika*) this doubling being caused by something which follows. Why do we say "when *ह्रस्वि* does not follow"? Observe *वदिति करोति* (VI. 1. 98. S. 81). The *च्* of *दाच्* is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (*swarita*) accent. Thus, *पपपप + अक्षि* ॥ Here first the *अ* of *अक्षि* which was *udatta*, becomes *anudatta* by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935. Then by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658 *अ* of *दा* and *अ* of *अक्षि* coalesce into an *udatta* *दा*, = *ददपपप* ॥ But then comes in rule VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659 which would make this *दा* optionally *swarita*, the indicative *च्* prevents it. Some read *ददपपपप*, the *च्* however does not change the sense.

२१२६। कृषो द्वितीयतृतीयचाम्बवीजात्तृषी। ५। ४। ५८ ॥

द्वितीयादिभ्यो दाच् स्वाम्बुज एव बीजे कर्षणेऽर्थे। बहुलोक्तस्वस्त्यद्वयकारणादयस्य दाचि न द्वित्वम्। द्वितीयं तृतीयं कर्षणं करोति द्वितीयाकरोति। तृतीयचकरोति। चम्बराच्चः प्रक्षिप्तोऽर्थे। तृषीलोऽर्थे कृषं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रक्षिप्तोऽर्थे कर्षति चम्बाकरोति। बीजेन च चर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the words *dvitīya*, *tritīya*, *śamba*, and *bīja* when connected with the verb *kri*, and meaning "to plough in such a way"

By force of the word *diversely* in the *vārtika* under the last *sūtra*, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else.

The repetition of the word *कृ* in this *sūtra* indicates that the *च्* and *अक्षि* are not to be taken. Thus *द्वितीया करोति* = *द्वितीयं कर्षं* (= *विशेषणं*) करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field'. So also *तृतीया करोति*, *चम्बा करोति* 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before' = *अतुलोऽर्थे कृषं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रक्षिप्तोऽर्थे कर्षति* ॥ So also *बीजा करोति* = *सहबीजेन विज्ञेयं करोति* ॥

Note: कृ Why do we say *when* meaning "to plough"? Observe *द्वितीयं करोति* पदम् ॥

२१३०। संख्यायाञ्च गुणान्तायाः। ५। ४। ५९ ॥

कृषो योमे कृषी दाच् स्वात्। द्वितीयाकरोति तृतीयं। क्षेत्रं कर्षं द्वित्वं कर्षणं करोतीत्यर्थः ॥

2130. The affix *dâch* comes after a Numeral followed by the word *guna*, the sense being to plough so many times'.

The word कृ is understood here. Thus द्वियुगा or त्रियुगा करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = द्वियुगं द्वित्वेन करोति क्षेत्रम् ॥

Why do we say "when meaning to plough"? Observe द्वियुगां करोति रज्जुम् "he doubles the rope".

२१३१ । समयाच्च वापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृपाविति निवृत्तम् । कृप्नो योने वाच्यं स्यात् । समयाकरोति । कालं वापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131. The affix *dâch* comes after the word *samaya* when कृ follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'.

The word कृ is understood here also. The *anuvṛtti* of कृप ceases. The getting of leisure from the duties is called *samaya* or 'time'; the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word *vaṇṇa* ॥ Thus समया करोति = कालक्षेपं करोति (समयं मे पारवश्यं, अतः परमं वाक्यं समय इत्येवं बोधदुष्टं दिवसेषु प्रतिपद्यते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'.

Note:—Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe समयं करोति "he makes time".

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पन्नादतिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति घृणम् । सपुङ्गवपरिवेष्टनम् सपत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पन्नाकरोति । सपुङ्गवद्वरस्याऽपराधेन निर्गमनाद्विषयं करोतीत्यर्थः । अनिव्ययने क्तिम् । सपत्रं निष्पन्नं वा करोति घृणत्यर्थः ॥

2132. The affix *dâch* comes after the words *sapatra*, and *nishpatra* followed by the verb *kṛi*, when the sense is that of causing intense pain.

The word कृ is understood here also. The word *ati-vyathana* means "violent pain". Thus सपत्रा करोति घृणं व्याधः = सपत्रं वरवहद्वरिरे मयेकमिति "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body". So also निष्पत्रा करोति = वरिरेण वरमपराधेन दिव्याममिति "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers". Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe सपत्रं or निष्पत्रं करोति घृणत्यर्थः ॥

२१३३ । निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति शक्तिम् । निर्गतं कुलान्तरव्यथनां सद्यो यन्मासि रज्ज्वीदेरांश्च ॥

2133. The affix *dâch* comes after the words *nishkula* followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is 'to disembowel'.

The verb कृ should be read into the sūtra. The word निष्क्रोष means to bring the inner organs out or to eviscerate. निष्क्रुञ्च करोति कश्चिन् "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranite".

*Note*:—Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel"? Observe निष्क्रुञ्च करोति शत्रून् "he makes the enemies family-less".

२१३४ । सुखप्रियादानुलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सुखाकरोति । प्रियाकरोति ह्यस्य । अनुक्रुञ्च करोति नानामयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2134. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the words *sukha* and *priya*, followed by *kṛi*, when the meaning is ( 'to concede' 'gratify' ) 'to go with the grain'.

The word *मादुलोभ्य* means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration'. Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति ह्यस्य—स्वाम्यादीर्ह्यसनापयति "tries to please the heart of the master &c".

*Note*:—This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act. Otherwise observe: द्रव्यं करोति or विषं करोति औषधपानम् "the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c".

२१३५ । दुःखात्मातिलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६४ ॥

दुःखाकरोति । स्वातिनम् पीदयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2135. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *duḥkha* followed by *kṛi*, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene".

The verb कृ is understood and *prātilomya* means 'to oppose' or "to act against another's wishes", "to pain the heart of one's master &c". As दुःखा करोति श्वसः स्वामिनम् "the servant pains the master".

*Note*:—Why do we say "when meaning to go against the grain"? Observe दुःखं करोति कवचम् ॥

२१३६ । शूलारवाके । ५ । ४ । ६५ ॥

शूलाकरोति मांसम् । शूलेन वपयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2136. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *śula* followed by *kṛi*, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus शूले वपयति—शूला करोति मांसम् "he roasts the meat on a spit".

*Note*:—Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe शूलं करोति कवचम् "the bad food causes colic".

२१३७ । सत्यादशपथे । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

सत्याकरोति माण्डं दण्डम् । क्रैतव्यमिति सत्यं करोतीत्यर्थः । शपथे तु सत्यं करोति विप्रः ॥

2137. The affix *dāch* comes after the word *satya*, followed by *kri*, when not meaning to swear.

The word *सत्य* means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood'. Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन द्वापदेद् दिवम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited. Thus *सत्या करोति वणिक् भाण्डम्* "the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods i. e. he settles that he will purchase these wares". Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe *सत्य करोति दिवः* "the Brahmana swears".

२१३८ । मद्रात्परिचापणे । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

मद्राच्छब्दो मद्रन्तर्यः । परिचापणं पुण्डनम् । मद्राकरोति माद्रन्त्यपुण्डनेन संस्क्रोतीत्यर्थः । मद्रापोतं वक्तव्यम् • ॥ मद्राकरोति । अर्थः प्राप्तिम् । परिचापणं किम् ॥ मद्रं करोति । मद्रं करोति ॥

2138. The affix *dāch* comes after the word *madra* followed by *kri*, in the sense of 'to shave'.

The word *परिचापय* means 'to shave' 'to raze'. The word *मद्र* means 'auspicious'. Thus *मद्रा पुण्डनं करोति* = *मद्रा करोति* ॥

*Vart*:—So also after the word *मद्र* : as *मद्रा कपोति नापितः कुमारः* "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion".

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave'. Observe *मद्रं कः मद्रं करोति* ॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

## अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

### CHAPTER XL.

#### ON REITERATION.

२१३६ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥

इत्यपिहृत्य ॥

2139. From here upto VIII. 1. 15. S. 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

*Notes* :—This is an *adbhikāra sūtra*. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पक्षस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S. 401) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4 S. 2140 teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'". Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as, पचति पचति 'he always cooks'. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The *sūtra* 'sartasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarta* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, 3. 82 and VI. 1. 100 S. 2128 will find no scope. The word *sarta* has several meanings: (1) the totality of things (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्यैवद्रव्याणि (2) the totality of modes (प्रकारः) सर्वाङ्गीरानिमिषुः—सर्वप्रकार-मज्ञं नक्षपति; (3) the totality of members (अङ्गव्यः), as सर्वः पदेवङ्गः ॥ In the present *sūtra*, the word *sarta* has this last sense: namely *all the members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sartasya*, is that of *stbhāna*, i. e. in the room of the whole of the words like परि &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the *sūtra* is, that in the room of the one word, two are substituted. In making such substitution, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the *sūtra*, however is, that it does not teach substitution but repetition or employment, not *ādeśa*, but *pratyaga*. That is to say, one word is employed twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word *sartasya* is employed in the *sūtra* for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise one may double only the last letter of a word by the rule of अङ्गीरानिमिष, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पक्ष्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to 'Samāsa (compound), to taddhita, and to vākya (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टावक्षः ॥ Here there is the sense of vipsā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपक्षिणं वदति, here also the sense is that of vipsā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in वाने वाने पानीवम् the sentence वाने पानीवम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII, 1, 16 S. 401

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पक्षि पक्षि सप्तपर्णानि वक्षः, so that the sense of vipsā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vipsā is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsā can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पक्ष्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have प्रपक्षति प्रपक्षति: for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पक्षति would be doubled, and प्र would not. So also, we have two forms द्वेष्ठा and द्वेष्ठा ॥ Here वृष् is added to the root वृद्, and वृ is optionally changed to प by VIII, 2, 77, S. 334 and in the other alternative there is व ॥ As प and व are both asiddha (VIII, 2, 1, S. 12) the doubling would take place without making this प or व substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as द्वेष्टा द्वेष्टा) then optional प or व change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्वेष्ठा द्वेष्ठा, द्वेष्टा द्वेष्ठा in doubling. While the correct forms are द्वेष्ठा द्वेष्ठा, or द्वेष्ठा द्वेष्ठा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्ववाचिणीयनादिवचने (See VIII, 2, S. 439 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by वक्ष् affix of वक्षिभाष्य meaning 'सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति सर्वं सर्वं, सत्यं वदतः ॥ That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

२१४० । नित्यवीप्सयोः । प । २ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्यं वीप्सायां प योति पक्ष्य द्विष्यन् स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं तिङन्तेष्वप्यवसेनकृत्स्नेषु च । पक्षतिपक्षति । बुधवासुवरता । वीप्सायाश्च, पूर्ववृत्ते सिध्यति । वानो वानो रवणीयः ॥

2140. 'The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.



*Note* :—The word परि is here a Katmapravachaniya (I, 4, 88 S. 596). and governs the fifth case by II, 3, 11. In परिधिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

२१४२ । उपर्यध्यधमः सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्युपरि मामम् । मामस्तोपरिधात्वमीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥ अध्याधि मुखम् । मुखस्योपरिधात्वमीप-  
यादि दुःखमित्यर्थः । अतोऽथो लोकम् । लोकस्याधस्तात्त्वमीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥

2142. उपरि, अधि, and अधस्त are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness.

The word sāmīpya means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि मामम्, "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village". अध्याधिमामम्, अधोऽधो लोकम् "a place near a loka". Similarly अध्याधियुखम् "anything immediately following after pleasure" i. e. pain. Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि पङ्क्त्याः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो एवं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वं लब्धं वदन्ति ।

मामंभो वर्धने कस्य महिमा कोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsā.

२१४३ । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्याऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु । ८ । १ । ८ ॥

वास्तव्याय, सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते लोभस्येव । लोभस्यैव देवदेव वन्द्योऽसि । कोपे, दुर्विभीतदुर्वि-  
भीत इवानीं ज्ञास्यसि । कुत्सने, धातुष्कधातुष्क वृथा ते धनुः । भर्त्सने, धीरधीर पातविध्यानि स्याम् ॥

2143. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or vākya. Thus (1) envy :—सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते लोभस्येव "O beauty! O beauty! In vain is thy beauty!" (2) praise :—देव देव वन्द्योऽसि "O Deval! O Deval! adorable art thou!" (3) anger :—दुर्विभीत दुर्विभीत इवानीं ज्ञास्यसि: "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame :—धातुष्क धातुष्क वृथा ते धनुः "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow". (5) Threat—धीरधीर पातविध्यानि स्याम् वन्द्यविध्यानि स्याम् "O thief O thief I shall kill thee". The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the Amredita becomes pluta by VIII. 2. 95. S. 3614. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as सोमना खस्यसि माणवकः ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe उदरिदिरदन्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe देवदत्त पातविध्यानि स्याम् ॥



In some books, the *vākya* is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकविह् पदसमूहो वाक्यं) ॥

२१४४ । एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । २ ॥

ईदृक्क एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन सुप्तेष्वनुवाचो । एकैकमक्षरम् । इह इयोरपि सुपोल्लङ्घि कृते बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यादेव प्रातिपदिकत्वात्समुदास्यम् । एकैकवाहुया । इह पूर्वभागं पुंषडावा-  
दनमहं विशेषः । न बहुव्रीहिवित्यत्र पुनर्बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वं बुक्त्वा बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वाभार्यम् । तेनातिविष्टबहुव्रीहो  
सर्वमानसास्तेष्वेति प्राञ्चयः । यस्तु तत्तु भाष्यमते यत्वाद्यवतमेवम् । सुप्रसक्तं हि बहुव्रीहयेऽल्लङ्घिके  
विभक्तं निषेधकं न तु बहुव्रीहाविनीहान्तिस्त्रयैव नास्ति । एकैकस्यै देहि ॥

2144. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकमक्षरं पठति (not एकैककम्). Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrīhi they become a prātipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case-affix. एकैकवाहुया लुङोति (not एकैकवा). Here the first member has become masculine. The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case affix is elided by II. 4. 71. and masculinising by VI. 3. 34.

Note :—According to the Kṣaika this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्यै देहि ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuvrīhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न कतेति, सुखमागमि ॥ This double-word is treated like a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of verbal. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not न न or सु सु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves:—1st, VI. 1. 223 S. 3784 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI. 2. 1. the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI. 2. 172 S. 3906 already mentioned 4th VIII. 1. 3. ॥ 3670. by which the second member becomes anudatta. The rule VI. 2. 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samānta affixing. Thus शूकः कर्तुं दृष्टः (doubled by VIII. 1. 10 S. 2145) do not get the samānta affix by V. 4. 74.

"In the sūtra न बहुव्रीहौ (I. 1. 29 S. 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi, when its anuvṛitti was current from the preceding sūtra I. 1. 28.

S. 292, is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrīhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrīhi like that of this sūtra VIII. 1. 9. S. 2144). Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo-Bahuvrīhis or analogical-Bahuvrīhis, the prohibition of S. 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanāman, and is declined as such." This is the opinion of the ancients. But as a matter of fact, this whole sūtra I. 1. 29 has been overruled by the opinion of the Bhāṣya-author Patanjali. Even in the opinion of the sūtra-author Pāṇini, the prohibition of I. 1. 29 S. 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrīhi compound and not to the Bahuvrīhi compound as such. That is to say, a sarvanāman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrīhi compound. So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun. *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vārtika under I. 1. 29. S. 222. So there can be no question of that sūtra applying to an analogical Bahuvrīhi, for such a Bahuvrīhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrīhis. Therefore, we have एकैकस्मै वेदि and not एकैकाय वेदि ॥

२१४५ । आवायेष् । ८ । १ । १० ॥

प्रीत्यां श्रोत्रायां द्वे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवच । मतगतः । विरहात्प्रीत्यवावस्येयमिति । बहुव्रीहिवच-  
नान्मुमुक्षुः । मतगतः । इदं पुंल्लापः ॥

2145. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrīhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus मर्त्यगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', गर्हणः, कर्तव्यपतितः, in the masculine. Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrīhi, and मतगतः, नदनशः, पतिवपतिता in the Feminine; here the first term becomes masculine and (not मतगतः for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735.

२१४६ । कर्मधारयबहुसरेषु । ८ । १ । ११ ॥

इस उपरेषु द्विपनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्येव । प्रयोगं सुखोपपुंल्लापान्तोषाचत्वादि ॥

2146. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making ॥ a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71 S. 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42 S. 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI. 2. 23. S. 3757. or S. 3734.

*Note* :—The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttaraku.

२१४७.) प्रकरणे गुणवचनस्य । ८ । १ । १२ ॥

सादृश्ये योस्य गुणवचनस्य ते सत्तत्त्वं कर्मधारयस्य । कर्मधारयगुणवचनव्यधिकारात् । तेन पूर्व भागस्य पुंस्त्वभावः । समासस्थेनोत्तरात्तत्त्वं च । पदपद्वी । पदपद्वी । पदपद्वी । ईपत्वद्वारिणि यावत् । गुणोपसर्जनद्वयवाचिनः केवलगुणवाचिनमेव गृह्यन्ते । शुद्धगुणं रूपम् । शुद्धगुणः पदः ॥

भाद्रपद्वी हे वाच्ये ० ॥ मूलमूलं स्थूलम् ॥

संभवेन प्रपञ्चौ पर्यवस्येकथा त्रयोमो न्यायसिद्धः ० ॥ सर्वःसर्वः बुधत्वात् २ । सर्वः १ बुधत्वात् ४ ॥ क्रियासमन्विताश्च ० ॥ सुमीहितुमीक्षितेष्वाम् जुनाति । नित्यशब्दयोरोपेति सिद्धे भूतार्थे हित्वाथ

निर्दिष्टम् । पौनः पुनरेवमि सोदा सह सङ्गच्छित्य योतकर्ता लभ्यते वा ॥

कर्तृवदतिशारे सर्वनाम्नो हे वाच्ये समासश्च बहुलम् ० ॥ बहुलमदयादन्वयरयोर्न समासश्च ।

इतरदाहस्य तु नित्यम् ॥

असमासवजादे पूर्ववत्स्य सुपः सुर्वकस्यः ० ॥ अन्योन्यविपः नमस्ति । अ योन्यौ । अन्योन्यात् । अन्योन्येन कृतम् । अन्योन्यस्यै वपनित्यादि । अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरपुष्कस्य इति मायः । एवं परस्परम् ।

अथ कस्कादित्यादिसमस्य सः । इतरेतरम् इतरेतरेणेत्यादि ॥

स्त्रीपुंसकयोश्च परस्परदाया विभक्तौभावो वा वक्तव्यः ० ॥ अन्योन्यात् । अन्योन्यम् । परस्परम् ।

परस्परम् । इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरं वा इने ब्राह्मण्योक्तुले वा भोगयतः । अथ कैचित् भावविशो द्वितीयाया एव । आप्यादी सपैषोवाहतत्वात् । तेन स्त्रीपुंसकयोरेव वृत्तीयादिषु पुंस्त्वैव रूपमित्याहः । अन्येदुदाहरणस्य दिङ्मात्रसाधनस्यैविभक्तौनामानादेतमाहः ॥

सप्तम्यै दाहभावः क्रीते अश्विनिरहः स्वमीः ॥

समासे वीरगुण्येति सिद्धे बाहुलकाद्युप ॥ १ ॥

तथादि । अन्योन्यं परस्परमित्यत्र सप्तम्यैव दाहः प्राप्तः । नच सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिभावे पुंस्त्वभावः । अन्यपरयोस्समासवत्त्वात् । नच द्विवचनस्य वृत्तिः । वा ओ विद्यः प्रेषत कानराशी सतिआदावतिमस-

ज्ञात् । अन्योन्यमितरेतरमित्यत्र अश्विनिरहसिद्ध इत्यहं प्राप्तः । अन्योन्यस्यैवसक्तमदक्षिणानम् । सम्बन्धीत्याश्रयः । परस्परसिद्धादयम् । अष्टपरस्परमित्यादी सोर्हृक्च.प्राप्तः । सर्वे बाहुलकेन समाधेयम् । प्रकृतवा-  
सिकनाम्नोदाहरणं सिद्धमिति सन्ने अन्येनद्वेष्टेनमेवसिद्धिं आर्यं चात्र प्रमाणमिति ॥

2147. An attribute is repeated, when, it is meant

to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a Karmadhāraya.

Thus पदपद्वी, पदपद्वी where the first member has lost the case-affix, पदपद्वी, पदपद्वी where the first member is a masculine, even when there is a क in the penultimate as कालकलानिका ( See VI. 3. 37 and 42 ); पदपद्वी, पदपद्वी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223. S. 3734 was debarred by VIII. 1. 3. but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223.

The word being treated as a Karmadhāraya there is masculinisation of the first member and the final takes the acute under VI. 1. 223. S. 3734.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference', and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus वदुषदुः, 'tolerably sharp', वदुषद्वी "she who is tolerably sharp." वदुषद्वे: "pretty soft". पण्डितपण्डितः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix ज्ञासीच् ( V. 3. 69. S. 2024 ) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus वदुज्ञासीच्, वदुज्ञासीच् ॥

The doubling takes place both where the adjective is a secondary member qualifying a substance, and where it is an attribute pure and simple, in the abstract, without any particular substance. As शुक्लशुक्लः पटः "tolerably white or whitish cloth." शुक्लं शुक्लं "whitish".

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting some what like it"? Observe वदुर्देवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्गोशुषकः, 'a fiery boy', गौ बह्वीकः 'a cow-like Bāhika'. Here 'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

*Vart*:—An adjective is repeated, when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलः "it is thick in all its roots one after another." अग्ने अग्ने सूक्ष्मा, अग्ने अग्ने सूक्ष्माः ॥

*Note*:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus कर्शपात्रं कार्यापणाविहमयशपां माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha, out of this kārshāpāna to you two i. e. give only *two* masha one to each'. A kārshāpāna contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double ( vipśā ). The word माषं माषं देहि = द्वौदेहि, the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say 'when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्यापणाविहं अयदुभ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देहि, त्रीन्माषा माषान् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, त्रीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्यापणाविहं अयदुभ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

*Vart*:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice or as many times as one likes, so long as the meaning is not manifest to the person addressed. The word संभ्रमण in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind. As सर्पं सर्पं सुप्स्य सुप्स्य "a snake, a snake, beware, beware." It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As सर्पं सर्पं सर्पं सुप्स्य सुप्स्य सुप्स्य ॥

*Vart*:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवायं लुनीति ॥ See III. 4. 2. Though the doubling would have taken place under VIII. 1. 4. S. 2140. also yet the present vārtika ordains doubling in the sense of intensity. Or it ordains doubling of the imperative, giving to it the additional meaning of frequency.

*Note*:—In re-iteration the word is doubled as, धुस्का धुस्का जजति, भोजं भोजं भजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

*Note*:—The word is repeated when the affix दाच् follows; as परदा करोति पदपदायते ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here द्वितीया करोति, द्वितीया करोति, where the affix दाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58.) Because of this restriction, some read the vārtika as, दाचि बहुलम् ॥

If the rule meant that the half word must be of at least two syllables before doubling, and then दाच् should be added, then it would not apply to words like पदम् &c. Therefore the "half-not-less-than-two-syllables" refers to the doubled word, the doubling being caused by दाच्. The above difficulty arises if the locative in दाचि has the force of परस्मिणी ॥ But if we take the locative as विद्यमानि then the difficulty is obviated.

*Note*:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्व पूर्व पुण्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पश्यन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरे पुण्यन्ति, प्रथमतः पश्यन्ते ॥

*Note*:—The words ending in the affixes इतर and उदम comparative and superlative, are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उदाविमवाद्या, जनरा कतरा अनयोराख्या and क्षम; as; उदाविमवाद्या, किदशीकिदशी अनयोराख्या ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition (as आख्या) is not in the feminine: as, उदाविमवाद्या, कतरा क सोऽनयोर्विवः "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

*Vart*:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled; and diversely it is treated like a compound. Because the word 'diversely' is used in the vārtika, the pronominals *anya*, and *para* are never treated like a compound; while the word *itara* is *invariably* treated as such and never optionally. II. 2. 27 S. 845

Thus. अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति "these Brāhmanas feed one another." अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा नृगन्ति ॥ अन्योन्यस्य ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरात् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and पर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. So also अन्योन्यौ, अन्योन्यान् अन्योन्येनृगन्तुः, अन्योन्यस्मेदत्तं, अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशन्ते Māgha. So also परस्परं where the visarga is changed to स because it belongs to Kaskadi class. So also इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरेण &c.

*Vart*:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥ Here some say. The आम् substitution takes the place of the affixes of the accusative only: because the examples given in the Mahābhāṣya &c are of accusative only. Therefore, the feminine and neuter words do not assume the masculine form in the Instrumental and other cases. This is one opinion. Others say, the examples given in the Bhāṣya are merely illustrative, and therefore, the affixes of all cases, are replaced by आम् ॥

### Verse.

1. The absence of दद् in the both members of the doubled word.
2. The replacing of ह्य and च्च by दद् in the Neuter.
3. The non-elision of ह्य in compounds.

These three operations take place by force of the word bāhulaka 'diversely' in the vārtika.

1. Thus in अन्योन्यं and परस्परम् there would have come the Feminine affix दाद् ॥ The form ought to have been अन्य+न्या=अन्याम् ॥ But it is अन्यः+न्याः=अन्योन्यं ॥ This is prevented by the vārtika. Nor will vārtika under II. 1. 51. S. 728 apply and cause masculinisation.

*Note*:—That vārtika states the Pronouns become masculine whenever they occur as functions—vṛtīti—of a compound or a taddhita.

Because अन्य and इत in the above are treated as not parts of a compound. Nor is re-iteration a vṛtīti or function of a taddhita. For if re-iteration be considered a vṛtīti as understood in II. 1. 51. S. 728 vārtika then it would apply to the following also. मां मां प्रियः प्रेक्षतः कातुपर्षी सा सा &c.

*Note*:—Patanjali also uses it in this way: thus,

आगतार्थं दत्तमिमांसात् कार्यं भेदं तु नाकया ।

नाक भेदं निजार्थोदात्तं मां मां मयेव वा भेदे ॥ Mahābhāṣya, I. 4. 51.

2. The replacing of ह्य and च्च ( Nom. and acc Sg ) by add दद् ॥ Thus अन्योन्यः । इतरेतरम् ॥ Here by VII. 1. 25 S. 315 the affix दद् would have come and the form would have been अन्योन्यम् and इतरेतरेण ॥ The present vārtika prevents that.

## 3. The non-elision of सु in compounds,

Thus in अन्योन्यसंसक्त मर्हसिद्धाम् । अन्योन्यापकः । परस्परसंसक्त दिव्यम् । अद्वयवस्त्वैः ॥

In all the above examples the सु would have been elided by the above vartika. The word 'diversely' of the vartika prevents it.

The illustration of this vartika, as given by the Mahābhāṣya, is to be found in the sentence अन्योन्यसंसक्तं त्वेत् न वक्ति, as used by Patañjali in his gloss on IV. 1. 3. (सिधियम्). So the Great Commentary is also an authority here.

२१४८ । अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । १ । १३ ॥

प्रियप्रियेण वक्ति । प्रियेण वा । सुखसुखेन वक्ति । सुखेन वा । त्विदं कर्मधारयवद्वावा-  
चकृच्छ्रे पुनस्तद्वै वचनम् । अतिप्रियमपि वस्तुमावासेन वृत्तान्तर्यः ॥

2148 The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated optionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The words कृच्छ्र means 'difficulty' and 'sorrow', अकृच्छ्र means 'without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियप्रियेण वक्ति, सुखसुखेन वक्ति, or प्रियेण वक्ति, सुखेन वक्ति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्तुमावासेन वक्ति ॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. In reiteration the word is treated as a Karmadhāraya and so there is elision of the case-affix as already mentioned above.

Note :—Why do we say "when meaning easily" Observe प्रियः पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी रथः ॥

२१४९ । यथास्ये यथायथम् । ८ । १ । १४ ॥

यथास्वमिति वीक्षायांन्यवीभावः । योऽयमात्मा यथास्वीयं सकाशात्स्वम् । तस्मिन्मायाशब्दस्य इ  
ज्जीवस्य च निपातते । यथायथं ज्ञाता यथास्वभावमित्यर्थः । यथास्वीयमिति वा ॥

2149 The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of "respectively, fitly, properly".

The word yathāśvam is an Aavyayībhāva with the force of vīpśā. Whatever is this self and whatever belongs to this self all that is denoted by yathāśvam.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे परस्परं यथायथम् = यथास्वभावम् "all objects have been known according to their respective nature". सर्वेषां तु यथायथम् = यथास्वीयम् ॥

२१५० । त्वन्दं रहस्यमर्यादावचनन्युत्क्रमण्यङ्गपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु । ८ ।

१ । १ । १५ ॥

विशदस्य द्विवचनं पूर्वपदसामान्योऽर्थं योऽप्यपदस्य संप्रसारणं च विज्ञातये एवार्थेषु । तत्र  
रहस्यं ह्यन्वयस्य वाच्यम् । इदं च विधायकम् । त्वन्दं मन्त्रयते । रहस्यमित्यर्थः । मर्यादा विधायकमिति ॥

आप्तुर् इमे पशवो हन्द् मिथुनायन्ते । माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति । पौत्रेण प्रपौत्रेणापीत्यर्थः । व्युत्क्रमणं पृथगवस्थापय । हन्द् व्युत्क्रान्ताः द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः । हन्द् वत्तपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति । वन्दं संकल्पवासुदेवौ । अभिव्यक्तौ सादृष्येत्यर्थः । योगविभागादव्यवावि हन्द् अभिव्यक्ते ॥

2150. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word हन्द् is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first into हन्, and the second द्व into ह and making it a Neuter. The word हन्द् itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' गर्वादा &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus हन्द्-मन्त्रयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or गर्वादापयना, as, आप्तुर् इमे पशवो हन्द् मिथुनायन्ते "upto the fourth degree, these cattle copulate with each other." माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पौत्रेण, प्रपौत्रेणावि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sākh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—हन्द् व्युत्क्रान्ताः—द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (वत्तपात्रप्रयोगः) as—हन्द् वत्तपात्राणि प्रयुनक्तिवीरः (See I. 3. 64), अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation: as—हन्द् नास्त्वपर्वरी, हन्द् संकल्प वासुदेवौ—ह्रादव्यभिव्यक्तौ ह्रादव्यव्येण ॥

The word हन्द् is found employed in connection with other senses also; as, हन्द् पुत्रं वत्तये, हन्दाणि सहतेधीरः, पार्थे हन्द्ः &c.

Here ends the chapter on Reiteration.

HERE ENDS THE VOLUME ONE OF THE SIDDHANTA KAUMUDI

By BHATTOJI DIKSHITA.

